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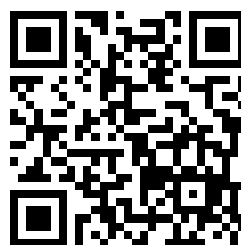
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*Div: 2.*

*Sh: 2.*

*B: 7.*



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE HOUSES  
OF  
DOUGLAS  
AND  
ANGUS.

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*Written by* Master DAVID HUME  
*of* GODSCROFT.

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EDINBURGH,

*Printed by* EVAN TYLER, *Printer to*  
*the Kings most Excellent Majestie.*

1 6 4 4.





## The Authour to the Reader.

**I** Know (Reader) that he who undertakes to write, makes himself a mark of censure for men to level at. For to please all men, shall then only be possible, when all men shall be of one minde; til then, we look for as many dislikings, as there is diversities of opinions, each man condemning what is not according to his own humour and palate. Some will storm or scorn (perhaps) our writing as an unnecessary scribbling, and paper blurring: others will quarrell at the subject, that we should write a History; others that such, so composed, and formal of a private family, with such commendation. Again, some will accuse us of partiality; and some will even question the truth of it. Neither will there be wanting such as will blame the forme and fashion of the work, as too short, or too long, and many (I doubt not) will carp at the Stile, the Phrase, the Periods, the Diction and Language. In all these particulars, to satisfie all men, is more then we can hope for: yet thus much shortly of each of them, to such as will give eare to reason: That I write, and of this subject, I am constrained to do it; not by any violence or compulsion, but by the force of duty, as I take it: for being desired to do it by those I would not refuse, I thought my self bound to honour that name, and in, and by it, our King & Countrey. And so I have done what I can, & should have been glad to have done more, if it had lyen in my power. As for the writing of a History I could never have dreamed that I should have needed to make Apologie for it: neither did I ever hear it accounted prophane, till I had done. Then by chance I lighted on a certain Authour who excuseth himself for so doing, and promiseth to doe so no more. It may be neither shall I. Yet dare I not promise so much: neither see I any reason why I should: for if by profane, they mean that History maketh men profane, and leadeth to profanitie and atheisme, then certainly we may justly say, that it is nothing lesse. For in it we see and behold, as in a Glasse, Gods Providence guiding and ruling the World, and mens actions, which arrive often to unexpected events, and sometimes even to such ends as are quite contrary to the Actors intentions. In History also we see men, and our selves in them, our vertues or vices, which is the second point of wisdom: this leads us also to God. But if (by profane) they mean whatsoever is not Scripture, and would have men to read and write nothing but what belongs unto it; then must we condemne all humane learning & knowledge, all Arts and Sciences, which are the blessings of God, and in which *Moses* and *Paul* were trained up, and well seen. It is true, there is no knowledge comparable to that of holy Scripture, and we cannot be too conversant about it; yet there is no kind of knowledge but is usefull, & may and ought to be esteemed and embraced. Our last end should ever be to God and Christ: but to speak alwayes of him directly, is neither required nor possible. As he is the end, so the way to this end is by speaking of him, or of things which may lead us to him: yet is it not necessary at all times to speak of such things professedly as lead us that way. He is our end in himself, and for himself, and happy were we if in him we could terminate all our desires. Vertue leads to him, and is to be embraced as such: but to obtrude it at first for that consideration, and on that respect, it may be doubted whether or not that be alwayes the right Method and best way of proceeding. The other may happen to prove more available  
with

## *To the Reader.*

with some, which is, to learne first to be enamoured & to love honour; then vertue for honour; then vertue for it self; then to account nothing vertue without God, who not being to be found but in Christ, must needs be sought for above all things. Now History is, as it were, the A B C. of this Method, and the beautifull Picture; by looking on which, our desire of honour is kindled, and so of vertue, which onely brings true honour with it. Neither is it needfull to proclaim this intention to the world: yea, I know not whether to say thus much be not even too much. It is enough to set the object before them, and to furnish them matter for their thoughts to work upon: as for the measure of praise wee give them, if after thou hast read and weighed, thou shalt think it too much, all that I can say, is, that I think it but their due, and I speak as I think, & according to the scantling of my own judgment. Touching partiality, I deny it not, but am content to acknowledge my interest. Neither do I think that ever any man did set pen to paper without some particular relation of Kindred, Countrey, or such like. The Romanes in writing the Romane, the Grecians in writing their Greek Histories, friends writing to, of, or for friends, may be thought partiall as Countrey-men and friends. The vertuous may be deemed to be partiall toward the vertuous, and the godly toward the godly and religious: All Writers have some such respect, which is a kinde of partiality. I do not refuse to be thought to have some, or all of these respects, and I hope none wil think I do amisse in having them. Pleasing of men, I am so farre from shunning of it, that it is my chief end and scope; But let it please them to be pleased with vertue, otherwise they shal find nothing here to please them. If thou findest any thing here besides, blame me boldly. And why should any be displeased that wil be pleased with it? would to God I could so please the world, I should never displease any. But if either of these (partiality or desire to please) carry me besides the truth, then shall I confesse my self guilty, and esteem these as great faults, as it is faultie and blame-worthy to forsake the truth. But otherwise so the truth be stuck unto, there is no hurt in partiality and labouring to please. And as for truth, clip not, nor champ not my words (as some have done elsewhere) and I beleeve the worst affected will not charge mee with lying. I have ever sought the truth in all things carefully, and even here also, and that painfully in every point: where I find it assured, I have set it down confidently; where I thought there was some reason to doubt, I tell my Authour: So that if I deceive, it is my self I deceive, and not thee, for I hide nothing from thee, that I my self know, and as I know it, leaving place to thee, if thou knowest more or better. Which if thou doest, impart and communicate it; for so thou shouldest do, and so is truth brought to light, which else would lye hid and buried. My paines and travel in it have been greater then every one would think, in correcting my errors; thine will not bee so much. And both of us may furnish matter for a third man to finde out the truth more exactly, than either of us hath yet done. Help therefore, but carp not. Concerning the manner & form, this is partly the cause why I have used this, which I do here follow, that all things being laid open, & exposed to thy view, thou mayest have to choose on, or to finde somewhat of thine own; & where I could not resolve a doubt, thou mayest see it, and have some mean (perhaps) to solve it better. I have also in many places interposed my judgement of mens actions: I think it the life of History, & without which it were little better, than an old wifes tale.

It



## *To the Reader.*

It is true, it were not so needfull, if all men were alike judicious: but seeing they are not so, it is absolutely necessary, that so those who read carelessly and sleepingly may bee awaked; who minde onely pleasure, may have profit thrust upon them; that the dull may be quicked, and the judicious have his judgement sharpened, and a finer edge put upon it, by this our whet-stone. I know there are that think otherwise, and that all should be left to the collection and discretion of the Reader: But this is my opinion, and I know no Writer of note, or account, but interposeth his censure of things. What name you give this piece, I am very indifferent; Call it History, Chronicle, Comentarie, Annals, Journal lives, or (if you please) discourses or exercitations, it matters not much. Let who will, for me, define, divide, and dispute of the nature, of the bounds and Marches of Airts, and writings, and of their Lawes, this kinde is my lot or choice at this time. For the same cause or reason (that men may not take any thing upon meer trust, I list the judgment of others, and am content that thou likewise canvase mine. I do it without partiality, or respecting any mans person: though otherwise; and in other things I reverence them never so much, yet I cannot but respect reason more: where they bring not that strong enough to satisfie, I do not conceale or dissemble it, I do not refuse the same measure from others: if thou doest not like my reason, reject it, but let reason be thy rule, for it is mine according to my capacity. For the Language it is my Mother-tongue, that is, Scottish: and why not, to Scottish-men? Why should I contemne it? I never thought the difference so great, as that by seeking to speak English, I would hazard the imputation of affectation. Every tongue hath the own vertue and grace. Some are more substantiall, others more orate and succinct. They have also their own defects and faultinesse, some are harsh, some are effeminate, some are rude, some affectate and swelling. The Romanes spake from their heart, The Grecians with their lips only, and their ordinary speech was complements; especially the Asiatick Greeks did use a loose and blown kinde of phrase. And who is there that keeps that golden mean? For my own part, I like our own, &c. he that writes well in it, writes well enough to me. Yet I have yeelded somewhat to the tyrannie of custome, and the times, not seeking curiously for words, but taking them as they came to hand. I acknowledge also my fault (if it be a fault) that I ever accounted it a mean study, and of no great commendation to learn to write, or to speak English, and have loved better to bestow my pains and time on forreigne Languages, esteeming it but a Dialect of our own, and that (perhaps) more corrupt. I say the same of the Stile: I follow no rules, but according to my disposition for the time, so it is high or low, long or short, sweet or sharp, as was my humour for that houre. As in Poesie, so in Prose, who can choose? Or how many are there that care for these things, or can discern? The Age is too secure for Writers to be too curious. And thus much shall suffice to have spoken of these things, and to satisfie (I hope) the candide Reader. As for those who delight to carp, we say no more to them, but onely this, That as they take a libertie to themselves to judge others, so there will bee found some that will pay them home in their own coyne. Farewell.

A CATA-

# A CATALOGUE OF THE Lives contained in this History.

## PART. I.

### *Of the House of DOUGLAS.*

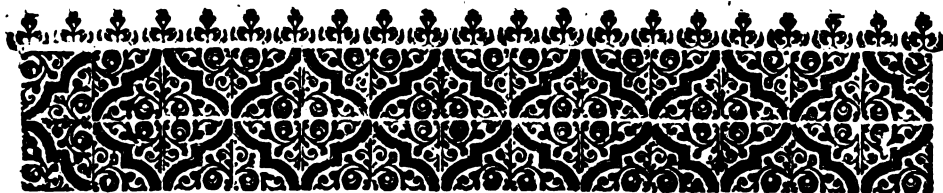
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THE



# THE PREFACE.

*Of the DOUGLASSES in generall: that is, Of their  
1 Antiquitie, (to which is joyned their Originall)  
2 Nobility and descent, 3 Greatnesse, 4 and  
Valour of the Familie and Name  
of DOUGLAS.*



*Think it will not be amisse to place here before the  
doore (as it were) and entrie into this discourse and  
Treatise (like a Signe or Iwie-bush before an Inne)  
an old verse, which is common in mens mouths.*

*So many, so good, as of the Douglasses have been,  
Of one surname were ne're in Scotland seen.*

*This saying being ancient, and generally received, will serve to invite the curious and candid Reader, and like a charme will fright away malignant spirits; and detractors, who labour to lessen and extenuate what they cannot deny. Neither is this a publick fame only roavingly scattered, and soone vanishing, but such as hath continued from age to age, and which is authorized and confirmed by all Writers, and which is most of all true in it selfe, (as shall appeare by this discourse) and nothing immodest or immoderate. For if we consider these two together joyntly (so many and so good) that is, their number and their worth, we shall finde none that can match them in both these put together. There may be found of other names some as good, but not so many. And again though there be as many, yet are they not so good. This truth I have not heard impugned, but it hath hitherto been imbraced without all contradiction (even of calammie it selfe) I know not if without envie. But let that monster eat her own heart, and seare her owne bowels: and that she may do so yet more, we will give her further occasion to doe it, by enlarging this comparative thus; So many, so good, &c, of subjects race were never in Europe seen: And yet farther, In the world were never seen. This is not any rhetoricall amplification, or poetick hyperbole, but a positive and measured truth. If any, after he hath read and pondered their actions, and paralleled them with those whose names any Historie hath transmitted to the knowledge of posterity:*

A

## The Preface

vity : If any man (I say) shall find after due search and straight judgement, either in this our countrey, or in this our Isle of Brittain, or in this fourth part of the world, Europe ; or throughout the whole Universe, such valour so have continued in any one house or name (that were Subjects, and not Kings, or Princes) and to have been so hereditary to all of them ; and as if it had been intailed, descending by succession from father to son, and from brother to brother, (the successor still striving to outgo his predecessor) in that height of excellency, and for so many generations : Then let this saying be suspected as partiall, or branded with an untruth. Otherwayes be contented to bear witness to the truth, or at least give others leave to do it, and receive thou it as such, without murmuring, or impatiencie. Now as they have surpassed all other names, so if we compare them amongst themselves, it will prove a hard and difficult judgement to determine who deserves the prize and hath been most excellent. There hath been twenty persons and more, who have possessed the chief houses, and principall families of Douglas and Angus from William (to go no higher) who died in Berwick a prisoner, besides those worthy branches (the Lord of Niddisdail, Liddisdail, Galloway, Ormond murray, Bakvaird, Dalkeith, &c. There is none almost, whose life and the times afforded occasion of action, but hath made himself singularly conspicuous by some notable exploit or other, as is to be seen in their severall lives. For the present we will onely take a generall view of them in grosse, according to these heads : 1. Antiquity (which includes their originall) 2. Nobilitie. 3. Greatnesse. 4. Valour. And first, we will consider them without any comparison in themselves simply, and absolutely, then we will compare them with others both within, and without the Countrey ; and so I hope the truth of our assertion shall appear clear and evident unto the eyes of all those, that will not obstinately shut their eyes against so bright shining a light.

Their Antiquitie and Originall.

To begin then with their Antiquity and Originall, so far as we can learn and find either in History, or Monument, by evident or tradition, which we will set down here in order of time, as we have gathered and collected them. 1. And first, we have that tradition which is most ancient of all others in the dayes of Solvathius King of Scotland in the year 767. when Donald Bane usurped the title of King, and had in a battell almost defeated the Kings army, a certain Nobleman (called afterward Sholto Douglas) came in to their succour, and overthrew the said Donald, whom he slew in the field and scattered his army, as is set down at length in his life. 2. The second witness of their Antiquity and Originall is brought from beyond sea, out of Italy, in the family of the Scoti of Plaisance which is proved to have sprung from the Douglasses at large in the life of William the fourth man of that name. The time is in the dayes of Charlemaign in the year 779. or (as our Writers) 800. or 801. In the reign of Achaius King of Scotland. 3. Our third witness is a publike Monument out of a Monastery (which were the Registers of those times) the Monastery of Icolmekill, which tell that Malcolme Kenmore at the Parliament of Forfair in the yeare 1057. or 1061. (did not advance to that dignity, for they had the equivalent of it before) but adorned with the new stile of Lord, is some of the name of Douglas, which stile was then first brought into this Countrey by imitation of other Nations. 4. Our fourth witness is in the year 1133. The foundation of the Abbey of Lesmie Hague confirmed by King David, wherein it is expressly bounded by the Barronie of Douglassdale. Now seeing this is but a confirmation, the dotation must

## Of the Douglasses in generall.

must have gone before in some other Kings dayes. 5. The fifth witness is in the dayes of King William (Nephew to this David) who began his reigne in the yeare 1163. He erected the towne of Airc into a free brough Royall, and amongst the witnesses of their Charter are Alexander and William Douglasses. 6. The sixth is a mortmain, and dotation granted to the Bishop of Murray, where the same names are inserted (William and Alexander Douglasses) for witnesses. It is not certain whether these be the same that were witnesses in the former Charter of Aire, but it is likeliest they were the same. In what yeare of King Williams reigne this was we have not yet learned, but he reigned till the year 1214. 7. The seventh is, the Indenture made between William Lord Douglas, and Hugh Lord Abernethie in the dayes of King Alexander the third, 1259. Some forty five years after this last King William, the particulars of this Indenture are set down in the life of the said William, who is the ninth man of the name of Douglas. 8. Eighthly, we have also (though much later) in the dayes of King Robert Bruce, and good Sir James Douglas, mention made of two Douglasses, (besides Sir James) one James Douglas of Lowden, and Andrew Douglas in the publike rolls (three rolls marked, 1. 16.) King Robert gives to James of Lowdon a confirmation of the lands of Caldercleere, and Kinnaule, and Carnewath: To Andrew Douglas he gives Corsewell, which was fallen into his hands by the forfeiture of the Earle of Winton, or Wigton. Now what these two were, and whether or not they were in kinne to the Lords of Douglas we know not. Onely I have heard it reported that the lands of Lowden were gotten from the Lords of Douglas; and Caldercleere is known to have been given off from their estate. Now howbeit these two be not very ancient, yet it may be gathered that the name of Douglas was ancient, even then being propagated into so many branches, which could not have been done of a sudden, but in processe of time: These things do confute those Authours who reckon the Originall of the Douglasses from good Sir James, or at the most from his father William: Because our Writers, Major, Boetius, and Buchanan, name none before them. But they intending, and minding more the generall History of the Countrey, then the descent, or beginning of particular houses, may perhaps be excused herein; yet it doth not follow, that there were none before, because they have past them in silence. And so much shall suffice to have spoken of their Antiquity, and Originall as far as we know. I say expressly as far as we know; for certainly we do not yet know them fully; We do not know them in the fountain, but in the stream; not in the root, but in the stock and stemme; for we know not who was the first mean man, that did by his vertue raise himselfe above the vulgar to such eminent place and state, as our Sholto behoved to have been of, before he wan the battell, and got the name of Douglas, which hath drowned his former name: for none but some great man of great friendship and dependance could have been able to have overcome this Donald Bane, (Being already victor) and changed the fortune of the day: And William indeed was created a Lord at Forfair, but we hear not that he was raised from a mean estate, or enriched by the Kings liberality; wherefore we may justly think, he had the same place in effect before, but under some other name, as of Thane, Abthane, or some such title.

The next point we propound to speak of is their Nobility. There is great contest among men, who should be most Noble; but where will true Nobility be found <sup>2. Of their Nobility.</sup>

# The Preface

so entire? In what subjects race is it so full and perfect, according to all the acceptions, and significations thereof? They define it to be a lifting or raising up above the vulgar: and what name, I pray, hath been so elevated, and hath so transcended all other, as this of the Douglasses? They add this condition, that it be for true worth; and hath there been any so worthy? Those that will distinguish it into severall kinds, make five sorts of it, 1 Nobility of vertue; 2 of degrees; 3 of Offices and Employment; 4 of Birth and descent; 5 Lastly of Fame and renown.

## 1. Of Vertue.

1. Of all these the first is the ground, without which the rest are never well built, and are but shadowes without the substance: *virtus nobilitat*, vertue doth ennoble, is a saying, which is no lesse true then ancient; for it makes him in whom it doth reside, truly noble by its own power beyond all exception. It hath not the dependance on Kings or Princes to give or take it away: It is ever the self, whether exalted, or not exalted; regarded, or neglected; respected, or disrespected. Nay, it doth ever carry along with it such respect and regard, as no baseness of place, of birth, of means or employment, can stain or lessen; making lownesse it self to overtop whatsoever is highest in the eyes of the world. It adds honour to whatsoever place, majesty to whatsoever estate, sufficiencie to whatsoever means, splendour to whatsoever obscurity: which no contempt of tongues, no detracting speeches, no dis-esteem of presuming pride, is able to impair or darken. Where honour and vertue do meet, there honour is an externall addition and confirmation of the inward testimony in the mind of the vertuous: but where vertue is wanting, outward honours are but false ensignes, lying inscriptions of empty boxes. That this name was vertuously noble, and noble vertuous, the deduction of their lives will sufficiently show.

## 2. Of Degrees.

2. As for the second, Nobility of Degrees, of Dignities and Titles given by Kings and Princes; such as are these of Knights, Barons, Lords, Earles, Dukes, &c. all these they had conferred upon them both at home and in forraign Countries. This kind of Nobility is in account amongst men, because although oftentimes it proceeds meerely from the Princes favour upon small or no desert, yet it is supposed to be grounded upon vertue, or that it should alwayes be grounded thereon: Now in the Douglasses it was ever so, for they were never greater then they deserved: and whatever titles of honour they had, were rather thrust upon them, then ambitiously sought and hunted after: Nay, we reade of grimme Archibald, that he rejected and refused the title of Duke.

## 3. Of Offices and employment.

3. The third sort is very like and near unto this, if it be not a part of it consisting in publike offices and employment either in peace or war, such as to be Wardens of the Marches, Lieutenants, Governours, Leaders, and Conductors of armies: This was almost proper and (in a manner) hereditary to the house, in which places also they so behaved themselves, that for their good services done to the King, and Countrey, their Family and Posterity do enjoy (at this honre) many privileges and immunities granted to them in their Charters, such as 1. Regalities, (and exemptions thereby.) 2. The first place and vote in Parliament, Counsell, or meeting, and convention of the States. 3. The leading of the vanguard in the day of battell: 4. And the bearing of the Crown at riding in Parliament.

## 4. Of bloud.

4. The fourth is Nobilitie of bloud, and Descent. This some doe place only in the descent of the right line masculine without interruption, and esteem him most Noble, whose extraction proceedeth from most of this kinde. Others againe will have



## Of the Douglasses in generall.

*have it to be on both sides ; and certainly it seemes to stand with reason that both should be regarded, seeing every ground is not fit for Noble seed, and every stock will not serve to ingraffe a generous imp. However, we shall finde the Douglasses Noble also in this way, in their descent on both sides , in their affinitie and alliance, being come of Kings, and Kings of them : and first of all King Robert Bruce and William the Hardie (or Long legge) were of kin by the house of Carrick. For Martha Countesse of Carrick and this William were Cousin Germans, his mother having beene sister to her father the Earle of Carrick that died in Syria. Now Martha was mother to King Robert , and hereby King Robert and Good Sir James were Cousin Germans once removed. But this was ere Bruce was King, while he was yet but a private man. 2. Secondly therefore, Robert Stuart (the first of the Stuarts that was King, and who was grandchild to Robert Bruce) gave his eldest daughter in marriage to Earle James, slain at Otterburne. 3. The same King Robert gave another of his daughters to William Lord of Northdale. 4. The Duke of Rothsay, Prince of Scotland ( son to King Robert the third) married Marjorie daughter to Archbald the Grim. 5. Archbald (the third of that name , and first Duke of Turaine ) had to wife Margaret Stuart daughter to the same King Robert (the third) as the black booke of Scoone expressly witnesseth, which calls him, Gener Regis, the Kings son-in-law. Ballandine (the Translatour of Boetius) calls him the Kings Meugh, or Allie, and king James the second claimeth Stuarton from James the last Earle of Douglas in the conditions of peace sent to him. Now Stuarton is knowne to have been the proper inheritance of Iohn Stuart, and after him of Walter, then of Robert (the first king of the Stuarts) and so of Robert the third, which (in all likelihood) he hath given with his daughter (as her dowrie) to this Archbald. 6. Also Iohn Earle of Buchan (the kings brothers son) married a daughter of this Archbald, whom he hath had apparently by some other wife. 7. Then Alexander, son to the Earle of Buchan, married Isabel Douglas Countesse of Marre, daughter to William the first Earle of Douglas. 8. William the first Earle married Margaret Stuart daughter to Thomas Earle of Angus, who was uncle to king Robert the second, and first king of the Stuarts. 9. George Douglas, son to the same William who was the first Earle of Angus of the name of Douglas, married Mary Stuart, daughter to king Robert the third, and sister to king James the first. 10. James Douglas Lord of Dalkeith married a daughter of king James the second. 11. Archbald brother to William the eighth Earle of Douglas married the inheritrice of Murray, who was Niece to king Robert the second, and so became Earle of Murray. 12. Archbald Earle of Angus, the second of that name, married Margaret Queen of Scotland, relict of king James the fourth, and eldest daughter to king Henry the seventh, sister to king Henry the eighth of England, and mother to king James the fifth of Scotland: by her he had Ladie Margaret Douglas. 13. Ladie Margaret Douglas, his daughter, was married to Matthew Stuart Earle of Lennox, who was also of the bloud Royall. 14. Henry Stuart Lord Darnely (son to Lennox and Lady Margaret) married Mary Queene of Scotland, onely daughter and heire to king James the fifth: She bare to him James the sixth of Scotland, and now happily the first king of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland. And so much for Nobility in bloud and alliance.*

5. The fift and last kinde of Nobilitie is that of fame and renowne. Those

5. Of Fame.

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that take upon them to derive and deduce the Pedegree and Etymologie of words, doe thinke that this signification is most proper, as being chiefly implied in the word Nobilis, quasi Notabilis; so that those are said to be most Noble, who are least obscure, who are most eminent and conspicuous in the eyes of the world, and most praised and blazed by Fame in their own and forraign Countries. This kinde of Nobilitie hath ever accompanied their vertue, as a shadow followes the bodie, and that both at home and abroad. And so we have done with their Nobility, which is the second point we propounded to be treated of.

3. Greatnesse. The third maine head to be considered, is their Greatnesse, concerning which in generall our Chronicles doe witnesse, that those of the name of Douglas, together with their Friends, Vassals, and Dependens, were able to make an Armie of thirty thousand, or fourty thousand men.

This also doth argue their greatnesse, that it was thought an honour and credit to have dependance on them. Histories doe testifie that the Hamiltouns and Flemmings thought it no disparagement to follow them. Humes were their Pensioners and Vassals, even the chiefe houses of them. This is verified by a bond of a thousand nobles (a great summe in those dayes) made by Archbald Earle of Wigtoun, and Long Willie (who was after his fathers death Earle of Douglas) to Alexander Hume of Hume, dated at Bothwell 1423. The same Earle also (for his father was Duke of Turaine) gave the lands of Wedderburne to David Hume brother to the said Alexander (propter multiplicia sua servitia) for his many good services. This Charter of Wedderburne is anterior to the gift of Alexanders pension some eight or nine yeares, being dated in the yeare 1414. The Lawders of Basse, and Loganes of Rastarigge, were their Messengers into France, and other parts. Gray, Salton, Seaton, Oliphant, were their followers also. Neither could any man of ordinary pitch of power, have brought such aid to a forraign Prince, as this same Earle of Wigtoun transported over into France, (five thousand, or as some say ten thousand) which he levied and carried over at his owne proper cost, all brave and choice gentlemen. If for this he were rewarded with the Dutchie of Turaine, it was but the just recompence of his service, and no more then he deserved, and would but countervaike his charges. Wherefore I wonder with what indifferent judgement Du Serres (Author of the French Inventarie) doth grudge at it, and can call it mercenarie. Certainly the kings of France have thought it their due, or else they would not have continued it so long for five or six generations, that is, untill the Earles of Douglas were forfeited. Few subjects of forraigne Princes have beene so much respected, and so rewarded. It is also an evidence of their power and greatnesse, that Henry the sixth of England did contract and covenant with George the second (Earle of Angus) for his aid and assistance against Edward the fourth, and made an Indenture, wherein he promises to give him lands erected into a Dutchie, lying betwixt Humber and Trent. Edward the fourth made James the last Earle of Douglas Knight of the Garter, even when he was banished, so much did he honour and respect his name and vertue. So Henry the second of France made Archbald the second (Earle of Angus) one of the Order of Saint Michael, or the Cockle. Their magnificence and stately entertainment, and courage at home and abroad, doth likewise show their greatnesse. William the fourth of that name, and sixth Earle, being but a very young man, not above fourteen or fifteen yeares of age, had for his ordinary train a thousand horse; he dubbed Knights, had his Counsellours,



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Counsellours and Officers of State, like a Prince : and William the fifth was admired for his train and magnificence, as he passed through Flanders, France, and Italy, in his journey to Rome. Our Writers indeed blame him for it, and call it pride, ambition and ostentation in him : but however that be, It was an evident prooffe of Greatnesse.

The last and main point that we are to treat of is, their valour. Let their <sup>4</sup> deeds and actions speak for this property. But to take a generall view of it : The common Epethite in the mouths of the common people hath appropriate unto them this vertue : who never speak of them, but with the addition of doughty, the doughty Douglas. And from hence indeed chiefly their greatnesse and honours did spring ; and we shall find none of them but were both skilfull commanders, and stout souldiers, being no lesse endowed with personall valour, then discretion and judgement to direct, and conduct. That brave matchlesse Romane (Scipio Africanus) when he was taxed for not hazarding his person, and fighting with his own hand, thought it enough to answer (Imperatorem mater me peperit, non a bellatorem) My mother bare me a Commander, not a fighter : but our Douglas was both maximus Imperator, nec minus strenuus bellator, wise Commander, and hardy fighter and warrior ; they had both good heads, and good hearts and hands. In the beginning ere Rome came to its greatnesse, it is said of the first Captains (Decorum erat tum ipsis ducibus capescere pugnam) That it was no disparagement, but honourable for the Leaders themselves to fight with their own hand ; None were more ready and forward to fight then the Douglas, onely Wallace is thought to have gone beyond any of them. But he is but one, and that singular and extraordinary, without any second, at least of his own name ; and our comparison stands between name and name, where the number is as well to be remembered as the worth. So many so valorous of one surname, is that which we have undertaken to prove. Besides, none of the Douglas did ever encounter with Wallace to try who was the better man, and if we parrallell their actions done apart, what act of Wallace can be produced more admirable, then that of Archibald Tineman at the battell of Shrewsburie, where with his own hand he slew Blunt the King of Englands Standard-bearer, and three more, who were apparelled like Kings, and at last unhorsed the King himself, whom he had also slain, if he had not been rescued by his sonne Henry the fifth. In an English manuscript I have seen it thus expressed,

And there with fiery courage he assails  
Three all as Kings adorn'd in royall wayes,  
And each successive after other quails,  
Still wondering whence so many Kings did rise:  
Till doubling, lest his hands or eye sight fails,  
With these confounded; on the fourth he flies,  
And him unhorses too, whom had he sped,  
He then all Kings in him had vanquished.  
For Henry had divided as it were  
The person of himself into foure parts,  
To be lest known, and yet known every where. &c.

It is written also of William Lord of Niddisdail, that he was exceeding both  
stout

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*stout and strong, beyond any that lived in his dayes, so that whomsoever he strook but once with mace, sword, or speare, he needed never to double his stroke, every blow carried death with it. Also James (slaine at Otterburne) his personall valour and strength is very highly extolled by the writers of these times, who besides that he had the better of Percie in their duell at Newcastle, he himselfe was the chiefe cause of the victorie that got the honour of the day at Otterburn (where he lost himselfe, but won the field) by his own personall valour. They tell how he fought with a huge iron mace, that was heavier then any ordinary man of those dayes could weild, and more then two or three of such as now live. Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus. We might adde unto these Archbald Bell the Cat (Earle of Angus) who in a duell with Spence cut off his thigh (through bone and all) at a blow, and divers others, as Archbald of Kilspindie, whom King James the fifth called alwayes his gray steel, for his valour and ability of body; but these shall suffice here for a taste of their valour.*

*But we will not content our selves with a generall and absolute commendation, we will also descend to the comparative, which we desire may be as farre from envie, as we hope it shall be found neere to truth. To begin then first at home, there is no subjects race in this Countrey that can match them in these of which we have spoken, Antiquity, Nobility, Greatnesse, and Valour or worth: in these (I say) joyntly: that is, there is none so Ancient, and withall so Noble, Great, and Valorous. No name is or ever was in this Countrey of which there can be reckoned so many and so worthy, for so stands our comparison. The Grahames are very Ancient, (in the dayes of Fergus the second, anno 424.) and very Noble, but have never attained to that degree of Greatnesse as the Douglasses have done. The Hayes also are a very old and honourable name in the reigne of Kenneth the third, anno 976. but not so ancient as our Douglasses by two hundred yeares, for they began in the reigne of Solvathius anno 767. These two (Hayes and Douglasses) doe agree in this, that they are (as the Grahames also are) naturall Scots borne; but there is great odds betweene them other wayes: For the Hayes have not reached to that pitch of greatnesse either in degree or estimation, and account of men by many stages, as the Douglasses have attained. Other names which now are great, are nothing so ancient, and besides are come from other Countreies, such as Hammiltouns, Gordons, Campbels: The Campbels from France, and the other two out of England. The Hammiltouns came in King Robert Bruces time, the Gordons in Mackolme Kenmores. The Murrays are more ancient, and before all these, yet they are strangers, and not of the first bloud of the Scots, and there was but one of them great and remarkable, who was Governour of Scotland, few or none Nobilitated till of late: but none of all those names comes neere that number of Nobles and Worthies (by lineall or laterall descent) and as it were of hereditarie vertuous succession and race of men, which we finde of the Douglasses. There have beene some great and worthy of other names, but if they enter into comparison, they will be found (rari nantes in gurgite vasto) but few, one or two eminent of a name, or of the chiefe house: it will also appeare that their honours (most of them) have flowed more from their Princes favour, then their owne great deserving, or great service against the enemy. The Cummins were the most numbrous and powerfull of any that ever were in Scotland before or since (as some of our Writers say) yet their greatnesse hath rather beene in lands and possessions, or friends, then in deeds of  
armes,*



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armes, and prowesse of Chivalrie, having done little or nothing of note, and worthy of renowne. John Cummin indeed fought three battels at Roselinc in one day against the English, in which we finde nothing reported of his personall valour: whereas the Douglasses did ever shew themselves in person to be singularly valorous. Besides, he was but one man, the rest are buried in silence, and there is nothing to be found of them all (though all their actions were put together) that deserves to be compared with the deeds of any one man amongst many of the Douglasses. Moreover, as there was no great action in them, they were scarce good Patriots, using their power to the disadvantage of their Countrey, and the opposing of the Liberties thereof, in King Robert Bruces dayes, rather then for the good and standing of the Kingdome, which the Douglasses did ever. We finde also that they were not very carefull to keepe their promises, and thought the breach of their words and faith (so it were for their advantage) a point of good wisdom and policy, a foule and base quality, and, which is ever incident to meane and base spirits, being directly opposite to true generositie and magnanimity, which is the fountaine and well-spring of upright dealing and truth in word and action, which were ever found in our noble Douglasses.

For other Countreys, to begin with our nearest neighbours of England, the most renowned name for deeds of armes amongst them, is that of the Percies of Northumberland, betweene whom and the Douglasses there hath ever beene a noble and generous emulation with various successe, but for the most part to the Douglasses advantage; so that we may say (Contendisse Decorum) of the Percies. But they come farre short of that number of worthies, that we have in ours. Besides the Percies have not been so loyall Subjects, having often taken armes against their lawfull Princes, and being guilty of divers rebellions, plots, conspiracies, according to which Sir Josseline Percie said merrily of the powder treason, that it had not been a right treason, unlesse a Percie had had a hand in it.

But to go higher, even to the Mistresse and Empresse of the world, Rome it self: the Fabii and Cornelii were the most numerous families, and out of these two houses proceeded more Commanders, and brave Captains, then out of any that I have read, or can remember of amongst them. Now the first mention that we have of them is where they are both named, in the yeare 267. from the building of Rome, twenty years after the banishing of their King Tarquinius; at which time Quintus Fabius, and Servius Cornelius, were Consuls together: from that time till Quintus Fabius Consul in the yeare 740. for the space of 437. years, we finde of the Fabii about some 24. persons that were Consuls, Tribunes, Decemviri, Dictatours, Generalls, and Leaders of Armies; but for their valour or prowesse, personall courage, or proper worth, the three first are onely famous, Q. Fabius, M. Fabius and Cæso Fabius. These three being brothers, and Marcus Fabius being Consul, fought against the Hetrusci (in the year 269.) and Q. Fabius being slaine, Marcus and Cæso having encouraged the armie (that was discouraged by the death of their brother Quintus) leaping over the dead corps of their brother, assaulted the enemy in their owne persons, and by their valour and example staid their men from flying, restored the battle, and at last obtained the victorie: we reade also of one Ambustus Fabius, whose 3. sons were sent in an ambassage to the Gauls to request the not to trouble the Clusinii (in the yeare, 354. 63.) These three when they could not prevail, nor perswade them

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to desist from invading the Clusinii did joyn with the Clusinii against the Gauls, in which conflict Quintus Fabius (one of Ambustus three sons) slew with his own hands in sight of both armies the Captain of the Gauls, and carried away his spoil: But he quickly stained that honour, he and his two brothers, by their misgovernment at the battell of Allia against the same Gauls, where they fled shamefully without striking a stroke, and by their misguiding gave occasion to the sacking of Rome. The last is Fabius the Dictator, who fought against Hanniball, famous for his conduct, but not so for any personall valour. So the Cornelii from the same 267. untill 734. when P. Scipio was Consul, 736. when Lentulus was reckoning both these Cornelians, with the house of Africane the younger (a Cornelian by adoption, but an Emilian borne) they are about three and thirty persons in these 167. years, who were in great place Consuls, Dictators and the like, as the Fabii: some of them were also famous for their conduct in warre, having been brave Leaders, and Generalls of armies (as the two Africanes, their brother Lucius, their father and their uncle Publius, and Cneus) but for personall valour there are not many eminent, Onely Aulus Cornelius Cossus, who slew Tolumnius King of the Veiens, and Africane the first (if it were he) who rescued his father at the battell of are re-marked for their personall valour. Now neither of these two families doth equall the Douglasses; who in fewer years, viz. from the 1309. untill 1588. about 300. yeares, brought forth 27. persons, all singular for their valour, and some of them far beyond any of these, as may be seen. This advantage these Romanes had, that living in the continent of Italy, and in a Common wealth which did so flourish, and was so great, their actions and deeds were more conspicuous, being acted in a more large and ample theatre, then those of our men, who were pent up in a narrow and obscure corner of an Island; and had neither the Carthaginians nor Hanniball to fight against, whose overthrow would have given a greater splendour to their actions. And moreover they have had good Heraulds to sound their prayes aloud; and trumpet them abroad in the world, when as ours Omnes occiderunt illacrimabiles, caruere quia vate sacro. And yet even by this which we have been able to collect of them, our proposition will appear to be sufficiently proved; with which as we began, so will we conclude: So many so good, &c. in the world, were never seen of one name and family.

Touching which assertion, I will earnestly intreat this favour of the courteous Reader, that he would be pleased to consider what hath been said in an even balance and indifferent judgement, setting aside all prejudice and pre-conceived opinion of any worth in any Nation; and if he do not approve of our conclusion, and assent to it, let him calmly and modestly impart his reasons, and he shall finde me one that shall be most willing and ready to retract what hath been said, and to give place to the truth, if I be not able to satisfie him in reason. For my own part, I protest I speake as I think, and no more then I think; according to my reading and knowledge of men, and according to the measure of my judgement and understanding, without prejudice of any, who upon more knowledge and out of better judgement, shall find things to be otherwise then I have thought. In the mean time we will set down here, what we have said of them else where, speaking to King James at his return into Scotland out of England, in the yeare, 1617.

Atque



## Of the *Douglasses* in generall.

*Atque hæc inter tot diademata celsa, corollam  
Annumcrare tuis titulis fas ducis, & unum  
Privatam (verum magnis à regibus ortam,  
Regibus affinem magnis regumq; gerentem,  
Sepe vicem, bellique domiq; & quod satis unum est,  
Gignentem Celsum generoso semine regem,  
Regem, quo tellus majorem non videt, unus  
Qui terna imperii tractas sceptræ alma Britanni)  
Duglasiæ, Angusiæq; domum virtute secundam  
Haud ulli quas prisca aut Roma, aut Græcia jactat  
Seu numero heroum, seu robore mentis & armis,  
Sive fide in patriam; sceptrorum ut millia sceptris  
Accumulesque tuis, numcresque in stemmate reges  
Latus quocunque orbis habet: non ultima laus hæc  
Duglasius etiam duxisse heroibus ortum.*

And thou hast thought it not unfit to set  
Amongst thy many Crowns this Coronet;  
A private family, and yet they be  
Deriv'd from Kings, and often did supp'ly  
The place of absent Kings in warre and peace,  
And what may be esteem'd a greater grace,  
That from their loyns thy Royall self did spring  
Thy self, then whom earth sees no greater King.  
You Britains threefold Scepter justly weeld,  
*Douglas* nor *Angus* will to no house yeeld,  
Not the most fam'd of Greece, or ancient Rome,  
For numbers of brave men, nor are o'recome  
In strength of mind, or armes, or faithfull love  
To their dear Countrey: should your state improve,  
And you enjoy a thousand Scepters more,  
And draw your stock from all the numerous store  
Of Kings the whole world holds, it would not be  
Thy least praise, that a *Douglas* lives in thee.

1

# THE HISTORY OF THE HOUSE and RACE of DOUGLAS and ANGUS.

*Of SHOLTO DOUGLAS the first that bare the  
name of DOUGLAS, and of whom all that  
beare that name are descended.*



Touching the original of this illustrious Family and Name of *Douglas*, we must not looke for an exact and infallible demonstration; things of this nature are not capable of it. Great Antiquity is commonly accompanied with much incertainty, and the originalls even of Cities, Countries and Nations, are grounded (for the most part) upon no surer foundation, then conjecturall proofs, whose beginnings are more easily known, and better remembered then those of private families.

In such cases we use to take that for truth which comes neereſt to it amongst diuerſe narrations; and muſt reſt on that which is moſt probable and apparent. *Quis rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet?* ſayes the Hiſtorian in a matter not unlike. And we will ſay with the ſame Authour, *Cura non deſeſſet, ſi qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret: nunc fame ſtandum eſt, ubi certam derogat vetuſtas fidem.* The beginning of our Nation, yea of both Nations (Scots and Engliſh) ſuch as they now are, or of thoſe that were before (Picts and Brittons) is not yet ſufficiently cleared: neither is it as yet fully known from what people they are ſprung, or how they got their name of Scots, Engliſh, Picts & Brittons; although the learned have beſtowed their pains, and imploied their pens on this ſubject, to the wearying, but not ſatisfying of the Reader. As for Scotland, Mr *Cambden* grants ſo much, and mocks thoſe that have laboured in it: yet hath he himſelf beſtowed his time and pains to as ſmall purpoſe in behalf of his countrey-men the Brittons: Neither hath he done any thing, ſave that by his fruitles attempt (notwithſtanding all his bragging) he hath made it appear, that to go about it is but to labour in vain; he himſelf (after all his travell) remaining no leſſe Sceptick, (and to uſe his own words) Scotizing, then others.

And

*Litt. lib. 7. de  
lacu Curio.*

And even Rome it self (the mistresse of the world) though the noon-tide of her Empire be clear and bright, like the Sunne in her strength, yet how misty is the morning and dawning thereof. Darknesse triumphs over the reigns and triumphs of her first kings ; which are covered over with such uncertain obscuritie, or rather drowned in so profound and deep night of darknesse, that all her children (though they have beaten their brains, and spent much lamp-oyl in searching of it) could never clear their mothers nativity, or vindicate their father *Romulus* birth from the fable of the incestuous vestall, nor his nursing from being beholding to a she Wolf.

*Liuius.*

*Detur hac venia Antiquitati, ut miscendo humana diuinis primordia urbium angustidra faciat.* If he had said, that Writers must have leave to be obscure or uncertain in setting down the originall of Cities, it could not well have been denied him ; but for men to invent, and to thrust their intentions upon others to be beleaved, because they know not what else to say *Detur hac venia nobis*, to beleave no more then is probable. Neither will that serve his turn, *Fam hoc gentes humana patientur equo animo, ut imperium patiuntur.* They may command our bodies, who cannot command our soules, or our belief ; and now we have shaken off the yoke of the one, and so we do reject the other. There is no lesse uncertainty in *Plutarches* Theseus and Numa. Wherefore we must be contented in the originall of a private family with what others are forced to content themselves in the beginnings of Cities, Nations, Kingdomes, and Empires ; which are like to some rivers, whose streams and outlets are known, but their springs cannot be found out, as they report of Nilus. Yet this our Narration doth better deserve credit, then those of *Romulus*, *Numa*, *Theseus*, &c. seeing it contains nothing that is impossible, nothing that is fabulous or incredible : for here are neither gods for their fathers, nor ravening beasts their nurses. And albeit that the Chronicle of our Countrey now extant makes no mention of their beginning, yet what we find there doth rather confirm then confute our deduction thereof. And indeed it is no wonder that they are silent in this point ; If we consider how *Edward* the first of England ( surnamed *Longshanks* ) whom his countrey men terme (*Scotorum malleus*) the hammer of the Scots, because that he deceiving the trust, and abusing the power of Arbitratour which was given him to decide the right to the Crown of Scotland between *Bruce* & *Balioll*, did so handle the matter, that setting the together by the ears, after they had well beaten and battered each other, he himself fell upon them both, and so hammered and bruised them, that he did thereby over-run all the low and plain champion Countrey. If we then consider, I say, how he had to make the Scots malleable and pliable to his unlimited ambition, after he had thus cut off the flowre of the Scottish Nobility, destroyed also all the lawes of the realm, both civil and ecclesiasticall, burnt the publike Registers, together with private Monuments, Evidents, Charters, and Rights of lands, we shall have greater cause to wonder : that any thing escaped so powerfull a King, intending the full conquest of the Countrey ; and who had so jealous an eye over any thing that might encourage his new vassals to rebels, then that we have no more left us. Nay although he had not done this of set purpose, and



and with intention to root out all memorialls of Nobility out of the minds of the Scots, and to embase their spirits, by concealing from them their descent and qualities; yet even the common chance and accidents of war were enough to excuse this defect: for the Lord *Douglas* lands lying in the south parts of Scotland, hard upon the borders of England, this calamity did chiefly afflict him, so that his houses were burnt, his castles razed, himself taken prisoner, and so all monuments of his originall lost or destroyed. Let us remember also, besides all this, the quality and condition of those times, in which there was great scarfity of Writers, and learned men able to preserve the memory of things by their pens, all being set on war, unlesse it were some few cloystred Monks and Friars, who were both carelesse and illiterate droans. Notwithstanding all this, as no destruction is so generall, and so far spread, but something doth escape the fury of it; and though all monuments had been defaced, yet some men being preserved, what was written in their minds and memories remaining unblotted out, they remembred what they had heard from their predeceffours, and delivered it to posterity from age to age. By which means we have (as it were) some boords or planks preserved out of this shipwrack, which may perhaps keep us from being lost in this deepth of Antiquity, if it do not bring us safe to land.

According then to the constant and generall tradition of men, thus was their originall. During the reigne of *Solvathius* King of Scotland, one *Donald Bane* (that is, *Donald* the white, or fair) having possesst himself of all the western Ilands (called Ebudes, or Hebrides) and intitling himself King thereof, aspired to set the crown of Scotland also upon his head. For effectuating whereof, he gathered a great army; wherein he confided so much, that he set foot on the nearest continent of Scotland, to wit, the province of Kintyre and Lorne. The Kings Lievetenants *Duchal* and *Culen*, governours of Athole and Argyle make head against him with such forces as they could assemble on the sudden. *Donald* trusting to the number of his men did bid them battell, and so prevailed at first, that he made the Kings army to give ground, and had now almost gained the day, and withall the Kingdome, that lay at stake both in his own conceit, and the estimation of his enemies. In the mean time a certain Noble man, disdaining to see so bad a cause have so good successe, out of his love to his Prince, and desire of honour, accompanied with his sons and followers, made an onset upon these prevailing rebels with such courage and resolution, that he brought them to a stand; and then heartning the discouraged fliers both by word and example, he turnes the chace, and in stead of victory they got a defeat; for *Donalds* men being overthrown and fled, he himself was slain. This fact was so much the more noted, as the danger had been great, and the victory unexpected. Therefore the King being desirous to know of his Lievetenants the particulars of the fight, and inquiring for the Author of so valiant an act, the Nobleman being there in person, answer was made unto the King in the Irish tongue (which was then onely in use) *Sholto Du glasse*, that is to say, Behold yonder black, gray man, pointing at him with the finger, and designing him by his colour and complexion, without more ceremony or addition



## Of Hugh Douglas

addition of titles of honour. The King considering his service and merits in preserving his Crowne, and delighted with that homely designation, rewarded him royally with many great Lands, and imposed upon himselfe the name of *Douglas*, which hath continued with his posterity untill this day. And from him the Shire and County vvhich he got, is called stil *Douglasdale*, the River that vvatereth it, *Douglas River*, the Castle which he built therein, *Douglasse castle*. This narration, besides that it is generally received, and continued as a truth delivered from hand to hand, is also confirmed by a certain manuscript of great antiquity, extant in our dayes in the hands of one *Alexander Mackduffe* of Tillyfaul, who dwelt at Moore alehouse near Strabogueie. There (at his dwelling house) *William Earle of Angus* (who died at Paris 1616) being confined to the North (in the year 1595) did see and peruse it. Neither doth this relation crosse or disagree with any thing set down in our Histories: for although they do not mention this man, nor his fact, yet they all speak of this usurper, and of his attempt and overthrow in the dayes of *Solvathius* (about the year 767.) *Hollinshed* and *Boetius* affirm, that this *Donald* was Captain or Governour of the Isle of Tyre. Some do call him *Bane mack Donalde*, but *Buchanan* calleth him expressly *Donaldus Banus*, an easie error in so great affinity of name. There is another of the same name called likewise *Donalde Bane*, who did also usurp the title of the Kingdome, and was in like manner defeated in the reigne of King *Edgar* (in the year 1000) but that being 333. years after this, and not much lesse after the Emperour *Charles Le maigne*, in whose time they had now propagated and spread themselves in Italy (as shall be shewed anone) It cannot agree either with this History of our *Sholto*, or with that *Donald* whom he defeated; this last seeming to be rightlier named *Mack Donald*, as descended, and come of the former, who was *Donalde*: wherefore there is nothing here either fabulous, or monstrous; nothing incredible or contrary to it self or to reason; but all things very harmoniously answering one unto another; our tradition with the manuscript, and both of these agreeing with our owne and forreign Histories. And thus concerning *Sholto Douglas* the root, and originall of the name and family.

*Of Hugh Douglas, sonne to Sholto: And first  
of the name of Hugh.*

**T**O *Sholto* succeeded his son *Hugh*, of whom we have nothing to write, but that he assisted his father at the overthrow of *Donald Bane* the usurper, there being nothing else recorded of him.

*Of his son Hugh the second.*

**U**Nto the former *Hugh* did succeed his eldest son named also *Hugh*: for he had two sons, *Hugh* and *William*. *Hugh* the elder lived at home in his native countrey as a Noble man, borne to a great inheritance,

heritance, whose actions by the iniquitie of time are buried in silence, and therefore we will insist no longer thereon. His younger brother *William* (as is the custome of younger brothers) went abroad into forraine Countreys to seek adventures of armes, if so he might make himselfe a fortune that way. Of him therefore we will speake next.

*Of William Douglas father of the honourable familie of  
the SCOTI in Italy.*

**T**His *William* was son to the first *Hugh*, and grandchilde to *Sholto*, younger brother to the second *Hugh*: he it is that was father to the noble familie of the Scoti in Placenza in Italy, which fell out thus, as it is related by the Italian Historians, agreeing with ours.

*Achaius* king of Scotland having succeeded to *Solvathius*, did enter into league with *Charlemaigne*, which league hath continued betwixt the Scots and French without breach on either side ever since untill these our dayes; whereupon when the Emperour *Charles* went into Italy to repress the insolencies of *Desiderius* King of the Lombards committed against the Sea of Rome, *Achaius* as his confederate did send him foure thousand choice men under the conduct of his brother *William*, a pious and valarous young Prince.

Amongst other of his Captains that went with him, this *William Douglas* was one of the chief, and had the leading of the men of armes. The Emperour having restored Pope *Leo* the third to the dignity of his Seat, as he returned through Tuscanie, amongst other his notable acts, he restored also the Commonwealth of Florence to their former libertie; in which exploit the valour and actions of the Scottish Prince *William* were much remarked: the Florentines to shew their thankfulnesse to the Emperour took to their Armes the Red Lillie, a part of the French Armes, the colour only being changed: And in memorie of the valour of Prince *William* they did institute publike playes yearely, in which they crowned a Lion with great ceremonie and pomp, ordaining also that certain Lions should be kept upon the charges of the common Thesaurarie, because *William* had a Lion for his Armes, which is also the Armes of the Kings of Scotland. They have also a prophesie in Florence, which saith,

*While crowned Lions live in Florence field,  
To forraine Armes their State shall never yeeld,*

*Boet. lib. 10.  
pag. 195.  
Holl. p. 164.  
Scot. (bro.  
Anno 787.*

This Prince *William*, brother to *Achaius* King of Scotland, passed into Germanie, and gave himselfe wholly to the warres, where for his service by his sword, having obtained large Territories, he led a single life all his dayes, and thinking to make Christ his heire, he founded and doted fifteen Abbacies for those of the Scottish Nation. It is he (saith *Major*) who is named in songs made of him, *Scottish Gilmore*. Now while as the Emperour and Prince *William* were in their returne from Italy towards France, *William Douglas* in his voyage through Plaisance did fall into a heavie dis-

C

ease,

ease, and not being able to go along with the Emperour, stayed at Plaisance till he recovered his health. And then considering the toile and danger of so long a journey, as it would be into his own Countrey, he resolved rather to remain there, then to hazzard his person any more, which such travell would have greatly endangered: wherefore to gain the good will of the Citizens of Plaisance, and to strengthen himselfe (being a stranger) by a good alliance, he took to wife a daughter of *Antonio Spettino*, one of the most eminent and honourable houses in that Citie: by her he had many children, of whom are descended those of the most noble Familie of the *Scoti*, who are so called by reason of this *William*, their Ancestour, who was a Scottishman, the name of his Country being better knowne, and more remarkable, then either his own proper name, or the name of his Familie. This originall of the *Scoti* in Plaisance is collected and confirmed, 1. by the testimonie of the Italian Writers; 2. by the tree and genealogie of that familie; 3. and by their Coat of Arms which they give, being the same with the ancient Coat of the Douglasses, with some difference.

1 Touching our Authors, they are such as have written the Historie of Plaisance, which is followed forth by *Umbertus Locatus*, and *Franciscus Sansovinus*. This last (*Sansovinus*) in the first book of his Historie, *De primo origine delle case illustri d' Italia*, writeth thus: *Quando Carolo Magno fece l' Impresa in Italia contra Desiderio Re de Longobardi (l' anno 779) hebbe per suo Conduttiere di huomini di armi un Gulielmo Scozzese della Familia di Conti di Duglasi, &c.* as we have set down before. Onely he calls it the 779 year, which our Writers call 800, or 801. There he shewes how this House was illustrious from the very first beginning thereof: And for their rank they held in that Citie, he declares that it was one of the foure Families which did distribute the Offices of the City, which were these; *Scotta, Landra, Anguiscola, Fontona*. And they grew at last so numerous, and so famous both for Letters and Armes, that having purchased many Rents, and great Lands and Territories, together with many Friends and Alliance, they acquired the Sovereignty of that Citie, and became absolute Lords and Princes thereof. So that from them when they were Princes of Plaisance did spring the Counts or Earles of 1 *Vegetino*, 2 *Agazano*, 3 and *Sarmetti*. They have beene allied with the chiefe Families in those Provinces; the 1 *Rangoni*, 2 *Fieschi*, 3 *Reffi*, 4 *Pallaricini*, 5 *Lodroni*, 6 *Strozzi*, 7 *Conti d' Arco*: and the like. Then he reckons divers particular persons, and namely (which doth serve to confirme this deduction) *Donatus Scotio* Bishop of Bobio, (who lived in the yeare 846, or 48. who built a Monasterie without the walls of Plaisance, which he dedicated to the memory and honour of Saint *Bride* (Patronesse of Douglas) in remembrance that hee was a *Douglas*, as is probable. He built also a Church within the walls, which he gave to the Friars of the Monasterie of Bobio, who were of Saint *Colme* (or *Columbanus*) Order, who was Abbot of *I-colmekill* an Island amongst the Scottish Hebrides. And this he did (saith *Sansovino*) *Non solamente per l' amor de Dio, ma anchora perche San Columba no fu di Hibernia Isola de Scotia*: Not onely for the love of God, but because Saint *Colme* (or *Columbanus*) was of Ireland, an Island of Scotland,

so



So he thought being a forreigner, being the Scots and Irish are mutually descended each of other. Then comming to speak of their worth and valour, he reckons up above six and twenty persons who were ever valorous in whatsoever fortune, good or bad, and had been in great employments continually for the space of two hundred eighty five yeares together, under the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, *Charles* the fourth, and *Sigismond*: Also under *John* King of Bohemia, and Duke *John Maria*, in divers places, at Pavie, Candie, in Cyprus, in Albania, Famagusta, at the Isle of Thin against the Turks: in all which services they behaved themselves valorously, and discharged their places with credit and honour. There were some also famous for learning, as *Christophero* Doctor of the Lawes, and Bishop of Cavaillon (in Provence of France) and *Fiderico* an excellent Jurisconsult, and who hath written learnedly. At last he relates how they were overthrown by the Duke of Millain, who besieged *Alberto Vecchio*, the elder, and forced him to render upon composition, by which he gave divers Castles, Lands, and Territories, and divers Jurisdctions, with a competent estate and means. And here he reckons up above ten or twelve Castles which they still possesse, all famous and honourable, with the greatest privileges that can be.

2. As for the Tree and Genealogie of these Scoti, in it we have first this our 1 *William Douglas*, 2 then *David*, 3 *Lanfrancus*, who had foure sonnes, 1 *Johannes*, 2 *Raynaldus*, 3 *Ruffinus*, 4 *Rollandus*. *Johannes* had *Albertus*, who begat foure sons; 1 *Petrus*, of whom we finde no succession; 2 *Nicholaus*, of whom are descended the houses of Fombii, Guardamillii, and Cassaligii; 3 *Franciscus*, or *Francus*, of whom are the Countes of Volgolino, Angazano, and Sarmetto, and those of Gragnani; 4 *Jacobus*, father of the Familie of the *Castri sti Johannis*. *Lanfrancus* second son *Raynaldus* was Progenitor to the Gravahi and Varfii. 3 *Ruffinus* his third son was Author of the Momaghi, Magnani, & domorum del Boscho. 4 Of *Rollandus* his fourth son are descended the Passano, and Aygveria. These, with their off-spring, have multiplied and spread themselves into divers parts of Italie. Also they are found in the Marquisate of Salluce, in France, in Guienne, and about Bourdeaux, where they are knowne by the names of *Houglas*, having corrupted the originall name, as strangers are wont to doe. There are also of these Scoti in the towne of Antwerp in Brabant, amongst which *Petrus* and *Cornelius Scoti*, inhabitants and merchants there of the best sort, who being lately challenged and interrupted by the Magistrates thereof, for presuming to set up the *Douglas* Armes upon the tombs of their fathers, did send over into Scotland, in the yeare 1619. a messenger of purpose (*Alexander Seaton* by name) with their severall letters signed with the names of *Scoti*, alias *Douglasi*, directed unto the Right Honourable *William Earle* of Angus, Lord *Douglas*, &c. acknowledging their descent from his House, and intreating his Honours testimoniall thereupon. Upon which request, the said Earle having examined the matter by his Evidents, and other Records, found their claime to be just and right, was moved to send them by the same messenger an authentick Patent of their Pedegree under the broad Seale of Scotland, as likewise under the hands and severall seales of *William Earle* of Angus, *William Earle*

Earl of Morton, dated the 16. day of March 1621. In which patent the said *Petrus* and *Cornelius* extraction from this *William* father of the *Scoti*, and grandchild to *Shoko*, is deduced particularly, as may be seen in the publike Register of Scotland. 3. As for the ancient armes of the house of *Douglas*, they were three mullets (or starres) onely in a field azure, untill good Sir *JAMES* did adde the crowned Hart, because King *Robert Bruce* did concredit to him the carrying of his heart, and burying of it at *Jerusalem*. The Italian *Douglasses* (or *Scoti*) having come off before him, kept the field coat unaltered, as may be seen in their Tombes and other Monuments: for in *Plaifance*, in *Saint Lawrence Church*, where there are above twelve severall Monuments and Tombes of that Family (it being their buriall place) whereof some are of marble, surrounded with iron grates, there is an ancient Monument of a noble Lady near unto the high altar, bearing these three mullets, with this inscription, *Margareta Scota Contessa de Burla*: but now the Italian *Douglasses*, or *Scoti*, give but two mullets, and between two they have drawn a beam argent, which begins at the right hand, and ends at the left. The reason of this difference is given in this letter sent by the *Conte de Agaxano* to this present Earle of Angus, which we wil set down in his own words and language, as he sent it written, and signed with his owne hand, and sealed with his seal.

Ill<sup>mo</sup> Sigr mio Ess<sup>mo</sup>,

**Q**uando io hebbi l' honore de vedere in Orleans vuesta illustrissima signoria gli promessi fargli havere l' Arbore de la famiglia *Scota de Piacenza* discesa d' illustrissima casa di *Douglas*. Ma perche non ho fin hora havuto comodita sicura di mandarlo, non ho pagato primo questo debito. Hora dunque con l' occasione di un gentil. huomo, mio amico, qui passa in Inghilterra non ho voluto tardare piu a mandarle come faccio detto arbore o Genca loigin; pregando vs ill<sup>ma</sup> honorarmi, come mi promise dell' arbore de la casa. *Douglas* in *Scotia*, almeno quella parte che la rigidexxa di tempi passati di guerri in quel regno havera permesso di poter conservare la memoria, et io gli ne restero obligatissimo.

L' arma antiqua di *Scoti* in *Piaienza* era conforme a L' antiche de *Douglasso*, come se vedo in ditta citta ne la chiesa de *santo Lawrenzo*. Ma al tempo che *Ghelfi*, & *Ghibellini* guerreggiavano in Italia: Li *Scoti*, come partiali di *Francesi* furon elletti capi di *Gelphi* in *Piabenza*. Et perche tutte le cose d' numero non paro si intendevano *Ghibellini*, furono dunque necessitati di rendere il numero delle tre stelle o vero a quattro o vero a due. Ma giudacando che accrescerne non conveniva: Si risolvertero Levarne una, a la piazza della quale per memoria missero. La sbarra bianca che cominciando de le parte destra va a finire a la sinistra, che si la sbarra cominciasse a la sinistra, & finisse a la destra, saria *Ghibellini*. Il campo che solea essere rixò fu d' *Arrigo*. 4. Imperatore dato insieme col *Cimere* d' un *Pellicano*, il *Cimere* a quei *Scoti* soli che le Portano di presente, & il campo a tutta la familia generalmente. Ho giudicato bene fare questa poca digressione, accio vs Ill<sup>ma</sup> hebbi qualche notitia perche fu seguita la mutatione. Mi sara caro ch' ella si compiaccia scrivermi la ricevuta di detta Arbore, all arma del quale manca la corona sopra, che ci deve essere in loco del cimere. Et volendo mi honorare di sue lettere, in viandore all

Illu-



*Illustrissimo & Ess<sup>mo</sup> S<sup>c</sup> Duca di Nevers mio capitano sicuro, & io ne tengo obligo particolare a vs ill<sup>ma</sup>; a la quale per fine, insieme con Li Signori suoi fratelli, & figlioli bacio le mani, conpiegarle da N. S. ogni prosperita.*

Di Paris le 8. Maggio. 1622.

Di vs ill<sup>ma</sup> Devotissimo Ser-  
vit<sup>re</sup> & parente Il Conte  
Marc Antonio Scoto  
d' Agazano

*My honourable Lord, William Douglas.*

**W**Hen I had the honour to see you at Orleans, I promised to send you the Tree of the Family of the Scoti of Plaisance; which is descended of the illustrious house of *Douglas*: But because I have not hitherto had a convenient opportunity of sending it safely, I have not yet paid this debt: Now therefore having found the occasion of this Gentleman my friend, who was to go into England I would delay no longer to send, the Tree or Genealogie: which I have done, beseeching your Lordship as you promised me to honour me with the Tree of the house of *Douglas* in Scotland; at least, so much of it as the iniquitie of times past, and the wars in that kingdome have suffered to remain undefaced, and undestroyed; and I shall rest your Lordships obliged for this favour.

The old armes of the Scoti in Plaisance, were conformed to the old armes of the *Douglas*, as may be seen in the foresaid Citie, in the Church of Saint *Lawrance*. But when the Ghelfs, and Ghibellins did warre one against another in Italy, the Scoti as partners of the French, were chosen to be heads of the Ghelfs in Plaisance. And because all things of an odde or unequall number were taken for Ghibelline, they were constrained to change the number of three starres, into either foure or two. But esteeming that it was not fit to increase the number, they resolved to take one from them: in the place of which (in memory of it) they put a white or argent bar, which beginning at the right hand is drawn along, and ends at the left: for if it had begun at the left, and ended at the right hand, it had been Ghibelline. The field which was given by the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, together with a Pelican for the crest, which is the Crest of the Scoti onely, who carry it at this houre, and the field of the whole Family generally.

I have thought good to make this short digression, that your Lordship might have some knowledge wherfore this change was made in our coat:  
your

## Of William Douglas

your Lordship should do me a singular favour if you would be pleased to write unto me of the receipt of this Tree, in the armes of which the Coronet is wanting, because the Crest is the place where it should be, and to honour me with your letters, which you may send to my noble Captain the Duke of Nivers, and so they shall come safe to me, for which favour I shall be particularly obliged to your Lordship. So kissing your Lordships hands, together with these of your brethren and children, I pray the Lord to blesse you with all happinesse and prosperity.

Paris 8. May 1622.

Your Lordships humble servant  
and Cousen,

Mark Antonio Scoto Counte  
d' Agazano.

This Tree was received by the Earle of Angus, who did also send to him the Tree of the house of Douglas.

Now besides all this which we have said, the Evidents and Monuments, Charters and Writs of priviledge of their house, do witnesse the same: for in the priviledges granted to them by the Emperour Henry the fourth, and Sigismond, as also by Giovanni Maria Duke of Millain, the surname of Douglas is expressly inserted with the titles of Earles given to three severall persons of that house, first Francisco, created Conte de vigolino; Giovanni (his brother) Conte d' Agazano, by the said Duke, and to Alberto expressly intituled, Conte de Douglas & Vigolino, by Sigismond the Emperour.

Now after all this, I hope we may justly say with John Leslie Bishop of Rosse, *Unde certissima conjectura assequimur illam per antiquam familiam quibus (Scoti cognomen) confirmabit jam usus loquendi, Placentia florentem ex nobilissima nostrorum Douglassiorum comitum prosapia oriundam fuisse*: that the Scots in Plaisance are come of the Douglasses in Scotland. And thus much for William the second, sonne to Hugh the first, and grandchilde to Sholto.

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Of William the first Lord, created Lord of Douglas at the  
Parliament of Forfaire.

**N**OW to return home again to the Scottish Douglasses, we finde that King Malcolme Kenmure in a Parliament held at Forfair in Angus, in the year 1057. as the manuscript, Major and Buchanan have it, but according to Bottius, 1061. did create many Earles, Barons (or Lords) and Knights, amongst whom there is Gulielmus a Douglas,



glas, who was made a Barron: the words are these: *Malcolmus Scotorum Rex 86<sup>us</sup> Scona coronatus anno 1061. Inde Forfarum generale indixit Concilium, volens ut Primones quod antea non fuerat, aliarum more gentium à pradis suis cognomina caperent: quosdam vero etiam comites (vulgo Earles) quosdam Barones (vulg Lords) alios Milites, aut Equites Auratos (vulgo martiall Knights) creavit Makduffum Fife Thanum, Fife Comitum, Patritium Dumbarrum, Marchiarum comitem: alios quoque viros præstantes, Montethie, Atholie, Marrie, Cathanesie, Rossie, Angusie, dixit comites. Johannem Soules, Davidem Dardier ab Abernethie, Simonem a Tweddell, Gulielmum a Douglas, Gillespium Cameron, Davidem Briecken, Hugonem a Caldella, Barones, cum diversis aliis, Equites Auratos, per plures pauci vero Thani relictis.*—In English thus, *Malcolme the 86<sup>th</sup> King of Scots*, being crowned at Scone in the year 1061, convened a Parliament at Forfaire, where, according to the custome of other Nations, he ordained that Noblemen should have their titles to be distinguished by their possessions, and lands, which had not been the custome of this Countrey in former times. And so he created some Countes or Earles, others Barons or Lords, and others Cavalliers or Martiall Knights: he made *Mackdusse* Earle of Fife, who had been Thane of Fife; *Patrick Dumbarre*, Earle of Marche: he made also others of the Nobility Earles of Monteeth, Athole, Marre, Murray Cathnes, Rosse, Anguse. *John Souls*, *David Dardier* of Abernethie, *Simon* of Tweddale, *William* of Douglas, *Gilespie Cameron*, *David Briecken*, *Hugh* of Calder, were made Barons or Lords: others more he knighted likewise a great many, so that few Thanes were left. This note of these very words were extracted out of the Register and Monuments of Icolmekill, and sent to *George Buchanan*, when he was in writing his history of Scotland; whereof *John Read*, (*Buchanans* servitour, and amanuensis) having reserved a copy, did communicate it to diverse afterward. Now here this *William* being ranked amongst the Nobility, who were chosen out to receive these new honours, could be no mean man: but in all likelihood, the chief and principall of that name; and so the eldest descended of *Sholto*, and his sonne *Hugh* the first, and his grandchilde *Hugh* the second, by lineall succession. This is all we have of him, save that it is a received generall report and tradition, that his two sons, *John* and *William*, were Knights at the same Parliament, which is an argument that he hath been a man of good esteem, and eminent place.

of John, the second Lord of Douglas.

**W**illiam did leave behind him two sonnes, *John* and *William*, both Knights: The eldest was Sir *John* of *Douglasburn*, which is a parcell of ground and mannour lying betwixt *Ertrick* forrest, and *Peebles*. The other was *William* of *Glendinning*, which is about the upmost parts of *West-Teviotdale* neere to *Ewesdale*. Now whether this *John* did succeed to his father in the Lordship, as being his eldest son and heire, who was designed (during his fathers life time onely) by the title of *Douglasburn*, or whether he had an elder brother, and so both he and Sir *Wil-*

*William* were but cadets of the house of *Douglas*, we cannot affirm : But thus much they say, that these two brothers were men of great power and authority, and very worthy and valiant gentlemen. They affirm also that Sir *William* of Glendinning had two sonnes, *Alexander* and *William*, of whom are descended those of Cresswall, Strabrock, Pompherston, Pittendrigh, and Calder-Cleer.

*of William the second of that name, and third Lord of Douglas.*

**W**E have but little mention of this man, onely in a Charter granted to the town of Aire by King *David*, first sonne to King *Malcolme Kenmore*, he is inserted a witnesse without any other title or designation : Then *Gulielmus de Douglas, William* of *Douglas*. This Charter was given the 25. or 27. yeare of his Reigne, the yeare of God 1151. two yeares before his death, which was 1153.

*of Archbald the fourth Lord of Douglas, and first of that name.*

**T**HERE is as little mention made of this *Archbald*, as of the former *William* : we find him onely inserted witnesse in a second Charter granted to the town of Aire, by *Alexander* the second sonne to King *William*, in the 22. of his reigne, and of our redemption, 1236.

*Of the third William, and fifth Lord of Douglas, maker of the Indenture with the Lord Abernethie.*

**T**HIS *VWilliam* is found in an Indenture made betwixt him, and the Lord Abernethie, which the Earles of Angus have yet extant, amongst their other evidents and rights of their lands. The date of this Indenture is on Palmesunday, in the yeare 1259.. in the reigne of *Alexander* the third : the place, the Castle of Edinburgh : It is a contract of marriage, in which the father called there *VWilliam* Lord *Douglas*, doth contract his sonne *Hugh Douglas* to *Marjory Abernethie*, sister to *Hugh Lord Abernethie*. The summe and contents thereof, are that the marriage shall be solemnized on Pasche day, that all things may be perfected before Ascension day. The conditions are these, for the Lord *Abernethies* part, that he shall give with his sister to *Hugh Douglas*, *viginti carictas terra* (perhaps it should be *Carrucatas terra*) twenty plough gate of land in the towne of Glencors. And for the Lord *Douglas* part, that he shall give to his son *Hugh Douglas* and *Marjory* his wife 20. *Carrucatas in feudo de Douglas*, twenty plough gate of land in the few of *Douglas*. The witnesses are *Alexander Cumine*, Earle of Buchan, *Raynold Cumin*, *John* of Dundie-Moore, and one *Douglas*, whose Christian name was worn away, and



## The 3. VVilliam, and 5. Lord Douglas. 13

and could not be read. This should seem to be that Indenture which Sir *Richard Metellane* of *Lithington*, father to *John* Lord of *Thirlestane*, sometime Chancellour of Scotland, of worthy memory, doth mention in his manuscript, where he hath carefully collected some memories of the house of *Douglas*. He sayes that Sir *John Ballandine* of *Achnoute* Knight, did show to *John Lesly* Bishop of *Rosse*, one Indenture that makes mention of *Douglasse* 80. yeares before that Lord *William* (the *Hardie*) who was contemporary with *William Wallace*, and this Indenture is very neare so long before his time. But he saith that the Lord *Abernethie*, who doth there indenture with the Lord *Douglas*, was father to *Marjory*, and our Indenture makes him brother to her. It may be there have been two Indentures; one before this made by her father, which not being accomplished during his life, hath been renewed by his sonne or brother, or that they have mistaken it, for there is no other save this onely (which doth clearly call him her brother) amongst their writs and evidents. Upon this there was drawn up a Charter without date of either time or place; onely it appears by the tenour thereof, that it was made after the Indenture. The giver is the same Lord *William* to *Hugh* his son and heire: the lands disposed to him are, *Glaspen*, *Hartwood*, *Kennox* and *Carmackhope*, and *Leholme*; together with the lands sayes he, (*quæ sunt in calumnia inter me & heredes Johannis Crawford*) that are in suit of law betwixt me and the heirs of *John Crawford*, without any detriment. Then the cause of his giving is set down, that they may be a dowry to *Marjorie Abernethie* his sonnes wife, and sister to *Hugh* Lord *Abernethie*. Ever after this he intitles his sonne, *Dominus Hugo de Douglas*, Sir *Hugh* of *Douglas*. It hath an expresse caveat, that if after the marriage be solemnized, the said Sir *Hugh* of *Douglasdale* shall happen to die, or if he shall (*aliquo malo suo genio*) through some devillish or wicked disposition abstain from copulation with her, she shall brook and enjoy these lands, although the said Lord *VVilliam* should be alive: And if the said *Marjory* shall outlive the said Lord *VVilliam*, thought her husband *Hugh* should die before him, yet he shall have the third part of his lands in *Douglasdale*, excepting the third of so much as the said Lord *VVilliam* shall leave to his wife. There is in it another very strange point, and as it were a provision in case of divorcement, or not consummating the marriage: viz. that if the said Sir *Hugh*, or Lord *Hugh* (*Dominus Hugo*) be then (after his fathers death) living lord and heir, or have an heir by any other wife, the said *Marjory* shall possesse the lands notwithstanding, all the dayes of the said *Hugh*s life. Now he could not have an heir by another wife, unlesse he were first divorced from her. There is also one clause more touching her security, That if the Lord *Abernethie*, or his counsell shall desire any other security reasonable by Charter or hand-write, that they shall cause make the conveyance as they think good, and Lord *VVilliam* shall signe it, and set his seal to it. The seal at this is longer then broad, fashioned like a heart, the letters thereon are worn away, and not discernable save onely (*Will*) and the armes seeme to be three Starres or Mulletts at the upper end thereof: but I cannot be bold to say absolutely they were so. This I have set down the more particularly

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and punctually, that by these circumstances the truth may be more clear and free from all suspicion of forgery and invention. I have done it also, that though every one be not curious or taken with these things, such as are (of which number I preesse my self to be one) may find something to please their harmelesse desire of the not unpleasant, and some way profitable knowledge of Antiquity.

By this Indenture it is cleare that this *William* is not the same with *William Hardie*, who died in prison, and was father to good Sir *James*, because his name was *William*, and had a sonne *Hugh*, as the other also had: for if we do but suppose that *Hugh* contracted to *Marjory Abernethie* were 25. yeares of age at the making of the Indenture (1259.) and that his father Lord *William* were twenty five yeares elder then his son *Hugh*, fiftie in all: then must he have been when he married the young English Lady (by whom he had divers children) and when he assisted *William Wallace*, when he surpris'd the Castles of Sanquhaire and Dinfelrig, and performed other warlike exploits, being still in action till the 1300. about 90. or 100. yeares of age, which carries no likelihood with it that one so old, should be so able of his body. Besides this Lord *William* the Authour of this Indenture had for his eldest sonne and heire this *Hugh* contracted to *Marjory Abernethie*, but the eldest sonne and heire to that Lord *William* wanted good Sir *James*, who died in Spain: for all our Histories do tell how that the Bishop of Saint Andrews did sute King *Edward* for good Sir *James* to restore him to his fathers lands and inheritance, but King *Edward* refused to do it: and in a Charter given by King *Robert Bruce* in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne, *Bervici super Tuedam*, at Berwick upon Tweed, of the Lordship of Douglas, these expresse words are contained, *Jacobo Domino de Douglas, Filio & Heredi Gulielmi de Douglas*. This good Sir *James* dying without heire male lawfully gotten of his own body, his brother *Hugh* succeeded to him in the yeare 1342. in which year the same *Hugh* doth give a Charter of the said lands and Lordship, to wit, Douglasdale, together with the lands of Carmichael, Selkirk, &c. To his Nephew *William* son to *Archbald* his brother, which *William* did succeed to *Hugh*, he having no heires male, he was afterward Earle of Douglas. Now it is against all reason to think that he that was contracted to *Marjory Abernethie* (1259.) should be the same with this *Hugh* who gives this Charter (1342.) seeing he must be now 106. or 107. yeares of age, which is not probable.

This *William* had to wife *Martha* sister of *Alexander* Earle of Carrick, who bare to him two sonnes, *Hugh* his eldest, and *William* the *Hardie*: by their alliance with the house of Carrick, besides that he was not a little strengthned, they being great men and powerfull, it fell out that his posterity became of kindred to King *Robert Bruce*: for *Fergus* Lord of Galloway had two sonnes; the elder *Gilbert*, and *Ethred* the younger. At his death he ordained that the Lordship of Galloway should be divided betwixt them, which was done accordingly; and the division was ratified and confirmed by King *William*, who did then reigne: but the King being afterward taken prisoner at Anwick by the English, *Gilbert* nothing contented with the division, having got *Ethred* his brother into his hands,



hands, caused put out his eyes, and possessed himself of the whole Lordship, and kept it till he died, which was before the Kings return out of England, before which *Ethred* also was dead. These two brothers left each of them a sonne behind him; *Gilbert* left *Alexander*, and *Ethred* *Rowland*. This *Rowland* finding his faction the stronger, thrust out his cousin *Alexander*, and seized upon the whole estate himself alone, and at the Kings return took a new gift thereof of the King, who gave also to *Alexander*, *Gilberts* sonne, in recompense and lieu thereof, the Earledome of Carrick: This *Alexander* had but one sister named *Martha*, who was married to this Lord *William Douglas*, he went into Syria with *Edward* Prince of Wales, who was brother in law to King *Alexander*, the third, sent by the King and State at the Popes request, to fight against the Sarafins. There went with him the Earle of Athole, and many brave Knights and Gentlemen: in which expedition he died; leaving onely one daughter his heire, *Martha* Countesse of Carrick. She was married to *Robert Bruce*, sonne to *Robert Bruce* (who is known by the name of *Robert* the Noble) and to *Isabel* second daughter to *David* Earle of Huntington. To this *Robert*, the Countesse of Carrick bare *Robert Bruce*, who was afterwards King of Scotland. So then we see how *Martha* Countesse of Carrick, and *William* the Hardie were Cousin Germans; and her sonne King *Robert Bruce*, and good Sir *James* Cousins once removed: so that not onely the thrall'd liberties of Scotland, and his private losses, did oblige Sir *James* to fide with King *Robert*, and to stick so constantly to him, but this tie of bloud and consanguinity also, being so near a kinsman. We are also to observe here, that *Martha* Countesse of Carrick, was also the nearest, just and rightfull heire to the Lordship of Galloway, being descended of the elder brother *Gilbert*, and therefore to be preferred before *Allane*, who was descended of the younger brother *Ethred* by *Rowland* his father: and after her and her heires, her fathers sister married to this Lord *William* was next heire to both the Earledome of Carrick, and Lordship of Galloway. Whether this title did move the *Douglasses* to seek the Lordship of Galloway, as they did afterward, and helped them to obtain it the more easily of the King, or of others descended of *Allane*, and of his heires, I leave it to be considered. How ever that be, we may see by the matching with this honourable house of Carrick, Galloway and Abernethy, the chief Peers in this Realme as then, that the house of *Douglas* was of no small esteem and account long before good Sir *James*, and that they mistake things farre, and are but ill versed in Antiquity that thinke he was the first that did raise that name to Nobility or greatnesse, this *Williams* marriage having preceded his time 80. yeares at least.

of Sir Hugh (the third of that name) and sixth Lord of Douglas.

**W**illiam had to his eldest sonne and lawfull successour, Sir Hugh Douglas, who as we have said was married to *Marjorie Abernethie*, daughter to *Alexander*, and sister to Hugh Lord of Abernethie.

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nethie. This house of Abernethie were friends and followers of the *Cummins*, and did assist and party them in all their enterprises, as we may see by their joyning with them at Kinross when they took King *Alexander* the third. Their credit and favour with their Princes appears by this; That Lord *William Abernethie* got of King *William* the Abacie of *Aberbrothock*, or (as it may be thought rather, for the writing was dimme and hard to discern) the Collegiate Church lands of *Abernethie*, paying thence yearly twenty pound. This *Hugh Abernethie* obtained also of King *Alexander* the third, a Charter of the lands of *Lenrie*, and a pension of fiftie pound sterling by yeare: likewise he got from the same King a confirmation of the lands of *Hulkstone* and *Lilestone*. In these gifts the *Cummins* still are witnesses, and with them stiled *Patrick* Earle of *Dumbarre*. We finde also a gift of twenty pound land granted by *Isabell* Countesse of *Stratherne* Relict of *Walter Cummin*, and her husband *John Russell*. In the dayes of *Balioll* this house was so powerfull, that they were able to make their party good against the Earle of *Fife*, whom they slew, and were winked at by *Balioll*: with this house did Sir *Hugh* match, as his father had done with *Carriek* and *Galloway*, which as it was an honourable alliance for him, so doth it also argue that the house of *Douglas* even then was noble and honourable, and in the rank amongst the greatest, as we have said.

How long this Sir *Hugh* Lord *Douglas* did live after his contract and marriage, we cannot finde: but it is clear that he had no children that survived and outlived their father, because his brother *William* was his heire and successeur. Neither can we relate any his particular actions; only fame and tradition have given him a received testimony of activitie, watchfulnesse and diligence, by terming him good Sir *Hugh Douglas*, whom his foes found never sleeping. He with his wife are buried in Saint Brides Church in *Douglas*.

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Of *William the Hardie* (or *Long legge*) the fourth *William* and seventh Lord of *Douglas*.

**T**HIS *Hugh* did succeed his brother *William*, who for his valour and courage is distinguished by the addition of *William the hardie*; he is named also *William long legge*, by reason of his tall and goodly stature, having beene a very personable man. Hee was twice married: first to the Lord *Reeth's* daughter, by whom he had two sonnes, *James* and *Hugh*, as is evident by a Charter of resignation made by his son *Hugh* to his nephew *William* the first Earle of *Douglas*: his next wife was an English Lady called *Ferrar*, or *Ferrais*, of which name we finde the Earls of *Darbie* to have beene in the dayes of King *Henry* the third: She bare also two sons, *Archbald* Lord of *Galloway*, and *John*, of whom are descended the Lords of *Dalketh*, *Maines*, and *Loghleven*.

Concerning himselfe, we finde in the English Chronicles, that when King *Edward* the first took in the town of *Berwick* (in the yeare 1297.) he was Captain of the Castle there, and not being able to resist and hold out,

out, the Towne being in the enemies hands, he rendred the place, with himselfe also a prisoner, where he remained untill the warres were ended, by the yeelding of *John Balliol* to King *Edward*. During the time of his captivitie he was to marry this English Lady, that so he might be drawn to favour the Kings pretensions in conquering of Scotland. But his matching did not alter his affection towards his native Countrey, nor brake his constancie in performing his dutie to it.

Wherefore when he heard that *William Wallace* was risen up, and had taken open banner against the English, he joyned with him, by which accession of forces, *Wallace* Army was much increased and strengthened; yet they were not alwayes together, but according to the occasion, and as opportunity did offer, they did divide their companies, and went to severall places, where they hoped to get best advantage of the enemy, and where there needed no great Armie, but some few companies at once. In these adventures Lord *William* recovered from the English the Castles of *Disdier* and *Sanwhere*. The manner of his taking the Castle of *Sanwhere* is said to have beene thus: There was one *Anderson* that served the Castle, and furnished them with wood and fewell, who had dayly access to it upon that occasion. The Lord *Douglas* directs one of his trustiest and stoutest servants to him to deale with him, to finde some meane to betray the Castle to him, and to bring him within the gates onely. *Anderson* either perswaded by entreatie, or corrupted for money, gave my Lords servant (called *Thomas Dickson*) his apparell and carriages, who comming to the Castle, was let in by the Porter for *Anderson*. *Dickson* presently stabbed the Porter, and giving the signall to his Lord who lay neere by with his Companies, set open the gates, and received them into the court. They being entred, killed the Captaine, and the whole English Garrison, and so remained masters of the place. The Captains name was *Benford*, a kinsman to his own Ladie *Ferrais*, who had oppressed the Countrey that lay near to him very insolently. One of the English that had been in the Castle escaping, went to the other garrisons that were in other Castles and Townes adjacent, and told them what had befallen his fellowes, and withall informed them how the Castle might be recovered: whereupon joyning their forces together, they came and besieged it. The Lord *Douglas* finding himself straightned, and unprovided of necessities for his defence, did secretly convey his man *Dickson* out at a postern or some hidden passage, and sent him to *William Wallace* for aid: *Wallace* was then in the *Lennox*, and hearing of the danger *Douglas* was in, made all the haste he could to come to his relief. The English having notice of *Wallace* approach, left the siege, and retired toward England; yet not so quickly but that *Wallace* accompanied with Sir *John Graham*, did overtake them, and killed 500. of their number, ere they could passe *Dalswynton*. By these and such like means *Wallace* with his assistance having beaten out the English from most part of their strengths in Scotland, did commit the care and custody of the whole Countrey, from *Drumlenrigger* to *Aire*, to the charge of the Lord *Douglas*. Now howbeit there be no mention of these things in our Chronicle, yet seeing the book of *Wallace* (which is more particular in many things) speakes of them,

## 18 Of *William the Hardie (or Long-leg,)*

them, and the Charter of the house of Siminton descended lineally of the said *Thomas Dickson*, who for this and his other like services done to this Lord, and afterward to his sonne good sir *James*, got the 20. mark land of Hilleside, which his posterity doth enjoy still, holding of the Lords of *Douglas* and *Angus*, and there is no doubt to be made, but he hath done much more in his assistance he gave *Wallace*, then is recorded or extant any where, there being no likelihood that in those so busie times, these so valiant and brave warriors did lie idle, though the particulars lie buried in deep silence. And certainly it was not for nought that his lands were burnt by *Robert Bruce* himself, his wife and children taken prisoners, and brought to the King of England : his wife and children were taken by *Bruce* himself, by the Lord *Clifford*. King *Edward* required him to take his oath of fidelity to the Crown of England, and become his subject, which he utterly refusing to do, his lands were given to the Lord *Clifford*, and himself committed prisoner, and so he continued to the houre of his death. During which time he never abated any thing of his magnanimous courage and constancie, but shewed himself worthy of his noble progenitours, and no wayes short of whatever worth either they had, or fame hath bestowed on them : So did he also well deserve to be predecessour to such successours, and father to such posterity ; who (as we shall heare hereafter) did follow this vertuous example and pattern. How praiseworthy is it in him, that neither the danger of his own person (being in the hands and power of his enemy) nor the example of so many as did yeeld to the victorious Conquerour, there being few or none beside *William Wallace* that stood out against him, no not the desperate case and estate of his Countrey brought to so low an ebbe, could break his resolution to remain firme to his native soyl : Notwithstanding, that by all appearance all was irrecoverably lost, so that his standing out against the King could bring no help to it, and certain enmity (for ought could be seen) to himself and his posterity for ever.

Setting aside all these regards ( which are so common, and so highly accounted of in this our last age) not measuring dutie by profit, or commoditie, nor following the common rules of that wisdom which now reignes in the world, which is to respect and preferre our particular before all other things, but weighing matters in another ballance, and squaring his actions by what was generous and right, rather then that which was gainfull and advantagious for himself: he hath left an example of true wisdom, ~~virtue and honesty,~~ and of true magnanimitie unto others: he dieth a free man in despite of his enemies, though a prisoner, and beareth witness of the liberty of his Countrey, that it did not serve, but was oppressed, convincing the Tyrant of that time of violence, and the Advocates and Proctors, which either he then had, or since have pleaded for him in that debate, of most impudent and manifest lying. And there are some even in our dayes scarce yet ashamed of so shamefull an assertion, as to affirm that Scotland, and some of their Kings have yeelded obedience, and homage, to a forrain Prince, acknowledging him for their Sovereigne. But the truth hereof is, that it hath been oppressed, but never served; it hath been overcome, and overrunne, but it never yeelded :  
And

## The 4. William and 7. Lord Douglas. 19

And in the owne time through constancy and courage, did at last overcome the overcomer, and shake off the yoke of forrainers in spight of all their force and fraud; whereof as the Lord *Douglas* in this catastrophe of his life is a pregnant witnesse, so hath he left behind him an honourable memory of an invincible mind, and a lesson for tyrants to teach, and let them see how weake a thing tyranny is, and how small power and force it hath when it meets with true courage, though it were but of one man, who overcomes their force and falshood, with truth and constancy: And certainly this Lords vertue and merits are such; as, how ever those that come after him did fall into more happy times, and had better occasions to show themselves, and to make their actions more conspicuous towards their Countrey: yet, there is no reason why he should be thought inferiour to any one of them, because his fortune was harder then theirs: Nay, he ought rather to be preferred so much the more, as he was more assailed, and compassed about with difficulties; and did wrastle with the necessities of the times without shrinking; or succumbing under the burden: Besides it was he that planted and laid the foundation, upon which they builded so honorable enterprises, & did perfect what they had begun.

Some write that he being cited by King *Edward*, with others of this Countrey, appeared upon the citation, and that he was not apprehended by fraud or force, but came of his own accord to Berwick: which if he did, it hath not been to confesse, or acknowledge any servitude, or homage, as due to *Edward*, or the English, but to plead for the liberty of his Countrey, and to protest and testifie against his usurpation. Others say, that he and the Bishop of Glasgow being

(to avoid the imputation of disloyaltie and treason, of which he would not be partaker) he came and yeelded himself to the King, which if it be true, was a very honourable and generous fact, remarkable and rare to be found, that no love of his Countrey, nor hatred of a tyranny (so strong and powerfull motives) could draw him to be partaker of any dishonest action, though against his enemy. Methinks such noble carriage might have procured more noble dealing at King *Edward*'s hands, and have wrung more favour from him, which since it did not, it may be taken as an argument, as want of goodnesse in himself, who had neither judgement to discern in vertue, nor a heart to honour it in others: But for my owne part I thinke it most likely that hee was taken by one means or other, and brought in against his will; but whether hee were brought in with his will, or came in against his will, that word of yeelding (which they ascribe to him) is either very impertinent, or else very warily to be understood; so wit, for the yielding of his person onely, not of the liberty of his Countrey, which he never yeelded: neither for the acknowledging of any English authority over it or himself which he never would do, but choose rather to die in prison in *Kings* towne in Berwick. There are that say he was sent from Berwick to Newcastle, and from thence carried to Yorke, in the Castle whereof he died, and was buried in a little Chappell at the south end of the bridge, which is now altogether decayed. His death (which is reckoned of some to have fallen out in the

the year 1307.) must have been sooner in the year 1302. for his sonne Sir *James* returned into Scotland in the year 1303. when *Edward* was at Stirling, where the Bishop of Saint Andrewes did recommend him to the King: Now Sir *James* came not home till he heard newes of his fathers death. It is also said of this Lord, that he had the Isle of Man, whether as heritable possessour, or as Governour onely it is not known; but it is well known that this Island belonged to the Crown of Scotland, and that the *Douglasses* have had more then an ordinary interest therein; *Douglas Castle*, and *Douglas Haven*, which carry their names to this day, do beare sufficient witnesse. But whether from this man or some other, is not so easie to determine peremptorily.

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*Of good Sir James, the first James, and  
eighth Lord of Douglas.*

**T**He next is *James*, commonly called good Sir *James*, whom men account as the first, of whom the house of *Douglas* received the beginning of their greatnesse, which came at last to exceed others so farre, that it did almost passe the bounds of private subjects. He was as we have said already, sonne to the same *William* by his first wife the Lord *Keeths* sister: his education in his youth is said to have been in vertue and letters; first at Glasgowe, afterwards at Paris: for his father being encombred with warres, and last imprisoned, his uncle *Robert Keeth* conveyed him away to Paris in the time of *Philip le bell*, where he remained exercising himself in all vertuous exercise, and profited so well, that he became the most complete, and best accomplished young noble man in the Countrey, or elsewhere. Being certified of his fathers death, the love of his native soile made him to return into Scotland, to order the course of his life, by the counsell and advice of his friends. But when he came home, finding his patrimony disposed by King *Edward* to the Lord *Clifford*, and his friends scattered and dispersed, having by his mother some relation of kindred to *William Lambert* Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, he addressed himself to him, who did receive him kindly, and entertain him nobly. And when King *Edward* the first was come to Stirling in his last journey (at what time he in a manner overanne all Scotland, and destroyed the monuments thereof) the Archbishop going thither to salute him, carried this young man along with him: and taking his opportunity, presented him to King *Edward*, humbly intreating him to take him into his protection, and to restore him into his fathers inheritance, and imploy him in his service, as a youth of great hope and expectation, and such as might be usefull and stedable if he should be pleased to use him. The King demanded what he was, and having understood what his name and lineage was, and that he was sonne to Lord *William*, did absolutely refuse to do him any courtesie, or favour, nay he could not abstain from reproachfull and contumelious words against the obstinacy and treason (so was he pleased to nickname vertue) of his father, saying, that he had no service for him, nor for any such traitours son as his father was; that he had given his lands to better men then himselfe, and those  
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that had done him better service then he was able to doe ; and though they had not been given , yet would he never have given them to him. So implacable he was, and such pride had he conceived, with contempt of the depreſt eſtate of this ſupplicant, little remembring the variableneſſe of the eſtate of man ; and little knowing or conſidering, what weight and moment may be in one man alone, in whatſoever condition, to braule ſometimes, and to help even to diſappoint and overthrow the enterpriſes of the mightieſt Monarchs. It came even ſo to paſſe in this man, who did this Kings ſonne and ſucceſſour ſuch a piece of ſhrewd ſervice, as he had never the like in all his life : which had been more ſhrewd, if the ſpeed of his horſes, and the undutiſfulneſſe of ſome Scots, that received him into their Caſtle of Dumbarre, when he fled from Bannockburne, had not ſtood him in better ſteed, then all his huge Hoſt and rich Kingdome, wherewith he was ſo puffed up. Whereby Princes and great men may learne, not to deſpiſe the meanneſſe and moſt afflicted ſtate of any, nor to looſe the reins neither to unjuſt actions, or reproachfull words.

Sir *JAMES* being thus rebuked, what could he do againſt a King, a Monarch, a victorious and triumphant King : to whom all had yeelded, with whom all went right well, in his ruſſe, in his higheſt pitch, in his grandeur, compaſſed about with his guards, with his armies : to controll him, he was not able ; to plead for juſtice, it would avail him nothing ; to reply, could profit him leſſe : a Prince, his victors word is a law, nay more then a law for the time. There was no conteſting, no contradicting, were his ſpeeches never ſo unjuſt : he behoved to ſwallow this pill (how bitter ſoever) there was no remedy but patience. Nay, the Archbiſhop muſt be ſilent alſo, and dares not mutter one word, wherefore home he goes with this ſcorn, to expect a better time of replying : not in words, but deeds, and of ſhowing what ſervice he was able to have done to him. The occaſion of which though it were over long in coming in reſpect of his deſire, yet did fall out, not very long after : for within two or three years (1305.) *Robert Bruce* came into Scotland, not yet a King (ſave in courage) but having right to be King of the Countrey, whom *Edward* had ſerved in the ſame kind, and who had received the like answer and ſcorn in a Petition not unlike, for both did crave their fathers inheritance. Sir *JAMES* onely a Lordſhip, and the *Bruce* a whole Kingdome, which was but his due, and he had done him better ſervice then Sir *JAMES*. He had fought againſt his own Countrey for him, ſpent the bloud of his friends, and his owne, in hope of it, with great loſſe to himſelf, and example to others not to do the like. But neither duty, nor deſert, nor promiſe could overſway his ambition, and maſter it ſo farre, as to ſuffer him to perform what he had promiſed : and not content to have fed this Prince with the food of fools, faire hopes, and after ſo much imploymment and many notable ſervices, to fruſtrate him, he muſt needs alſo embitter all, with a flouting answer to his demand. To ſuch a height of pride, had proſperity raiſed him, that no modeſty could keep him from looſing the reins to an unbridled tongue, which doth never beſeem a man, much leſſe a Prince : wherefore as hatred and deſpight did animate him againſt Sir *JAMES*, for his fathers reſuſing to ſerve him : ſo ambition did work the ſame affecti-

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## Of good Sir Iames, the first Iames,

on in him against *Robert*, though he had served him, both were refused of their suits, both their petitions were rejected; the one with spight, the other with derision. What (saith King *Edward*, being urged with his promise of giving the Kingdome of Scotland to *Bruce*) *N'avons nous autre chose a faire, que de conquerir des royaumes pour vous?* Speaking in French, Have we nothing else to do, but to conquer Kingdomes for you? Kings, Potentates, Victors, should not be pressed with their promises: So they think, and so men say; lawes are not made for them, which they leap over at their pleasure. And it might be thought so perhaps, if their power were perfect, and if there were not a more absolute and over ruling power, that is able to range them under reason. We shall finde it so even in this particular in the owne time, although this were no time for him to reply: no more then it had been for Sir *JAMES* at Stirling. But the time being now come in the yeare 1305. as said is.

But the time being now come, though not so fit as he could have wished, yet as it was he behoved to use it, and make vertue of necessitie. And so withdrawing himself secretly out of England, he came to Dumfreis, and there slew *John Cummin* his greatest enemy, determining from thenceforth to behave and carry himself as King of this Realme. And here by the way, we may observe Gods providence towards this Kingdome, in preserving the liberties thereof, who had before stirred up *William Wallace* like another *Sampson* to vindicate it out of the hand of the English. Now that he is gone, he sends home our lawfull Prince, and righteous successeur to the Crown, to fight our battles for us, and to perfect the work which the other had begun; onely for so much as about this time, *John Monteeth* under colour of friendship, had betrayed *William Wallace* into the hands of the English for money; and he being taken and carried to London, was by King *Edwards* command, tortured and put to death with great cruelty; and his armes, and legs, and head, hung up in the most eminent places and Cities both of England and Scotland. Of which fact of *Edwards* we will say no more, but onely set down the said *Wallaces* Epitaph, which is prefixed to that book that is written of his exploits in Scots rime. The Epitaph is in latine verse, but the Authour is incertain, and the more is the pity, for he deserves to have been better known. Thus it is,

*Invida mor tristis Gulielmum funere vallam,  
Quæ cuncta collit, Sustulit  
Et tanto pro cive, cinis; pro finibus urna est,  
Frigusque pro loricâ, obit.  
Ille licet terras loca se inferiora, reliquit:  
At fata factis suppressens,  
Parte sui meliore solum, Cælumque perrerat  
Hoc spiritu, illud gloria.  
At tibi si inscriptum generoso pectus honesto  
Fuisset, hostis prodesti  
Artibus, Angle, tuis in pœnas parcius esses,  
Nec oppidasim spargeret*

*Membra*

## and 8. Lord of Douglas.

23

*Membra viri sacrandæ adytis, sed scin quid in ista  
Immanitate viceris  
Ut valla in cunctas oras spargantur & horæ  
Laudes, tumque dedecus.*

A verse, whereof *Buchanan* needed not to have been ashamed} |

Envious Death, who ruins all,  
Hath wrought the sad lamented fall  
Of *Wallace*, and no more remains  
Of him, then what an Urn contains.  
Ashes for our *Heroe* we have,  
He for his armour a cold grave.  
He left the earth too low a state,  
And by his worth o're came his fate.  
His soul death had no power to kill,  
His noble deeds the world doth fill  
With lasting Trophies of his name.  
O ! hadst thou vertue loved, or fame ;  
Thou couldst not have insulted so  
Over a brave betraid dead foe,  
*Edward*, nor seen those limbs expos'd  
To publick shame, fit to be clos'd  
As Reliques, in a holy shrine;  
But now the infamy is thine.  
His end crownes him with glorious bayes,  
And stains the brightest of thy praise.

But to return to our Sir *JAMES*: he is no sooner advertised of the *Bruce's* arrivall into Scotland, and of the *Cummins* slaughter, when without either summons or intreaty (save of his own mind in that common case sympathizing with the other) he resolves to try his fortune in that course with him. But what could he do (poore Gentleman) being in such necessity, and destitute of all help : he had neither horse, nor armour ; nor followers for such a businesse : all was gone, and violently taken from him by the iniquity of the times, and the prevailing of the enemy. There was neither friend nor mean left for his provision. Shall he burden Archbishop *Lambert* ? what could a Prelate do ? what could he, especially being under the beasts feet, as we say, and subject to King *Edward* ? It is better sometimes to force a friend, then to indanger him. Compulsion may be used where there is perill in the consenting : chiefly if the party be not unwilling, the ground right, and the cause good : otherwise, violence is never to be attempted, neither is iniquity, fraud or falsehood, (evill and hurtfull courses) either against private men, or the publick state to be warranted by this example. To it he goes, and robs *Lambert* of what he durst not give him : he inticeth his servants ; whose hearts did serve them, to serve him in that hazard, whom their Lord durst not command to go with him : he takes also some gold from him, and provides himself a

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horse

horse and armour, and that all might seem to be done by the strong hand; and violence might plead for the Bishop at King Edwards hands, he beats the rest of the servants that were left behind, and so goes away with the prey: An honourable robber, and just spoiler! He meets Robert Bruce at Arickstone in the head of Anandale. If he were welcome or not, I leave it to the consideration of the Reader: he was received as his Cousin, and used as a companion, and continued a faithfull Friend and loyall Subject, so long as their dayes continued, without variance, emulation or jealousy, or grudge on either side. A happy King by such a servant! A happy servant by such a Prince! A happy Countrey by such a society and pair of worthy friends! (So it is where vertues encounter, begetting mutuall affection, and produce notable effects.) The Bishop of Rosse John Leslie sayes, that he carried this money to Bruce from the Archbishop, and makes no mention of any force, whose commendation of this James is not amisse to be here inserted. *Not tempore quidam Jacobus Duglasius, altissimi animi, & ad quovis pericula subeunda paratissimi adolescens, dum cum animo suo reputat Robertum (manibus virtutum ornamentis excultum) injustis Anglorum armis vexari, & iniquis belli telis configi, ab Episcopo Sancto Andreapolitano, in taju suu comitatu, pecuniam grandem ad Roberti causam labantem sustentandam impetravit, illamq; illi quam terribiliter tulit. Cui in bello strenuam, in pace liberam, in adversis fidelm, in prosperis jucundam operam per reliquam vita curricularum semper post ea navavit. Ab hoc Jacobo clarissima Duglasiorum familia primum suu Nobilitatis nomen accepisse perhibetur.* In English thus: At this time one James Douglas, a youth of high spirit, and ready to undergo whatsoever perill, considering with himself how Robert Bruce (a man adorned with all vertues) was vexed with the unjust armes of the English, and pursued with warre against all equity: obtained of the Bishop of Saint Andrews (in whose company he was) a great summe of money, to uphold the now declining cause of Robert, which money he carried to him with all diligence, and ever after aided him in his warres valiantly: in peace he was free and upright, pleasant in prosperity, and faithfull in adversity, during all the dayes of his life. From this James the noble family of the Douglasses is counted to have taken the beginning of greatness: so saith John Leslie.

To return: their efforts at first were of exceeding hard successe. Robert Bruce was crowned at Scone in the year 1306. in April, at which Sir James assisted, casting into a heap, as others did, a quantity of earth of his lands of Douglas, which making a little hill, it is called yet *Omnia virra*. This was the custome of those times, by which homage they that held the King of Scotland Supreme under God, were distinguished from others. Some moneths after the coronation, about the 19. of June, they were defeated in a conflict at Methven by Edmund de Valence Earle of Pembroke, but without any great losse of men: for they being few in number, and perceiving their inequality, fled betimes, while their men were yet in breath and unwearied, having advanced so far rather to win their fortune, what it was like to prove in their main intentions, than in hope of victorie, where there was so great odds every way. There were taken at this battell Sir Thomas Baskin a young stripling, Sir Alexander

Frazer,

*Frazer*, *Sir David Barclay*, *Insh Mairtin*, *Hugh de la Hay*, or *Hugh Hay*, *Somervale*, and some others, whom *Sir Aimer Valence* caused to promise fealty to the King of England, and on that condition saved their lives: especially *Randolph*, who is remarked after this to have been very forward for the King of England, till he was taken againe by *Sir James Douglas*, as we shall heare hereafter. After this battell they retired to the Castle of *Kildrummie*, where the Queene and divers other Ladies remained in great scarcitie of vivers, being sustained most part by what *Sir James Douglas* tooke by hunting and fishing. Not long after, as they went by *Athole* into *Argyle*, *Athole* having intelligence of them, invaded them, together with *Lorne* his sisters, and constrained them to fight at a place called *Dalree* (which is to say, The Kings field) about the twelfth of August; their fortune was no better then it had beene before, the day was lost, some but not many of their men slaine, they themselves put to flight, and by flight saue to save their lives by lurking amongst the hills for a season in a most desert place, living upon roots and herbs, and lying in the open fields on the bare ground, or among the heath, sometimes but with one, other times with none to attend them, being uncertaine whom to trust, in that frowning of fortune, when commonly there are but few that remain friends, and many become enemies, base minds seeking thereby either to avoid harm, or to gain favour of the stronger. At last finding that they were hotly hunted after, and hardly followed, they thought it their safest way to go to the Western Isles. *Lochlowmond* lay in their way, whether being come, and having found an old boat, *Sir James* (however expert in that Art before) having learned so much by that great Schoolmaster *Necessity*, rowed his King over this Lake in a night and half a day. Thus saith the manuscript, but it seemeth rather to have been some other Lake then *Lochlowmond*, or rather some inlet of the Sea (which are called sometimes Lakes) between the main Land and the Isle in which they lurked: because *Lochlowmond* is of no such breadth, as that it should be esteemed a great matter to row over it in that space: and besides they did row to an Isle where they did rest amongst our *Arbudes*, to none of which *Lochlowmond* is adjacent. The *Braces* book saith not that they rowed through the Lake to the Isle, but through the Lake to the main land, and then passed to the Sea side where they provided boats in which they sailed to the Isles. It attributes also this rowing to others, then *Sir James*, though hee were the first finder of the old boate.

Thus it went with them, and to such an exigent was the hope of our Countrey brought. Thus we see these great minds, and (afterwards) great men in a base, poore, and perillous, but never miserable estate (which vertue is not capable of) desolate in it self, destitute of friends, and their first attempts dasht by the mean under Captains of their great enemy King *Edward*. But ere they have done, they shall make his succellour to flie in the like sort in a small fisher boat, poorly accompanied to save his owne person, after the losse of his army. On such moments do the hopes and fears of mortall men depend, and such vicissitude is the estate of those glorious crowns subject unto, which men do so much affect, with such travell



travell and turmoil; as for them, it was not the Crowne onely, but their liberty also, that they suffered for: and not their owne liberty alone, but the freedome of their Countrey and Patriots, which they sought to maintain against injustice, fraud and violence. Wherefore we never heare that they fainted at any time, or dispaired any time in the midst of despair: such force hath a good cause in a good heart, the Authour of goodnesse, no doubt sitting at the rudder of that boat, and preserving the old sheards of it, so that they gave no place to the violence of the waves, and their hearts from yeelding to that despair that every way did assault them, untill he had finished that work he had to do with them; for recovering the liberty of their Countrey, and beating down the pride of tyranny, that hee might in all this show his own might and prerogative, in casting down and setting up at his pleasure. Such hard beginnings have oftentimes the greatest works, and so little ought either hope or dispaire bee grounded on the first successe.

Being landed in this little Isle, which the *Bruces* book calls *Rachrine*, (other Authours name it not) they remained a while hidden there with a speciall friend of King *Roberts*; both the Isle and the man being worthy of more expresse honour, and a perpetuall memory of their names: he for his faithfull friendship, the Isle for its safe receit, and harbouring so good guests, and their good luck after this receit, their efforts from hence forward having been almost ever prosperous. Their safety was (most part) in this, that men believed they were not safe, ceasing to seek those whom (they thought) had ceased to be, taking them to have perished, because they appeared no where to the view of the world. Like example is long since recorded of *Masiniissa* King of Numidia: and their lurking doth bring forth the like fruit and effects.

But it was not fit for them to lurk too long: their friends might so have been discouraged, and losing hope, have forsaken the cause, whereby the work would have been the more difficult, if not impossible. Therefore to begin again afresh, the King obtains from his good friend some small company of men, and Sir *James* with fourty of these (which hee got of the King) went and tooke in the Castle of *Arane* by a stratagem. A small, but happy flourishing of a better spring time, after that their tempestuous winter, which shall yeeld a full harvest, and bring forth the ripe fruit of liberty to their Countrey, and the settling of the Kingdome to his master, and his posterity, untill these our dayes, and we hope for ever. Thither came the King also within two dayes (and hearing of them) *Malcolme* Earle of Lennox. These sailed from thence into *Carrikt*, where they tooke a Castle of the Kings proper inheritance, but the Writers do not name it.

And here indeed the course of the Kings misfortunes begins to make some halt and stay, by thus much prosperous successe in his own person; but more in the person of Sir *James*, by the re-conquests of his owne Castles, and Countries: from hence he went into *Douglasdale*, where by the means of his fathers old servant *Thomas Dickson* he tooke in the Castle of *Douglas*, and not being able to keep it, he caused burn it, contenting himself with this, that his enemies had one strength fewer in that Countrey then

than before. The manner of his taking of it is said to have beene thus : Sir *James* taking onely with him two of his servants , went to *Thomas Dickson*, of whom he was received with tears, after he had revealed himselfe to him, for the good old man knew him not at first, being in meane and homely apparell. There he kept him secretly in a quiet chamber, and brought unto him such as had beene trusty servants to his father , not all at once, but apart and by one and one, for feare of discoverie. Their advice was, that on Palmunday , when the English would come forth to the Church, being a solemne Holiday , he with his two servants should come thither apparellled like countrey taskers , with mantles to cover their armour, and when he should perceive that the English were in the Church, and his partners were conveneened , that then he should give the word, and cry the *Douglas slogan*, and presently set upon them that should happen to be there, who being dispatched, the Castle might be taken easily. This being concluded, and they come, so soone as the English were entred into the Church with Palmes in their hands (according to the custome of that day) little suspecting or fearing any such thing ; Sir *James*, according to their appointment, cryed too soone (a *Douglas*, a *Douglas*) which being heard in the Church (this was Saint Brides Church of Douglas) *Thomas Dickson*, supposing he had beene hard at hand, drew out his sword, and ran upon them, having none to second him, but an other man, so that oppressed with the multitude of his enemies, he was beaten downe, and slaine. In the meane time Sir *James* being come, the English that were in the Chancel kept off the Scots, and having the advantage of the strait and narrow entrie , defended themselves manfully. But Sir *James* encouraging his men, not so much by words, as by deeds and good example, and having slaine the boldest resisters, prevailed at last, and entering the place, slew some 26 of their number, and tooke the rest , about 10. or 12. persons, intending by them to get the Castle upon composition, or to enter with them when the gates should be opened to let them in: but it needed not , for they of the Castle were so secure , that there was none left to keepe it save the porter and the cooke, who knowing nothing of what had hapned at the Church, which stood a large quarter of a mile from thence, had left the gate wide open, the porter standing without, and the Cooke dressing the dinner within. They entred without resistance, and meat being ready, and the cloth laid , they shut the gates, and tooke their refection at good leasure.

Now that he had gotten the Castle into his hands , considering with himselfe (as he was a man no lesse advised then valiant ) that it was hard for him to keep it, the English being as yet the stronger in that Countrey, who if they should besiege him, he knew of no reliefe ; he thought better to carry away such things as be most easily transported, gold, silver, and apparell, with ammunition and armour, whereof he had greatest use and need, and to destroy the rest of the provision, together with the Castle it selfe, then to diminish the number of his followers , for a garrison there where they could do no good. And so he caused carrie the meale and malt, and other cornes and graine, into the Cellar , and layd all together in one heape : then he took the prisoners and slew them, to revenge the death

death of his trustie and valiant servant *Thomas Dickson*, mingling the vi-  
duals with their blood, and burying their cartasses in the heap of corne:  
after that he struck out the heads of the barrells and puncheons, and let  
the drink runne through all, and then he cast the carkasses of dead horses  
and other carrion amongst it, throwing the salt above all, so to make al-  
together unusefull to the enemye; and this Cellar is called yet the *Dou-  
glas Lairder*. Last of all, he set the house on fire, and burnt all the timber,  
and what else the fire could overcome, leaving nothing but the scorched  
walls behind him. And this seemes to be the first taking of the Castle of  
*Douglas*, for it is supposed that he took it twice. For this service, and o-  
thers done to Lord *William* his father, Sir *James* gave unto *Thomas Dick-  
son* the lands of Hilsfide, which hath beene given him before the Castle  
was taken, as an encouragement to whet him on, and not after, for he  
was slain in the Church: which was both liberally and wisely done of  
him, thus to hearten and draw men to his service by such a noble begin-  
ning. The Castle being burnt, Sir *James* retired, and putting his men in-  
to divers companies, so as they might be most secret, he caused cure such  
as were wounded in the fight, and he himselfe kept as close as he could,  
waiting ever for an occasion to enterprise something against the enemye.  
So soone as he was gone, the Lord *Clifford* being advertised of what had  
happened, came himselfe in person to *Douglas*, and caused re-edifie and  
repair the Castle in a very short time, unto which he also added a Tower,  
which is yet called *Harries Tower*, from him, and so returned into Eng-  
land, leaving one *Thruswall* to be Captain thereof.

Sir *James* his men being cured of their wounds, and refreshed with  
rest, he returned again to the King, at what time he was ready to fight  
with Sir *Aymore Valence*, the Lord of *Uorne*, and Sir *Thomas Randolph*, at  
*Cannock*. The King had not above 400. men, so that being almost en-  
compassed by the enemye ere he was aware, he was forced to forsake the  
field, having lost his Banner, which was taken by Sir *Thomas Randolph*,  
by which he got great credit with King *Edward*. King *Robert* in his flight,  
or retreat, divided his men into three companies, that went severall  
wayes, that so the enemye being uncertaine in what company he himselfe  
were, and not knowing which to pursue rather, he might the better e-  
scape. When they were all come againe to the place of their rendezvous,  
which the King had appointed when he divided them, Sir *James Douglas*  
perswaded the King to set upon a company of the enemies, who were  
very securely tying by themselves farre from the body of the Army,  
without feare of any danger which the King did, and having slain 200.  
of them, he scattered the rest.

After this, Sir *Aymore Valence* (being then Warden for King *Edward*  
in Scotland, and residing himselfe at *Bothwell*) sent Sir *Philip Mowbray*  
with a company of men, about 100. into *Coile* and *Gunninghame*, to  
keepe the Inhabitants in their obedience to England, whereof when Sir  
*James Douglas* had notice, and knowing the way by which they must go  
(called *Machinacks way*) he lay in a straight foord betweene two mari-  
shes, called *Edersfoord*, accompanied with some 40. choice men, and  
there rising up of a sudden, ere Sir *Philip* was aware, they routed his men,  
and

and chased himselfe, who did escape very narrowly, for he left his sword with them, and fled alone to Kilmarnock and Kilwinnin, the rest back to Bothwell. This was before the battell of Lowdoun hill, where both the King and Sir *James* were present, at which they defeated Sir *Aymore Valence* and 3000. men, they having onely 500. which Sir *Aymore* tooke so to heart, that he retired himselfe into England, where he gave over his charge of Warden, and never returned into Scotland againe with any command, except it were when the King came in person. The English Chronicle sayes that the King discharged Sir *Aymore* who was Earle of Penbrooke, and placed *John de Britton* in his office, and made him Earle of Richmond. These particulars I cannot ghesse why they should have beene omitted by our Writers, being so remarkable defeats, where diligence, dexteritie, and valour, have beene used with wisdom and judgement. However, upon this withdrawing and departure of Sir *Aymore Valence*, King *Robert* being rid of the greatest danger, makes toward Innernesse, leaving Sir *James* behinde him, to recover such places as were still in the enemies hands. He therefore getting him into Douglassdale, did use this stratagem against *Thruswall* Captaine of the Castle of Douglas, under the Lord *Clifford*: hee caused some of his folkes drive away the cattell that fed neare unto the Castle, and when the Captaine of the garrison followed to rescue, gave order to his men to leave them, and to flee away. This he did often, to make the Captaine to slight such frayes, and to make him secure, that he might not suspect any further end to be in it: which when he had wrought sufficiently (as he thought) he laid some men in ambuscado, and sent others away to drive away such beasts as they should finde in the view of the Castle, as if they had been theeves and robbers, as they had done often before. The Captaine hearing of it, and supposing there was no greater danger now then had beene before, issued forth of the Castle, and followed after them with such haste, that his men (running who should be first) were disordered and out of their ranks. The drivers also fled as fast as they could, till they had drawne the Captaine a little beyond the place of the ambuscado; which when they perceived, rising quickly out of their covert, set fiercely upon him, and his companie, and so slew himselfe, and chased his men back to the Castle, some of which were overtaken and slaine, others got into the Castle, and so were saved; Sir *James* not being able to force the house, took what bootie he could get without in the fields, and so departed. By this means, and such other exploits, he so affrighted the enemy, that it was counted a matter of great jeopardie to keepe this Castle, which began to be called the adventurous (or hazzardous) Castle of Douglas: whereupon Sir *John Walton* being in suit of an English Lady, she wrote to him, that when he had kept the adventurous Castle of Douglas seven yeares, then he might thinke himselfe worthy to be a sutor to her. Upon this occasion *Walton* tooke upon him the keeping of it, and succeeded to *Thruswall*, but he ran the same fortune with the rest that were before him.

For Sir *James*, having first dressed an ambuscado neare unto the place, he made fourteen of his men take so many sacks, and fill them with grasse, as though it had been corn, which they carried in the way toward La-

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nerik;

nerik, the chief market town in that County : so hoping to draw forth the Captain by that bait, and either to take him, or the Castle, or both.

Neither was this expectation frustrate, for the Captain did bite, and came forth to have taken this victuall (as he supposed.) But ere he could reach these carriers, Sir *James* with his company had gotten between the Castle and him : and these disguised carriers, seeing the Captain following after them, did quickly cast off their upper garments, wherein they had masked themselves, and throwing off their sacks, mounted themselves on horseback, and met the Captain with a sharp encounter, being so much the more amazed, as it was unlooked for : wherefore when he saw these carriers metamorphosed into warriors, & ready to assault him, fearing that which was, that there was some train laid for them, he turned about to have retired to the Castle, but there also hee met with his enemies ; between which two companies, he and his whole followers were slain, so that none escaped ; the Captain afterwards being searched, they found (as it is reported) his mistresse letter about him. Then hee went and tooke in the Castle, but it is uncertain (say our writers) whether by force, or composition ; but it seems that the Constable, and those that were within have yeilded it up without force ; in regard that hee used them so gently, which he would not have done if he had taken it at utterance. For he sent them all safe home to the Lord *Clifford*, and gave them also provision and mony for their entertainment by the way. The Castle which he had burnt onely before, now he razeth, and casts down the walls thereof to the ground. By these and the like proceedings, within a short while he freed *Douglasdale*, *Atrick* forrest, and *Jedward* forrest, of the English garrisons and subjection.

But *Thomas Randolph*, *Alexander Stuart* Lord of Bonckle, and *Adam Gordone*, being Englized Scots, concluded to gather together their forces, and to expulse him out of those parts. Now it fell so out, that Sir *James*, intending to lodge at a certain house upon the water of Line, and being come hither for that purpose, by chance all these three were lodged in the same house before he came, which drew on a skirmish betwixt them, in which *Alexander Stuart* Lord of Bonckle, and *Thomas Randolph*, were taken prisoners, and *Adam Gordone* saved himself by flight. This peece of service was of no small importance, in regard of the good service done to the king by *Thomas Randolph*, both while the King lived, and after his death when he was regent, which all may be ascribed to Sir *James*, who conquered *Randolph* to the Kings side. With these his prisoners he went into the North, as farre as the *Mernes*, where he met the King returning from *Inverness*, of whom he was heartily welcomed, both for his owne sake, and because he had brought him his Nephew *Randolph*, whom the King did chide exceedingly. And he again reproved the King out of his youthfulness and rash humour, as though he did defend the Crowne by flying, and not by fighting ; wherefore hee was committed to prison, thereafter pardoned ; and being made Earle of Murray, he was imployed in the Kings service. This is related in the *Brucers* book, and hath nothing fabulous or improbable in it : and therefore it ought not to be slighted : Especially seeing, as I am informed, the Book was penned  
by



by a man of good knowledge and learning, named master *John Barbour*, Archdeacon of Aberdene, for which work he had a yearly pension out of the Exchequer during his life, which he gave to the Hospitall of that Towne, to which it is allowed and paid still in our dayes. He lived in the reigne of *David* the second sonne, and successour to King *Robert Bruce*.

Sir *James* was with the King at Inverourie (ten miles from Aberdene) against *John Cummine* Earle of Buchan, who was there defeated on Ascension day, in the yeare 1308. From thence Sir *James* went with him when he recovered Argyle; the Lord whereof had once come in to the King, but was now revolted to the English side. And likewise at many more journeyes and roads, both in Scotland, and England, Sir *James* did ever more accompany him.

In the year 1313. hee tooke in the Castle of Roxburgh, called then Marchmouth, whilest the King was busie about Dumfrees, Lanrick, Aire, and others; and while Sir *Thomas Randolph* was lying at the Castle of Edinburgh: The manner of his taking of it was thus; about Shrovetide which is a time of feasting and revelling, he with sixty more, having covered their armour with black, that they might not be discovered by the glittering thereof, went in the forenighr toward the Castle, & when they came neare to it they lay along, and crept upon their hands, and feet, through a bushie piece of ground, till they were come close to the foot of the wall. Those that did watch upon the Castle wall espied them; but the night being dark, and by reason of their creeping they tooke them to have been cattell: for they at the foot of the wall heard the watchmen, (there being two of them) saying the one to the other, my neighbour such an one (naming him by his name) means to make good chear to night, that he hath no care of his cattell, but leaves them thus in the fields all the night: to whom the other replied, hee may make good chear this night, but if the *Douglas* come at them, he will fair the worse hereafter; and with this discourse they went their way. Sir *James* and his men having heard this conference, were very well pleased withall, and glad to be so mistaken: they laddered the walls with ladders of cords, made by one *Simon* of the Leadhouse, who was also the first that adventured to scale with them himself alone, both to trie how they would hold unbroken, and to view what guard and watch was kept above. The man that stood sentinall saw him well enough, but because there were no more with him, he gave no alarum, but stood watching to have catched him on the top of the ladder, thinking to have knockt him down, or to have tumbled him headlong over the wall: but the other prevented the danger, and leaping in nimbly upon him ere he was aware, stabbed him with a knife, and threw him over the wall amongst his fellowes, to whom he called to make haste up, assuring them the coast was clear: but ere they could come up, another of the watch coming about, and perceiving a man standing on the wall, made towards him, but *Simon* dispatched him also. And now the rest of his companions were got up also, who marching towards the hall, they found the English at their shroving, eating, and drinking, and piping, and dancing. They entred the hall, he had but easie work of it, to do with them what he listed, being most of them drunk,

drunke, and all of them unarmed: Onely the Captain (*Guillaum de fer-  
mes*) fled into the great tower being dangerously hurt with the shot of an  
arrow, where he remained safe all that night, but the next morning hee  
yeelded himself because of his wound, upon condition that his life should  
be safe, and his person safely set on English ground, which was willing-  
ly granted, and faithfully performed. But hee lived not long after, his  
wound being deadly and incurable.

Thus was the wheel of worldly affairs ( which men call fortune ) so  
vvhirled about by the King, and his partners, that in this yeare 1313. be-  
ing the seaventh from his Coronation, and the fifth or sixth from the  
beginning of the course of his victories, there vvas not one strength re-  
maining in the possession, or povver of the English, save Dumbartane  
Castle (which was afterward yeelded up by *Jehan Montcuth* upon com-  
position) and Stirling, which at this present was besieged by *Edward  
Bruce* the Kings brother. To relieve Stirling, and to raise the siege thereof,  
King *Edward* the second came in proper person, and thereon infused the  
battell of Bannockburn, a battell so famous and memorable, as few the  
like have happened in any age, where there were two Kings present, the  
ods so great, and the defeat so notable. The English King did bring into  
the field all that he was able to make, not onely of English, but of his be-  
yond sea dominions, neither of those that were his owne Subjects onely,  
but hee was also aided and assisted by his friends and confederates, in  
Flanders, Holland, Zeland, Brabant, Picardie, Gascony, Normandy,  
Guien, Bullonois, and Burdeaux, of these and his owne Countreymen,  
he had in all 150000. fighting men, to place them in the middle number,  
which some say was but half the number, and that he had 300000. of the  
whole, in equall proportion of foot and horse, intending to have extermi-  
nated the whole nation of Scots, with so confident a presumption of vi-  
ctory, that he brought with him a Carmelite frier ( a Poet according to  
the time ) to commit his triumphs to writing: he was defeated by 30000  
or 35000 at the most ( as all agree ) and that in a plain and open field,  
where there was slain of his men 50000. It was fought the 22 of  
June, 1314.

Sir *James* being present at this Battell, did carry himselfe so before  
the fight, in the fight, and after it, as that his behaviour is not to be slight-  
ly slipped over with a dry foot ( as we say ) but particularly to be noted,  
both for his owne honour ( for it is indeed worthy of perpetuall honour  
and praise ) and for a patterne to be followed by others, especially by all  
such as set their hearts and minds to follow vertue, and to seek true glory,  
which ariseth from vertue. Before the battell, we have his kindnesse,  
love, and care of his friend, or ( as some will have him to be ) his emulous  
Competitor, joyned with true magnanimitie in his demeanour towards  
*Thomas Randolph*: for King *Robert* having sent *Randolph* with 500. horse  
to oppose the Lord *Clifford* with 800. who was making toward the Ca-  
stle of Stirling; Sir *James* carefull for his friend in respect of this ods in  
number, first very orderly sought leave of the King to go to his succours,  
but after the King had refused him, he went out without leave; which  
though it were a kinde of breach of militarie discipline, yet it shewes  
how

how dearly he loved the man, that for his sake he would thus transgresse the order of the warre, and to take his hazzard of the Kings displeasure, rather then to forsake him in this great danger, as he took it to be. And as he shewed his love and kindnesse in this (a vertue of great price, and greatly to be commended) so did he also his modestie, courtesie, and magnanimitie (all three concurring in one fact, and much more commendable) in that hee seeing his friend to have the better of the enemy, stood aloofe as a spectator, for feare to impair his glory in that victorie, by being a sharer with him therein. Weake mindes seeke to participate of others mens glory, and for want of worth in themselves thrust in with others. Base and meane spirits are wont to lessen and diminish the actions of others, because they have no hope to equall them. Malignant dispositions envie them, and approve of nothing but what is their owne, and would have it thought that they onely are able to do all things, and that none besides them can do any thing. As these vices were here farre from this man, so should they be as farre from all others: and as the contrary virtues did shine in him, so let them also doe in us. And thus he behaved himselfe before the Battell.

In the Battell he with *Randolph* had the leading of the Vantguard, wherein he discharged himselfe so well, that for his good service he was knighted in the field. This honour in those dayes was given for desert, and was a badge and seale of valour, not of favour or riches, as now it is for the most part: neither was it so ordinary and common as now it is, and by commonnesse prostitute as it were, and disesteemed. But that it was in great esteeme of old it appeares by this, that notwithstanding this mans predecessours, and himselfe also (as his evidents do witnesse) were Barons and Lords, yet he thinks it no disparagement to be knighted, and did choofe rather to be known and designed by that title, than the other; so as he was commonly called Sir *James Douglas*, rather then Lord *Douglas*. And indeed we have found that even Princes and Kings have taken upon them this order, not as any diminution of their place, but an addition of honour, seeing by it they were received into the number and rank of military men and Warriours; their other titles shewing more their dominion and power, or place, then their valour and courage. Wherefore we reade how *Edward* Prince of Wales was knighted when he was sent against King *Bruce*: So *Henry* the second, being then Prince of England, received the honour of Knighthood from *David* King of Scotland, his grand Uncle, as from one that was the best and worthiest man in his time. Then it was that he tooke his oath, that he should never take from the Crowne of Scotland, the Counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon. This cremonie vvas performed vwith great solemnitie and pomp in those dayes, as our Writers observe: so honourable vvas it then; and of late it vvas thought so too: for the Earle of *Clanrikart* (chiefe of the *Bourks* in Ireland) having done a piece of notable service to Queene *Elisabeth* at the siege of *Kinsoile*, and at an encounter betwene the Lord Deputies Army with the Irish Rebels, vvas knighted by the Lord *Montjoy*, then Generall Lieutenant for the Queene. Neither should any abuse discredit it now. Nor can it diminish the honour.

honourablenesse thereof in our Sir *Iames*, who is able to honour it rather by his worth.

After the battell he is as diligent (as he was both diligent and valorous) in it. This is a vertue which hath been wanting in great Commanders, and hath been marked as a great defect in them. It was told *Hanniball* that great Carthaginian to his face: Thou canst obtain, but not use a victory, nor prosecute it to thy best advantage. Sir *Iames* did not so, but as farre as he was able, with such companies as hee could gather together, and with as much speed as was possible for him, hee followed King *Edward* to have done him service, though his father *Edward* the first would have none of it, and set it at nought. But he was gone ere Sir *Iames* service came to the best: Now hee would gladly have showne what it was worth to his sonne and successeur (the second *Edward*) in most humble sort, though it had been to have pulled off his boots (no question) but his Majestie had no mind to stay for him, who notwithstanding made all the haste he could to have overtaken him, and followed him with foure hundred horse more then forty miles from Bannockburne, to Dumbarre Castle, into which hee was received, and so escaped. The next was to wait upon him in his way to Berwicke, which he did; but the King nothing well pleased with the service hee had done, and expecting rather worse then better, seeing his importunity, and that other wayes he could not be rid of him, went by sea to Berwicke in a small fishers boat or two, with a very thinne train to attend him: not unlike unto *Xerxes* who a little before was so proud of his huge army, is now become the scorn of his contemned and threatned enemies, a spectacle of pride, and an example of presumptuous confidence unto all ages. Wee told before how his father had driven King *Robert* and Sir *Iames* to the like shifts and straits, but theirs was not so shamefull. A Christenmasse feast may be quit at Easter, sayes our Proverb, vvhich they do here veresie by this requitall: And this was all the service Sir *Iames* could do to King *Edward* at this time: but afterwards we shall heare vvhath service he shall do, if not to himself, yet to his sonne, *Edward* the third, at Stanhop Parke some few yeares after this.

In the mean time let us behold our Scots, enjoying there renowned and honourable victory, which cannot bee denied to have been such, nor cannot be by envy it self. Their spoil and prey was great and rich, their prisoners many, and their ransomes proportionable. The Queen (King *Roberts* wife) was restored by exchange, and for her an English Nobleman set free without rancome: And as their joy was great, and their gaining not small, so was both the grief of the English, their shame and their losses. Their were slain of note in the field 200 Knights, together with the Earle of Glocester, and Sir *Giles* of Argentine (whose death was lamented by King *Robert* very much) and of prisoners very nere as many, of which the chief were the Earle of Hartford, who fled to Bothwell, and was received by Sir *Gilbert Gilbaston* captain thereof, (as the *Bruces* booke sayes) Sir *John Segrave*, *John Clattengrave* (perhaps *Cattengrave*) *William Latimer*, Sir *Robert Northbrooke* (Lord keeper of the broad seal) and Sir *Ralph Mortimer*, who had married the Kings sister. *Mortimer* was

was dimitted ranfome-free, and obtained the Kings broad Seale at *Bruce's* hands. Thefe and many other prifoners of divers nations thus difmiffed, are as many wiffneffes of the Scottifh valour in the fight, and of their mildneffe and humanitie after it, who ufed thefe their fo fpiightfull enemies no worfe, who if they had overcome, would have ufed another kinde of cruelty, as they had both determined and threatned unto them.

Amongft other Forreiners, there were two Holland Knights, who being in King *Edwards* Army before the battell, and hearing the bravery and brags of the Englifh, and their fpiightfull railings againft King *Robert*, had wiffhed him good luck. Thefe were turned out of the Englifh Camp, and fent unto the Scottifh, bidden in fcorne to go and fight with them whom they wiffhed fo well, with a price fet upon their heads to him that fhould either kill or take them prifoners in the battell. Their heads nevertheffe were fave, and themfelves did partake of the good fortune they had wiffhed; and when they came home into their owne Countrey, they built a lodging, naming it Scotland, upon which they fet up the Scottifh Armes, and King *Roberts* ftatue in Antwerp, as a monument of that notable victorie; which remained there many yeares after. The Carmelite alfo changed his note, finging their victorie, whole overthrow he came to fet forth; and chaunting their difcomfiture, whole praifes he was hired to proclaime. Thus he began his Ditty.

*De planctu cado metrum cum carmine nudo,  
Rifum detrudo, dum tali themate ludo.*

In Englifh thus:

With barren verfe this mournfull rime I make,  
And am but laught at, while fuch theme I take.

Let us here confider the meanes and wayes of both fides, we fhall finde on the one fide confidence of their power, and a contempt and flighting of the enemy, which feldome falls well, becaufe from thence there arifeth commonly floth, negligence, diforder, and confufion: on the other fide we may fee carefulneffe, diligence, order, and exhortation, all poffible meanes ufed both humane and divine: wifedome joyned with religion, and prayer, and what pious formes were then in ufe. They digged trenches and ditches, which they covered with greene turfe, for the horfemen to fall into, and did knit together and twift as it were a net of croffe ropes to entangle the footmen: which stratagems being feconded with true courage, refolution, and valour of the common fouldiers and Commanders, together with the device of thofe that were fet to keep the baggage, the fculs, and grooms, who made fhewes and mufters, as if they had beene another armie (of their owne head, without the direktion of any) were the chiefe meanes of the victorie. For the firft was the overthrow of the men at armes, and barbed horfes, and the fecond the bane of the middle battell of the Englifh, who feeing this trap laid for them, fled prefently, and turned their backs. But above all thefe, the principall and prime



prime cause was even the Lord of hosts, who guided all these, and gave successe unto them. Let no mortall man ever think other of any his enterprises, or that any man, however wise, provident, or valorous, can use his wisdom, providence, or valour, or whatever other vertue he hath, to any purpose, or successefully, unlesse it be given him in the very instant of using it. A lesson much inculcat, but little learned; often approved by experience, but seldome marked, or soone forgotten; at least little appearing by our practice, and which doth produce no other effect but a superficial acknowledgement, and slender confession thereof.

1316.  
King, Robert  
Bruce in Ire-  
land.

But to returne to our *Douglas*: though the King himselfe did thus escape his service, yet out of all doubt he hath beene imployed against his subjects, seeing our Historians doe tell us, that after this battell there were divers incursions made into England, for which they never stirred, but sate quiet for 2. or 3. yeares: howbeit there are no particulars set downe.

In the yeare 1316. King *Robert Bruce* went into Ireland to support his brother *Edward Bruce* made King of Ireland; and King *Edward* of England thinking this a fit opportunity for him to be revenged on the Scots, did levie a great Armie, and came to the borders of Scotland, hoping to doe some notable exploit now in the Kings absence. But many things faile that are intended, and princes as well as others may be disappointed of their purposes, and frustrate of their hopes. It seemes he had forgotten, or not well considered what a Lieutenant he had left behinde him, and how good a second Sir *James* had alwayes beene to his master the King. But howbeit he knew it not perhaps, or would not take any notice of him, yet King *Robert* knew it full well, and put such trust and confidence in his well knowne worth and sufficiencie, that he durst go abroad out of his owne Kingdome, and hazzard himselfe and the flower of the youth in Ireland, concrediting the Countrey unto his care and conduct, leaving him Governour in his absence, and entailing the Crowne unto him next unto *Thomas Randolph*, by making him Protectour of the young King during his minority, if he himselfe should happen to die in that voyage, as the blacke booke of Scone doth witnesse. And indeed Sir *James* did not deceive the Kings expectation and trust, neither did King *Edward* finde him asleepe, but watchfull and diligent in his charge, as became a good Governour: for he raised an Army to give him battell, and put both him and his people to flight, slew three notable Captains with his owne hand, Sir *Edward Lillo* a Gascoine, Captaine of Berwick; others call him *Callock*, and say that he was slaine at the rescue of a bootie which he had taken in the Merse and Tivedale; which narration agreeth with the *Bruces* booke, which calls him *Edmond de Callock*. The second was Sir *Robert Nevill*, and the third a Nobleman whom they doe not name, onely they say that Sir *James* slew him with his owne hand: but the *Bruces* booke calls him *John de Richmond*, and sayes he slew him in Jedward Forrest, in the midst of his Armie, Sir *James* having very few with him, not above fiftie horse, and some Archers, in a strait Cleugh or Valley, betweene two hills, which he had of purpose taken as a place of advantage; and tying together the young birke trees by their boughs in the

the way by which the English were to passe, the horsemen being entangled in the thickets, he set upon them and defeated them. From hence it is that some think the Earls of Douglas and Angus have stakes & rice in their Coat of Armes; yet such points of Heraldrie are hard to interpret and give a reason for them. This was the second peece of service that he did to King *Edward* himselfe (say some others) but others say that the King was not there in person; but sent a great Army commanded by divers Captains, with whom Sir *James* fought in three severall battells, at three sundry times, and slew all their Chieftains; with most part of their companies. Others againe affirme that in every one of those battells he slew the Commander with his owne hand in sight of both Armies, the which whatsoever way it was, the victorie was notable and glorious. And thus did he governe in the Kings absence.

He had beene a good subject before when the King was present; now we see how well he governes when he is absent, and at his returne laying downe his authoritie, and returning to his former subjection, he proves as good a companion and colleague unto *Thomas Randulph* (then made Earle of Murray) with whom the King did joyne him for the prosecuting of the warres. It is seldome found that these vertues are so happily linked together in one person, abilitie to governe, and willingnesse to be subordinate, and obey; excellencie of parts, and patient enduring of an equall and companion. I have often observed and admired it in these two (the ground whereof seemes chiefly to have beene in Sir *James* his love and modestie, as we observe in his carriage towards this man at Bannockburne) that in all their joynt-services, being equall in authority, and both commanding in chiefe, we never heare of any question, controversie, or debate, of any grudging or heart-burning betweene them, but find them ever agree and concur, without any dissention or variance, with one heart and minde (as if they had beene one man) in all businesse whatsoever.

Their first association (after the Kings returne out of Ireland) was when they went and burnt Northallerton and Burrowbrigs, and spoyled Rippon, where they spared the Church, onely they caused those that fled thither to pay 5000. marks sterling to be free. They burnt also Scarborough towne, and hearing that the people had fled into the woods with their goods and cattell, they went and searched them out, and brought away a great bootie. Then returning home by Skipton in Craven, they spoyled the Towne, and after burnt it without resistance. This was in the yeare 1318. in May.

The next was in the year following. 1319. when King *Edward* having gathered an army lay before Berwick. These two entred England as farre as Milton, which is within 12. miles of York, where the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Bishop of Ely Chancellour, made head against them; in which conflict there were foure thousand English slain, amongst whom was the Major of Yorke, and a thousand drowned in the water of Swail, and if the night had not come in too soon, the battell being joyned in the afternoon, few or none of them had escaped as it is thought. It is called the battell of Milton or Swail, or the white battell, because there were

The white  
battell.

a number

a number of Priests slain at it, belike they have been apparelled in their surplices.

*Hollinshed* in his Chronicle of England, relateth the manner how it was done : He sayes that as the English men passed over the water of Swale, the Scots set fire upon certain stacks of hay, the smoke whereof was so huge, that the English might not see where the Scots lay. And when the English were once gotten over the water, the Scots came upon them with a wing in good order of battell in fashion like to a shield, eagerly assailing their enemies who were easily beaten down, and discomfited. Many were drowned by reason that the Scots had gotten betwixt the English and the bridge, so that the English fled betwixt that wing of the Scots, and the main battell, which had compassed about the English on the one side. as the wing did upon the other. The King of England informed of this overthrow, brake up his siege incontinently, and returned to Yorke, and the Scots home into their Countrey of Scotland.

Their third expedition was that same yeare at Hallowtide, when the Northern borders of England had gotten in their cornes, and their barns were well stuffed with grain, which was their provision for the whole yeare. They entred England and burnt Gilsland, tooke divers prisoners, and drave away all the cattell they could finde. Then they went to Brough under Stanmoore, and returned by Westmooreland, and Cumberlond, with great booty and spoil, none offering to make head against them.

The fourth was in the yeare 1321. when the King of England grieved with these invasions, having complained to the Pope, had purchased a Legate to be sent into Scotland, to admonish King *Robert* to desist from further disquieting the Realme of England, and because he would not obey, he with Sir *James Douglas*, and *Thomas Randolph*, were accursed by the two Cardinalls, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and York, and all the Priests in England, every day thrice at Masse. These two, Sir *James Douglas* and *Randolph* (some say the King himself) following the Legate at the heels (as it were) entred England, little regarding their cursings, and wasted the Countrey to the Redcrosse, and coming to Darlington at the feast of Epiphanie, stayed there a while for gathering of booty, and destroying the Countrey : The Lord *Douglas* on the one hand, and the Lord *Stuart* of Scotland on the other, the one going towards Hartelpool and Caveland, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmond-shire, having no Captains to defend them, gave a great summe of money (as at other times they had done) to have their Countrey saved from fire and spoil. These adventurers stayed 15. dayes in England, and returned without battell. It is said that the Knights of the North came to the Duke of Lancaster, then lying at Pomphret, and offered to go into the field with him against the Scots, but he refused, whether by reason of the discord between him and K. *Edward*, or for some other occasion I know not.

At this time it is, that the King gives to Sir *James Douglas* a bounding Charter of Douglasdale, dated *apud Bervicum super Tuedam anno Regni nostri decimo quinto*, which is either the yeare 1320. or 1322. the first of April.

April. It bears *Jacobo de Douglas, filio & heredi Gulielmi Douglas, militis*, which decides the question of his age, and his brother *Hughes*, who outlived Sir *James* 12. or 13. years, and calls himself his heire, as shall be showne. It hath also this clause, *Volumus insuper, &c.* wee will also, and grant for us and our heires, that the said *James* and his heires shall have the said lands free, *ab omnibus prisiis, & petitionibus quibuscunque ita quod nullus ministrorum nostrorum in aliquo se intromittat infra dictas divisas, nisi tantum de articulis specialiter ad coronam nostram pertinentibus.*

To return, King *Edward* conceived such discontent, and was so grieved at this so wasting of his Kingdome, that he gave order to levie an army of 10000. to enter Scotland at Lammis: whereof K. *Robert* being advertised, entred England neare to Carlile; and burnt some townes which belonged to King *Edwards* own inheritance, spoyled the Monastery of Holme, where his fathers corps were interred. Hither the Earle of Murray, and Sir *James Douglas* came to him with another army, whereupon marching further Southward, they came to Preston in Anderness, and burnt all that towne also, except the Colledge of the Minorites. This was fourescore miles within England from the Borders of Scotland. Then they returned with their prisoners and booty to Carlile; where they stayed some fourteen dayes, wasting and destroying all about with fire and sword, and so they returned into Scotland on Saint *James* day, having remained within England three weeks, and three dayes, without any opposition or resistance. They were not long at home when K. *Edward* entred into Scotland with his army, and passed to Edinburgh, but for want of victualls (which were conveyed out of the way of purpose by King *Roberts* command and direction) he was forced to make a retreat, and goe home the way he came, having discharged his choller with what he could meet with in his return. But hee was quickly followed by the two Colleagues, Sir *James* and *Randolph*, who entred England, burnt North-Allerton, with other townes and villages as farre as Yorke; and overtaking the King at the Abbey of Biland, gave him battell, and defeated him. There was taken *John Britton* Earle of Richmond, who had also the Earledome of Lancaster: he being ransomed for a great summe of money, passed over into France, where he remained, and never came back again into England. The English Chronicle to excuse this defeat, layes the blame hereof upon *Andrew Barkeley* Earle of Carlile, whom (they say) Sir *James Douglas* corrupted with money, upon which pretext *Barkeley* was executed, suffering (good Gentleman) to cover other mens faults. It doth me good to heare Master *John Major* answer the English Writers in his round and substantiall manner: It is but a dream (saith he) and spoken without all likelihood, for neither were the Scots ever so flush and well stored with moneyes as to corrupt the English, neither was that the custome of good Sir *James Douglas*, a valiant Warriour, who did what he did, not with gold but with another mettell, sharpe steele. The Earle of Carlile also died without confessing any such thing. Some write that King *Robert* was there in person, but it is more likely that he was not, but sent thesetwo, of whom we have spoken: however, if he were there, these two were with him. At this battell Sir *James* tooke three French

The battell  
of Billand.

Herley.

Knights, Robert Bartrame, William Bartarhome, Elye Anyallage, with their vallats; for whose relief the K. of France requested K. Robert, and hee willing to pleasure him, transacted with Sir Iames to give him for their ransome foure thousand markes starling, for payment of a part of which summe, the K. giveth to him the next yeare appearently.)

The Douglas  
Emrauld  
Charter.

*Indictamenta Latraciniorum, & Ministrationem eorundem in omnibus, infra omnes terras suas subscriptas: Scilicet infra. 1. Baroniam de Douglas. 2. Forrestiam nostram de Selkirk, de qua est officarius noster. 3. Constabularium de Lauderio. 4. Forrestiam de Fedworth cum Benjedworth. 5. Baroniam de Batherewle. 6. Boroniam de Wester-Calder. 7. Baroniam de Stabiltgorthane. 8. Baroniam de Romanok. Then in generall, Et infra suas terras quasunque, infra regnum nostrum, cum pertinentibus, quas de nobis tenet in capite.*

Then followes the Privelledge.

*Et si aliqui de hominibus suis, infra predictas terras, fuerint iudicati per Justitiarium nostrum; volumus quod dictus Jacobus, & heredes sui, & eorum ministri habeant Liberationem, & liberam eorundem ministrationem, salvis nobis, & heredibus nostris omnibus aliis particulis ad homicidium & coronam nostram pertinentibus, Tenenda, & habenda predicta indictamenta, cum administratione eorundem, & cum omnibus libertatibus commoditatibus ad predicta indictamenta, & administrationem eorundem pertinentibus, prefato Jacobo, & heredibus suis in feudo & hereditate in perpetuum de nobis & heredibus nostris.*

*Volumus insuper & concedimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris, quod prefatus Jacobus & heredes sui, & eorum homines infra predictas terras manentes Libri sint infuturum, de sectis curia, de omnibus terris supradictis, & de Wardis castrorum, nec non de omnibus presis, tallagiis curiagiis & captiomibus quibuscunque ad opus nostrum, & heredum nostrorum, salvo tantum communi auxilio pro defensione regni nostri contingente.*

*Et ut prefata charta robur firmitatis obtineat in perpetuum, manum ejusdem Jacobi, annulo, cum quodam lapide qui dicitur (Emeraudus) eidem Jacobo, & heredibus suis nomine Sasina in memoriale permanens in futurum ex manu nostra personaliter invecimus. Apud Bervicum super Twedam octava die mensis Novembris anno regni nostri nono decimo, anno Domini. 1325.*

Then there is a precept directed to Bernard Abbot of Arbrothock, Chancellour, to cause make a Charter thereof under the broad seal, and deliver it to the said Iames. This I thought good to set down in the owne words, because of the singularity, in that it is the promise of a King fulfilled to his subject, not for any proper debt, or money disburs, but for the ransome of prisoners. 2 It is singular also in respect of the thing given, Inditements, Immunities, Liberties and Priviledges. 3. The forme and manner of it is not ordinary, to hold in feudo, and inheritance without any duty, or reddenda, as they speake. 4 And last of all; the manner of infeftment and seasing; not by earth and stone, but by putting a ring on his finger with the Kings owne hand, and thereby infefting both himself and his heires (as it should seem) in this one action without reiterating. All which things how our Lawyers will allow of, considering their  
formali-



formalities; and what their opinion will be of the validitie hereof, I know not; but we finde here plaine and square dealing, and honourable meaning: whatsoever the subtilties and quirks of Law be, we see an upright and loving Prince, a liberall and bountifull King, willing to honour a princely loyall subject.

This and the former Charter given foure yeares before, and such others as may be thought to have beene given after, to corroborate or increase (perhaps) these freedoms and priviledges, is it whereunto *Archibald* the fourth and his successors have leaned and trusted to, in contemning *Crichton* and *Levingston*, at what time they told them they would preserve their owne rights and priviledges, and not suffer them to be infringed. And this also hath beene the ground upon which the Bailies of *William* the eighth Earle, he being himselfe in Italie, would not suffer the Kings Officers to meddle with these priviledged things in his bounds, which men that know not their immunities particularly account treason and rebellion: and so their enemies did terme it, to incense the King against them.

This battell at Biland was the last piece of service that Sir *James* did to *Edward Carnarvan*, who having found fortune so froward to him in chance of warre against the Scots, was thereby taught to doubt the triall thereof any further, and therefore he sued for peace, which was concluded at Newcastle to last for certaine yeares. In this time of peace, although all occasion of Warlike action was cut off, yet Sir *James* was not idle, but did good offices for his King and Countrey. *K. Robert* did esteeme so well of him, and had so good opinion of his prudence and fidelitie, and did so confide in his love, that he entrusted and employed him in the greatest businesse that ever he could have to doe, which concerned no lesse than the settling of his Crowne, and his title to the kingdom, which Sir *James* performed dexterously and happily.

For being sent into France to *John Balliol* of Herecourte to procure his resigning all title and right to the Crowne in King *Roberts* favour, he sailed into Normandie, and having declared his Commission, and delivered his message, he found *Balliol* very tractable, contrary to all mens expectation; for he plainly and ingeniously confessed that he had been deservedly rejected and debouted, being no wise usefull nor profitable for the good of Scotland. He said likewise that it was Gods especiall and favourable providence, that had advanced *K. Robert* thereunto, and therefore he did not repine nor grudge, to see the Kingdom in the hands of his Cousin, by whose high vertue, singular felicity, and great travell, it was restored to the ancient liberty, splendour, and magnificence, but rather rejoyced thereat. And chiefly for that they by whom he was deceived, did not injoy the hoped fruits of their fraud. And calling together his friends and kinsmen in presence of them all, hee did freely resigne unto *Robert*, and to his heires, all right and title, that he, or any from, or by him, had or might have to the Crown of Scotland, renouncing all interest and claim whatsoever that could be alledged or pretended for any cause, or consideration, from the beginning of the world unto that present day. This being done, Sir *James* returned into Scotland. This King *Robert* thought

*Douglas sent into France to Balliol.*

thought fit to be done, not because his owne title was not good enough before, for it was good already and sufficient, and so found to bee by a better judge then King *Edward* of England, to wit, the Estates of the Realme, who are the rightest judges in controversies of this nature, and who had power to have made it good, if it had not been so, & might have helped any defect that had been in it, seeing *Balliol* by his owne fact had disabled himself, by giving it over to King *Edward*, especially seeing it was prejudiciall, and against the common liberty, and good of the Kingdome, to accept of him who had betrayed these, and was not able to defend them. Wherefore King *Robert* being in possession, and the Kingdome being confirmed to him, and to his posteritie, he needed no further right from *Balliol*: Notwithstanding of this, to cut away all pretences of quarrells and calumnies, that malicious men might surmise thereabout afterwards, he thought good to have a renunciation from *Balliol* of his title, and consolidate that with his owne: whereupon esteeming none fitter for the purpose then Sir *James*, as well for the honourable place he held, as for his sufficiency to discharge the Commission, not without some consideration of his kindred with *Balliol*, by the house of Galloway: he laid the charge upon him, which he performed as we have heard.

Sir *James* being thus returned out of France, King *Robert* being very glad that his businesse had succeeded so well, called a Parliament at Cambuskenneth, in the which the right of succession to the Crowne was renewed to King *Roberts* heirs, and namely ( failing his sonne *David* ) to *Marjorie Bruce* his daughter, and *Robert Stuart* his sonne. This the Nobility did enact, and confirme by oath in the yeare (1325. or 1326.) and before the sending of Sir *James Douglas*, as some Authours record.

Not long after King *Robert* fell sick, and partly for that cause, partly in regard of his age, not being able to ride abroad and endure travel himself, he committed the managing of all businesse of weight both in peace and warre to the two Friends and Colleagues, Sir *James* and *Randolph*, two of the most noble Knights, and bravest Captains that were in their dayes, as our Writers do say. And now *Edward* the second was dead, and *Edward* the third had succeeded to him, to whom Sir *James* laboureth to do as good service, as he had done to his father. This *Edward* sent Ambassadors to King *Robert* to treat of peace, but being discovered to have no sincere meaning, and to deal fraudfully, in stead of peace they carried home warre. So due preparation being made on both sides, our two Commanders assembled to the number of 20000. all horse men: (some say 20000. horse, and 5000. foot) and entred into England with resolution not to fight but at their advantage and pleasure, which was the reason they took all or most part horse men, and few or no foote men. Against these King *Edward* came in person with a great Army of 100000. men, (as *Freyfard* writes) 80000. horse, 24000. archers, having brought with him the Lord *Beaumont* out of the Low-Countries with 700. or 500. horse. The English souldiers of this Army were cloathed in coats, and hoods, embroydered with flowers and branches, and did use to nourish their beards; wherefore the Scots in derision thereof, made this rime, and fastned it upon the Church doore of Saint *Peter* in the Canongate,  
Beards

*beards hartlesse, painted hoods witlesse, gay coat gracelesse, make England thriftlesse.* He fortified the Townes of Carlile and Berwick, and furnished them with men to stay the Scots passages. But they little regarding either his fortifications, or his forces, passed the water of Tine at knowne Foords, and made him first know of their arrivall by smoake and fire: whereupon putting his men in order, he marched directly towards those places that were smoaking, to have given them battell; but not finding them there, and not knowing how to force them to fight, his resolution was to passe Tine, and there to intercept them at their returne, and to give them battell in those fields where the ground was more leuell and even, and so fitter for his Armie. Thither then he goeth with great trouble and turmoiling both of men and horse, by reason of the great raine that fell, as also for scarcitie of victuall; and after he had lien there eight dayes waiting for them, he could heare no newes of them: wherefore he chose out about sixteene able young men, whom he sent abroad into the Countrey to search for them, promising a great reward to him that should first bring him word where they were. They having roaved up and downe the Countrey, at last one of them fell into the hands of the Scots, who when he had told how K. Edward had sent him to search for them, they let him goe, and withall bid him tell the King, that they had beene eight dayes as uncertain of him, as he had bin of them, and that now they were come within 3. miles of him, where they would stay for him, and abide him battell, being as desirous to fight as he was. When the young man told the King this, he was rewarded with Knighthood, being made such by his owne hand; and besides that he got 150. pound land to maintain his dignity. Then he gave order that his Army should march towards them; but when they came neare, they found them so strongly encamped upon a hill, having steepe rocks at the one side, and a river on the other, called by *Hollinshead* the water of Weire, that they durst not adventure to assaile them at so great disadvantage: wherefore they sent a trumpet to them, and desired them to come downe to the plaine ground, and so to fight with true vertue, for honour and empire, and not to sit on the tops of the hils, where no body could come at them. The Scots answered with derision, that they would not fight how and when it pleased their enemy, but at their owne pleasure; telling him withall, that they were come into his Countrey, and had done as he knew, if any thing that they had done did grieve him, he might come and seeke his revenge: they would stay there as long as they thought meet and expedient for them, and if any should assaile them, they would do what they could doe to defend themselves, and make their enemies smart. So they stayed there three dayes in his view, but he not thinking it safe to assaile them in that place, after some few skirmishes at their watering place, the Scots removed their Camp to another place that was stronger and harder of access, which *Hollinshead* calls Stanhop parke, whither the English also followed them. While they lay there encamped the one over against the other, Sir <sup>1327</sup> James Douglas (who was a provident and watchfull Captaine) perceiving that the English watches were somewhat negligently kept (either because they despised the small number of the Scots, or for that they thought

Douglas at  
Stanhop park.

thought they had no mind to fight, but to retire) adventured upon a hazardous but hardie and worthy enterprife: he did choose out two hundred of the choicest of his men, and passing the river in the night season, a little off from the English Camp, he entred the enemies Trenches on that side they least expected, and approached the Kings Tent, thinking either to have taken or to have slaine him; but the Kings Chaplaine being awake, discovered him, whom he slew with his owne hand for his paines: and now the alarme was given, and the whole Armie was up against him: wherefore having only cut the Kings Tent-roapes, he returned safe in spite of them, leaving 300. of them slaine in the place, who offered to hinder his retreat. Upon this show and omen of successe and good fortune, *Thomas Randolph* would have given them battell in the plaine fields, but Sir *Iames* advised him otherwayes, showing him how it was not for them, being so few in number, to deale with so great an Armie in the open and plaine fields, but that their onely way was to use flights and stratagems, and to keepe themselves in places of strength and advantage. To which purpose he told him the Apologue of the Fox, whom a Fisherman finding in his Lodge carrying away a Salmond to his denne for his young Cubs, he drew his sword, and stood in the doore to kill him, knowing he had no other way to get out. The Fox being thus straitned, went and tooke hold of the Fishers mantle (which lay by) and went toward the fire to cast it into it and burne it: the Fisher to save his mantle, ranne to the fire, and left the doore free, so that the Fox escaped out at the door, and in his way caught hold of the Salmond, and went cleare away withall, to the fishers great grieve, who had his mantle burnt, his Salmond lost, and the Fox escaped. Even so, sayes Sir *Iames*, it fares with us; we have done these men harme, and they think they have us in the nouse, and in a mouse-trap, but I have espied a way, by which, though it may seeme somewhat hard and troublesome, we shall escape safe without the losse of a man.

They continued still in the same place certaine dayes after this, without doing any thing of note or moment on either side; for the English warned by their late danger, kept better watch then they had done before: and now having taken a Scottish prisoner, they were informed by him, that the host of the Scots was commanded to be in readinesse against the third watch to follow Sir *Iames* his standard. This put them to no small businesse, so that they presently armed, and stood all night ranked in order of battell, supposing that the Scots intended to make an onset, and assaile them in their Trenches, and therefore their Watches and Sentinels were doubled, and the Foords strongly guarded. But the Scots by this time were risen and departed, passing through a Mosse or Bogue two miles long, which was never passed before, especially by horsemen: but they had provided flakes and hurdles, upon which they made the horse to passe without sinking, leading them in their hands, and walking on foot by them. About the breake of day two Scottish Trumpeters were brought to *K. Edward*, who were taken by his Scouts, and being come before him, told that they were commanded to suffer themselves to be taken thus, that they might tell him that the Scots were gone home, and that

that if he had a minde to be revenged on them for any thing they had done, he should follow them. But he considering of the matter, and weighing all things, and with what men he had to doe, being both valiant, and able to endure so much hardship, thought it his best to let them goe, and so he returned to London, having seene his Kingdome burnt and spoiled under his nose, for all his great Armie, and himselfe in the midst thereof in danger of his life, or of taking: which affronts he was forced to pack up at this time, not without great grieve and anger without all doubt. And this is the third piece of service done by that so despised man to the posterity of his despiser, to his sonne before, and now to his grandchilde in the yeare 1327. or 28. neare unto Stanhop park; which because it cannot be denied, *Caxton* alledgeth that it came to passe by the treason of *Mortimer* Earle of March, who being corrupted by the Scots with money, would not suffer (saith he) the Earle of Lancaster to passe the water, not very deep at that part to invade them, by which means they escaped. But our *Major* doth justly scorn that point of corrupting and bribing with money, and doth further affirme, that they had not any conference at all with *Mortimer*. So that it is likely, that what *Mortimer* spake in that matter of not following, or invading the Scots at their departure, he hath spoken it out of judgement, and not partiality; and perhaps more prudently, then they that counselled the contrary. However they confesse that the King missed of his purpose, and being very penfive therefore, broke up his army and returned to London. Amongst other things, they tell that after the Scots were dislodged, some of the English went to view their Camp, partly to see their customes and manner of living, and what provision they had, partly to seek some spoil, when they were come there, they found onely five hundreth carcasses of red and fallow Deare, a thousand paire of Highland shewes called rullions, made of raw and untand leather, three hundreth hides of beasts set on stakes, which served for Caldrons to seethe their meat. There were also five English men who had their legs broken, and were bound naked to trees, whom they loosed and gave them to Chirurgions to bee cured. When they saw these things, and judged hereby how painfull and able to endure the Scottishmen were, they found that counsell to have been good and sound, which was given to their King not to follow them, whether it were *Mortimers* or some others.

The English Writers upon this scarcitie and penury here found, and upon such other passages (as when *Edward* the second entred Scotland, and was forced to returne for want of victualls, the King having caused remove all things out of his way) take occasion to speake contemptuously of the Scots, as though they had not defended their Countrey by vertue and prowesse against England (between it and which they think there is no comparifon) but partly by cold and hunger, partly because the English Kings did flight it, and were not desirous to conquer it: as also for the English forces were almost employed in France, so that they had no leifure to bend their whole power against Scotland, which if they had done, they might easily (as they think) have mastered it. Imputing hereby the cause of their failing to do it, they having so great ods

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in number of men and warlike appointment, to want of will, and their hinderance by France, and the poverty of our Countrey, together with the roughnesse thereof (being so Mountainous; and full of heaths and wafts, harder enemies then the inhabitants) giving no place to the vertue and valour of the people, very absurdly and maliciously: for as touching the first, that they have had no desire of it, it is a childish alledgeance, when they see they cannot get a thing, to deny that they desire it. The great means they have used, the many attempts they have made, and that common and proverbiall speech so ordinary in their owne mouthes, and devised amongst themselves, (*Qui la France veut gagner, a l' Escosse faut commencer*) do testifie the contrary. And above all, their often extending a full conquest of it, as their owne Histories beare record. And as for the hinderance by France, their aides to Scotland have not been very great, nor very frequent; yea, it may bee said justly, that France hath received more help then ever it gave: for since the league with *Charlemagne*, it may be truly said without any poeticall hyperbole, *nulla unquam Francis fuit victoria castris, sine milite Scoto*; that the French armies never wanted Scottish souldiers, but the Scots have but very seldome had Frenchmen to helpe them. And if the Kings of England have sometimes bended their forces towards France, yet they did it not alwayes, but have made more warre in Scotland, when they had peace with France. And it is amongst the complaints of our Nation, that France have cast them into warres with England, when they might have had peace: Like as when they had advantage by warre, France did often wring their weapons out of their hands, and forced them to a disadvantageous peace, which was commonly the greatest fruits of their friendship and league. Now as for the difficulties of hills, hunger, &c. These are not so great as they talke of, for neither is it altogether so poore, nor so hilly, and mountainous, as they would have it beleevd to bee; and if King *Robert* at this time or any other at any time have caused spoil and waste in the Countrey at some times, thereby to famish or straiten the enemy, or have chosen to vex or trouble them with a *Camp volante* to eschew the hazzard of a battell (as *Douglas* and *Randulph* did at this time) it hath been the practice of all warriours of all Nations: but neither hath it been, neither could it have been, the onely mean of conserving this Countrey in freedom, except manhood and valour had been joyned with it, and that in a great measure; whereof sufferance and hardnesse to endure great straits, want, scant, cold, hunger, and travell is no little part. As on the contrary, not to be able to endure these, is effeminatenesse, the ordinary consequent of riches, wealth, ease, abundance and delicacie, all reprochfull to men. Even as the other (I confesse) are oft the consequences of poverty, and are helps to harden the bodies, and whet the courages of men.

Wherefore if they had meant nothing else, but that the poverty of Scotland did preserve the liberty thereof, because it kept the inhabitants in continuall exercise both of body and minde, and did not suffer them to grow tender, delicate and effeminate, but hardned their bodies against want, and their minds and courages against perills and dangers, which they

they imployed for the defence of their Countrey, and by the which (as the chief means under God) they did defend it, we could well admit of it, and acknowledge as much poverty, (that is to say, want of superfluity) and vanity, invented by soft and womenly minds, and covered under the maske of civility, as hath begotten in them valour and temperance, as it is said to have done in many people before; the Romanes, Macedonians, Turks, Parthians, Scythians, &c. But since that is not their meaning, but even to detract from their valour, they exprobrate their poverty, and casts it up for a reproach, to breed contempt of them in others, and to ascribe to it what is due to their worth; to wit, the liberty, and preservation of their Countrey from all forrain enemies: we may say justly that it hath not been the immediate cause of their being preserved against England, Danes, or whatsoever enemy, but that there hath been as much sufficiency of things necessary (call it riches, or by what other name you list) as hath moved other Nations (especially England) to covet it, and coveting to invade it, and when they had done their best, they were driven from it; not so much by the barrennesse and roughnesse of the soyle, as by many and sad stroakes of the inhabitants thereof, and by such aets and deeds, as became wise, valiant and couragious men. Touching all which, this one example will serve to confute whatsoever hath been, or can bee said in this kind, then which we need no other proof, and that is this same huge and great army raised by this King (*Edward* the third) and intending to have come into Scotland, if hee had not been thus affronted by Sir *James* and *Randulph*: and before in his fathers time at Biland, (and which admitteth for no exception) at Bannockburne. In all which there is no colour of want of will; he showed it, he professed it, and presumed to devoure them in an instant: No want of forces, having gathered from all Countreyes not onely his subjects, but his friends also: no scarcitie of victuall, hee had abundance of all things: no hills nor mountains, they met in the plain fields: no forrain aid on the Scots side that we heare of, besides the two Brabanders, that King *Edward* sent to help them. And so again whatsoever progresse, or appearance of conquest the English have made of Scotland, it was never by their valour and armes, but by the advantage of an intestine warre, they siding with the one party, and at last overcoming both, as did *Edward* the first, in the dayes of *Balliol*; wherefore they make a wrong account, and much mistake the matter, that thinke the liberty of this Kingdome hath been maintained more by the wants of our soyle, want of will in our enemies, or of leasure in the English, then by the worth of our predecessours, if wee weigh things rightly. But the true way, and mean, by which our Countrey and liberty thereof have stood, and by which they have relieved and vindicated it, when it was thrallled, are these we have spoken of, by which also they procured peace at all times, and now also at this time.

For the same yeare, in March Ambassadors came from *Edward* to treat <sup>Peace with</sup> of perpetuall peace, which the next yeare was concluded by the Parlia- <sup>England</sup> ment of England held at Northampton: unto this Parliament for treating of Articles of peace, King *Robert* sent Sir *James*, with some Prelates, where it was concluded on these conditions: That the King of England

should renounce all title and claime that he and his predeceffours had laid to the Crowne of Scotland, and deliver unto them whatsoever Bonds, Contracts, Writs or Evidents, they had for their pretended Title thereto. And should leave that Kingdome as free as it had been in the dayes, and at the death of King *Alexander* the third, from all bondage and servitude for time to come. That the Scots should also resigne to the English, all lands and possessions, which sometimes they had in England, or held of England in fealty, as beneficiars thereof, and that the Marches between the two Kingdomes should bee Cumberland and Northumberland, unto Stone-moore: That *David* sonne to King *Robert* should marry *Jane*, King *Edwards* sister, called by some *Jane* of the Tower, and by the Scots, *Jane* make peace, (in derision) and that King *Robert* should pay to *Edward* three thousand marks sterling, for the dammage done to his people in the late warres, by Sir *James* and *Randulph*, Earle of Murray. The first of these articles was presently performed, and the King of England delivered all the Writs and Evidents which hee had concerning his alledged superiority of Scotland, and amongst them an Indenture which they called Ragman (saith *Hollinshead*) and certain Jewels won from the Kings of Scotland, amongst which the blacke Crofiere or Rood was one. This peace the same Authour calleth unprofitable, and dishonourable, done by evil and naughty counsell. If it were dishonourable for England, it was so much the more honourable for the Scots that gave the peace. But the dishonour hee meaneth is the renunciation of his title to the Crowne of Scotland, whereof he had fair claiming. King *Robert* and the Scots had driven him out of his usurpation, and vindicated their liberty by force of armes. And as for his right and title in Law, the world knowes what small account Scotland ever made of his pretensions; having never been subject unto any but to their owne King. Wherefore it was onely to take away all occasion of cavilling, and the better to keep peace with their neighbours, that they desired this surrender, as they had done before with *Balliol*, whose right notwithstanding carried a greater show of equity and reason, and truly it is not so much to be wondered at, that King *Edward* condescended to these Articles; as it is that King *Robert* should have yeilded to them, being more unprofitable for him, then for the other: and a man would think it very strange that he should part with Northumberland, or give any moneys to recompense any dammage done in a just warre: and that there should not rather money have been given unto him, as a dowrie or portion with his daughter in law. But the time answereth it, hee was now of a good age, and unmeet for travel, and warres, being wearied with battells, and cloyed with victories, and ceased by sicknesse, he longed for peace to himself, and to his posteritie, but with what fidelity, and how little it was kept by King *Edward*, we shall heare hereafter. No aliance, nor bond of amity (which ought but seldome doth tie Princes and great men) could keep him from breaking of this peace. The marriage was solemnized at Berwick, with all the pompe that might bee, after which King *Robert* lived not a full yeare.

A little before his death being at Cardreis, which stands over against Dum-

Dumbarton on the other side of the water of Levin: whether hee had withdrawne himselfe by reason of his age and sicknesse, to live a private, and quiet life; hee called his friends together, and made his last Will and Testament, in which having ordered all his other affaires, hee called to minde a vow that he had made to go into Syria, and there to fight against the common enemy of the Christian name: but because his warres before, and now his age and sicknesse would not suffer him to performe it in his owne person, hee recommended the performing of it to Sir *James Douglas*, requesting him earnestly to go and do it for him; and withall, to carry his heart to Hierusalem, and there to bury it neare the holy Grave. This was esteemed a great honour in those dayes, both by Sir *James* himselfe and others, and withall a cleare and honourable testimony of the Kings affection towards him; and so he interpreted it. Wherefore King *Robert* dying the 7. of July 1329. hee made himself ready, and prepared all things for his voyage very diligently; yet there were some of the most judicious in those times, who tooke it to have a deeper reach; and that (however he did also respect Sir *James*, and thinke him the fittest for this businesse:) his main designe was to prevent all dissention, which might have risen between these two great Captains, *Douglas* and *Murray*, *Randolph* to obviate the which, they thinke he devised to send Sir *James* out of the Countrey upon this honourable pretext. But there bee Authors that say, the King did not particularly designe Sir *James* by name, but desired his Nobles to choose one of his most noble Captains in the Realme for that effect, and that they after his decease laid it upon Sir *James* with one consent, who most willingly accepted thereof, as one (who during King *Roberts* life) had served the body wherein the heart had lodged. But whether the King desired him by name, or the Nobility did interpret the Kings meaning to be such (under the title and description of the most noble Captain) or that they themselves did deem him to be so (as indeed he was most worthy) so it was, that the charge was committed unto him, and he most gladly undertook it, when his presence was very needfull for the Countrey.

King *Bruce*,  
dieth  
1329

For before he tooke journey, their fell out a matter that occasioned great troubles afterwards by *Edward Balliol*. One *Lawrence Twine* an English man borne, and one of those who had obtained lands in Scotland for reward of his service in the warres, a man well borne, but of a vitious life. This man after King *Roberts* death presuming of impune in respect of K. *Dauids* youth, loosed the reines to his licentious lewdnesse; and being often taken in adultery, and admonished by the officiall of Glasgow when he would not abstain from his wickednesse, he was excommunicated; wherewith being incensed, he tooke the officiall as he was riding to the towne of Aire, and kept him prisoner till hee was forced to redeeme his liberty with a summe of money. Sir *James Douglas* highly offended with this enormity, caused seek him, that he might be punished; which *Twine* understanding, and fearing that he should not long escape his hands if he staid within the Countrey, fled into France, and addressing himself unto *Edward Balliol*, he perswaded him to enterprise against the King of Scotland, and recover that which he had so good right to, and so faire

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an opportunity, which *Balliol* did in *Sir James* his absence, by his voyage, or after his slaughter in his voyage. And no question his absence was a strong inducement both to this *Edward*, and to *Edward* of England, to attempt the subduing of Scotland; which he did thinke would prove easie, by making *Randulph* away (which he sought to have done by poyson) *Sir James* being absent. So that either the Kings devotion (if it were indeed devotion or his pollicy, (if it were but pollicie) in sending of him out of the Countrey, is greatly condemned by our Writers. And to speake the truth it deserves to be condemned, having by so doing sent away so fit and usefull a man, denuding the Countrey of such a Captain in so doubtful times; whereas a Prelate or some other Churchman had been fitter for that employment. And hee ought to have considered that England would be still aiming at the Crown of Scotland, notwithstanding of the late alliance: neither needed he to feare any emulation between *Randulph* and *Sir James*, there being such intire love in *Sir James* towards *Randulph*, that howsoever he contended with him in vertue, yet his contention was but in vertue, and ever within the bounds of modestie, love, and friendship, behaving himself to him as to his Comrade and Brother in armes, whereof hee had ever given in all the joynt services so evident proote, especially at Bannockburne, where his love drew him out to have succoured him if there had been need, and the same love and candor (so to call it) or courtesie and modesty joyned with true magnanimitie, stayed him from going forward, that he might not arrogate to himself one share or parcell of that victory, whereby the others glory had been eclipsed. And when hee had gotten the victory, hee accompanied him joyfully unto the Camp, no lesse glad then if he had been victorious himself, farre from any hatefull or envious emulation; so that there was small reason to looke for any harme from such a disposition, or any inconvenience from such emulation, but rather to have expected much good from that his so well knowne affection and constancie both towards *Randulph*, and his native Countrey: however, hee out of his own worthie and good nature taking all in good part, hee passed on with his journey, taking with him two hundred Gentlemen of note, and (as it is reported) seaven hundred others. Amongst the Gentlemen of good qualitie, there was *Sir William Sinclair* of Rosline, *Sir Robert Logane* of Rastafbrig, and *Sir William Keith*. *De Froyssard* (in his 20. Chapter) reporteth that after his imbarcking in Scotland he arrived at the Sluce, and stayed there some 12 dayes, where he kept such state and port, as if he had been King of Scotland: That he had in company with him, a Knight Banneret, and 7 other Knights of Scotland, and was served by twenty sixe young Squires and Gentlemen of good sort, all his vessels being of gold or silver: That all that came to see him of all sorts of people were (according to their ranks) well and plentifully served with all manner of vivers, wines and spices, the best that could be had. He saith also that in his return from Jerusalem, he arrived at the port of Valence the great in Spain, where indeavouring to assist *Alphonso* the king thereof, who warred against the King of Granada, then a Saracen, he was there inclosed by an ambuish of the enemy, and so lost his life.

He



He carried with him to Hierusalem the Kings heart embalmed and put into a box of gold, which he solemnely buried before the high Altar there: and this is the reason why the *Douglas* beare the crowned Heart in their coat of Armes ever since. When he had performed this service to his dead Master, he went with such company as he had brought with him, and joyned himself unto such other Christian Princes, as at that time were gathered with great power out of sundry parts of Christendome, to warre against the Infidels; where he did so notable service, that by his frequent victories, he wan great honour to the Christian name. At last, having accomplished things in those parts with no lesse fame and glory, then Princely Magnificence, he embarked for Scotland, but was cast by storme of weather upon the Coast of Spain, and forced to go a shore on the borders of Granado, where at the same time hee found the King of Arragon fighting against the Saracens that inhabited these parts: Sir *James* offered to the King to serve him in those warres, and so fought against the enemy valiantly, and with great successe at divers times; till at last having conceived too great contempt of the enemy, esteeming them no Warriours, he became somewhat too carelesse and secure, so that he was inclosed in an ambush, and slain, with all that were about him: his bones were embalmed and sent home to Scotland, and buried in the Church of *Douglas*, called Saint Brides Kirk.

And thus he died in the yeare 1330. the 20. of August, the next yeare after King *Roberts* decease. As for his vertues, his actions have declared him sufficiently, yet these in speciall are to be observed: In his youth he was carefull to inable and fit himselfe for imployment, by the study and exercise of letters, and all good and commendable arts, whereby his mind contracting a good habit, was solidly fixed upon the vertues of modesty and sobernesse, and emptied of all envie; which hardly and very seldome are joyned with these great vertues of courage and magnanimity in a Military spirit and life, which commonly do hinder another. In his riper years we may see his perfect practice of them against the enemy, and towards his friends: In action he was bold, resolute, couragious, strong, diligent, and advised; and such every way as a stout Souldier or worthy Commander ought to be. Out of action, and in private converse, he was toward, affable, gentle, and courteous unto all: hee was loving to his Countrey, loyall, faithfull and obedient to his Sovereigne; he contended in vertue with his equalls, free from envie and hatred against any, and through the course of his whole life, without stain or blemish that wee heare of.

He is reckoned to have been in battells and incounters against the English fiftie seaven times, against the Saracens and other Infidels thirteene times ever victorious; thrice as often as hee had been yeares in action, which were about twenty foure from King *Roberts* Coronation: 1306. untill the time of his death in 1330. which if it be so, wee may see how many things were omitted by our Writers, all that are set down being farre short of that number. Wherefore it is no marvell, if in such a continuall course of victories, some confidence crept upon him; and if accustomed to so hard enemies, and good warriours, as the English, and Scots that

that sided with them (as commonly those are, who are born and bred in in the Northern parts of the world) he disesteemed and flighted the Saracens and Southern softnesse, weaknesse and effeminacie in respect thereof, whereby he fell into this Ambush, which was his death. Now as in these respects it is somewhat to be pardoned, so is this use to be made of it, that we despise no enemy however inferiour, and to eschew too much confidence and presumption in whatsoever advantage, which hath been the ruine and losse of many worthy men. He is said to have been of a black and swart complexion, and to have lisped somewhat in his speech. We heare nothing either in History, or Monument, or otherwise of his marriage: he had two base or naturall sonnes, *William* Lord of *Liddesdale* (of whom we shall speake hereafter) and one *Archbald*, whom the Lord of *Liddesdale* made Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, when hee tooke it in. To conclude, let this bee observed, that *Sir James* is never mentioned by any either English or Scottish Writer whatsoever, but with honour and commendation, as worthy, valiant, noble, good, or some such Epithete; and confessed to have beene one of the most valiant that lived in his dayes. Such is the force of vertue, and so prevalent is it, even with enemies. We will not omit here (to shut up all) the judgement of those times concerning him, in an old rude verse indeed, yet such as beareth witnesse of his true magnanimity, and invincible mind in either fortune, good or bad.

Good *Sir James Douglas* (who wife, and wight, and worthy was)  
Was never overglad for no winning, nor yet over sad for no tining,  
Good fortune and evil chance, he weighed both in one ballance.

*Jacobus Douglassius Brucii Regis socius omnium laborum in  
Hispania caesus a Saracenis, 1330.*

*Quicquid sors potuit mortali in pectore ferre  
Vel facere, hoc didici perficere, atque pati.  
Prima ubi luctando vici, sors affuit ausis  
Omnibus, & quid non pro patria ausus eram?  
Hosti terror ego: nullus me terruit hostis:  
Consiliis junxi robora dura meis.  
Prælia quot numerat, titulos, actosq; triumphos  
Brucius, hinc totidem pene trophæa mihi.  
Quo jam signa feram? major quarendus & orbis  
Atque hostis; famam non capit iste meam.  
Arma Saraceno objeci prope littora calpes  
Herculeæ, hic tellus me male fausta tegit.  
Herculeæ Gracis memoretur Gloria laudis,  
Fallor an Herculeis stant potiora mea.*

In English thus,  
What ever weight in furious Fortune laid  
On weak mans breast, I suffered undismaid,

Nor

Nor lesse my active force; and when I tri'd  
Her power in warre, propitious fate deny'd  
No help; whiles my endeavours well did prove  
How much I dared for my Countreys love.  
A terroure to my foes; I knew no feare,  
Wisedome and valour both united were  
In me. And looke what triumphs great *Bruce* gain'd,  
As many Trophies were by me obtain'd.  
What more remaineth to increase my name?  
The world appears too little for my fame.  
To Spain my aid I gave, and did oppose  
The Saracen, there was the fatall close  
Of my brave life, wher't may be questioned much  
If *Hercules* his Monuments were such.

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of Hugh the fourth and ninth Lord  
of Douglas.

**U**Nto this Sir *James* his brother germane *Hugh Douglas* did succeed, the ninth Lord, and fourth of that name. Of this man, whether it was by reason of the dulnesse of his minde, or infirmity of his body, or through whatsoever occasion else, wee have no mention at all in History of any of his actions, onely it is certain that he succeeded, and was Lord of Douglas, which he demitted (in favour of his brother *Archbald*, slain at Halidoun hill) to his sonne *William*, who was the first Earle of Douglas, as shall be showne in his life. The honour of the name and dignity of the house was upheld by his brother *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, of whom therefore we are now to speake. This *Hugh* lived after the death of his brother *Archbald* (which was 1333.) some nine or ten years, till the 1343. as the Charter of resignation of the Lordship to his nephew doth witnesse. He died without children, and was never married.

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of Archbald Douglas Lord of Galloway, Governour  
of Scotland, third brother to  
Sir James.

**B**Efore we proceed to speak of the next Lord *Douglas*, the time, and order of the History requireth that we speake of *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway, and Governour of Scotland: he was third brother to good Sir *James*, as *Boetius* affirmeth in these words; *Archibaldus Douglasius Germanus Jacobi de Douglas, quem nuperrime in hispania interiisse scripsimus*. This *Archbald* did outlive Sir *James* not above three yeares, as we shall show hereafter. Neither is the losse of the battell wherein he died, imputed to his youth, but to his haste and indignation. And in the battell of Annand, he shewed wisedome and advisednesse sufficiently. Touching his education, there is no mention thereof in History: he married

## 54 Of Archbald Douglas Lord of Galloway

His marriage. ried *Dornagilla* daughter to Red *John Cummin*, whom King *Robert* slew at Dumfrees. This *John Cummin* was stiled Lord of Galloway, having married a daughter of *Allane* Lord of Galloway, called *Mary*, whose elder sister *Dornagilla*, *John Balliol* had married: and therefore he is also stiled Lord of Galloway. There was also a third of these daughters married (as our Writers say) to the Earle of Abermale: it seemeth the lands of Galloway (Lord *Allane* dying without heires male) have been divided among the three sisters: as for his third wee finde nothing else of her. This *Archbald* having married *John Cummins* daughter, the inheritrix of the lands of Galloway, was imployed in the warre against *Edward Balliol*, whom he defeated and chased to Roxburgh, whereupon for this service, and also by another title which hee claimed as nearest to the house of Galloway by his Grandmother, the Earle of Carricks sister, (which right wee have deduced at large in the life of Lord *William* the third maker of the Indenture) *Balliol* being forfaulted, hee obtains the lands of Galloway, as Evidents and Histories beare record, stiling him *Archibald* Lord of Galloway, which continued in his posterity untill the forfeiture of the Earles of *Douglas*. Some alledge that Red *John Cummin* did not marry the Lord of Gallowayes daughter *Marie*, but a daughter of *John Balliol* of Harcourt in Normandy, called *Adama*, whom he begot on his wife *Dornagilla*, who was daughter to *Allane* Lord of Galloway: but how came Red *John* to stile himself Lord of Galloway, seeing his wife was *Adama Balliol*, who had brothers, at least one, to wit, *John Balliol* that was Competitor with *Bruce*. However it was, *Archbald Douglas* having chased *Edward Balliol*, and *Balliol* being forfeited, was made Lord of Galloway.

He is made  
Lord of Gal-  
loway.

His sonnes.

This *Archibald* had by his wife, *Dornagilla Cummin*, two sons, *William*, who succeeded to his Uncle *Hugh* in the Lordship of *Douglas*, and was created Earle of *Douglas*, and *Archibald* after Lord of Galloway: hee had also a daughter called *Marjory* married to *Thomas* Earle of *Marre*.

We have heard in the life of good Sir *JAMES*, how King *Robert Bruce* before his death had taken all pains for establishing the Kingdome to his posterity, and to leave it peaceable unto them, and had done for that effect what the wit of man could devise: he had beaten out his enemies by armes, he had ratified and confirmed his right by the Lawes and Act of Parliament, he had obtained a renunciation of all title and claim he could pretend, from *John Balliol* his Competitor: he had gotten also the like renunciation of the King of England, and all Evidents, Writs, and Monuments concerning his pretences delivered up unto him, discharged and cancelled, and declared to be null, and of no value, by consent of the English Parliament, and (to be the surer of King *Edwards* friendship) he had married his sonne *David* to *Jane* his sister. He had cut off the rebellions that were springing up against him, by executing such as were guiltie, established *Randolph* Tutor and Protector to his sonne, and Governor of the Countrey, hee had removed all occasion of emulation, that might have false out therein, and settled all with good advice, good precepts, good counsell in his Testament, both for peace among themselves, and warre against the enemy. But what is the wit of man, and how weak  
a thing

a thing are his devices ! or what bonds will bind whom duety cannot binde ?

This same *Balliol*, whose father had renounced his right (nothing regarding what his father had done) renewed his claim to the Crown. This same King of England, who had himself solemnly renounced, who had bound up friendship with the most sure and strongest bonds that can be amongst men, regarding neither his resignation made, nor his affinity and alliance, nor any dutie towards God, or faith and promise to man, used all means to strip his brother-in-law (by consequent his sister) out of the Kingdome of Scotland; as if nothing were unlawfull, that could fill up the bottomlesse gulf of his ambition. First, he caused an English Monke (under colour of giving Physick for the gravell) to poyson the Governor *Thomas Randulph* Earle of Murray; and afterward aided *Edward Balliol* with 6000. English, upon condition that *Balliol* should hold the Crowne of him. *Edward Balliol* entering Scotland with these forces, and being assisted by the male-contents in Scotland, prevailed so, that having wonne a battell at Duplin (1332. the 22. of September, the third yeare after the death of King *Robert*, and about one yeare after the death of *Randulph*) in which many were slain, to the number of 3000. together with *Duncane* or *Donald* Earle of Marre, the Governour; hee was Crowned at Scone, and these of the *Bruces* side constrained to send their King (*David Bruce* with his wife) into France, having no safe place at home to keep him in.

1332.  
Battell at Duplin.  
*Balliol* Crowned at Scone.

After his Coronation, having taken in divers places that stood out against him, he went at last to Annand, receiving such as would acknowledge him, and taking their oath of Allegiance and Fidelitie. Whereupon *Andrew Murray* Earle of Bothwell (chosen Governour after *Marres* death) sent *Archbald* Lord of Galloway to see what hee could do against *Balliol* in these quarters: he taking with him his nephew *William Douglas* Lord of Liddeldale, and *John Randulph* (the Governour *Randulphs* sonne) together with *Simeon Fraser*, having in company with them a thousand horse, went first to Mophet, and having there understood of *Balliol's* careless discipline and securitie, departing from thence in the night, he came so suddenly to Annand where *Balliol* lay, that he escaped very narrowly, being halfe naked (not having leasure to put on his cloathes) and riding upon a barme horse unsaddled, and unbridled, till he came to Carlile. Others write, that howbeit he came very quietly to have surprised the enemy at unawares in the night time, yet they had notice of his coming, and issued forth of the Towne with a great army, where they fought long, and stoutly, till at last *Balliol* was overthrowne, and fled. There were slain many of his friends, and amongst these, *Henry Balliol* (who behaved himselfe very manfully) *John Mowbray*, *Walter Cummin*, *Richard Kirbie*. *Robert* (or *Alexander*) *Bruce* Earle of Carrikt, (and sonne to *Edward* King of Ireland) was taken prisoner, and obtained pardon by the intercession of his Cousin *John Randulph*.

*Douglas* chased *Balliol* at Annand, the 25. of December, 1332.

*Hollinshed* writeth, that somewhat before this time the friends of *David Bruce* understanding that *Balliol* did sojourne within the Towne of Perth, had besieged it, but that they were constrained to raise the siege, because of the men of Galloway, who having bin sometimes the *Balliol's*



## 56 Of Archbald Douglas, Lord of Galloway,

dependers, invaded the besiegers lands under the conduct of *Eustace Maxwell*; whereupon hee saith, *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, with the Earle of March and Murray, invaded Galloway with fire and sword, and brought away great booties, but slew not many men, because they got them out of the way, for feare of that terrible invasion. This narration may bee true in the last part thereof concerning their invasion, but the cause of this invasion is not probable: that the men of Galloway should invade mens lands that lay so farre from them, as they behoved to be, that did besiege Saint Johnston; for in all liklihood it was besieged by these that were nearest to it, being in kinne, and friends to those that were slain in Duplin; and both *Hollinshed* himself, and others, write that it was recovered in *Balliol*s absence about the same time, while he sojourned in Annand, by those that lay neare to it, without mentioning any other siege before that at which it was taken.

This battell at Annand so changed the case, that hee who even now was Crowned King (in September) who had farre prevailed, to whom all men (even King *David*s nearest friends and kinsmen) had yeilded, (despairing of his estate) was by this act of *Archbald* Lord of Galloway turned quite out of his Kingdome and Countrey, and compelled to fly into England, to save his life, the 25. of December the same yeare, about three moneths after his Coronation, and was compelled to keep his Christmas at Carlile in the house of the Friars Minors. A notable example of the inconstancy of worldly affairs, and constancy of an honest heart in the *Douglas*, not abandoning his Princes cause, when others had forsaken it, and also a proof of his good service, and usefull; for which as he deserved perpetuall praise and favour of his rightfull Prince, so did he incurre great hatred of his enemy, the usurping *Balliol*, who the next day after (the 26 of December) going into Westmoreland, and there being honourably received by the Lord *Clifford*, gave unto him the whole lands of Douglassdale, which the said Lord *Clifford*s grandfather had before in the dayes of King *Edward* the first. So proudly did he presume, to give that which was not in his power: And so little had he learned the lesson of the uncertainty of humane affairs, grounded on whatsoever power, appearance, or even successe: and so difficult a lesson it is to learne, where there remains means so great as hee trusted to, the power of the King, and Kingdome of England, with his owne particular friendship and faction within the Countrey of Scotland, which shall indeed have power to trouble the State a while, but not to establish either the Kingdome to himselfe, or any part of Douglassdale to the Lord *Clifford*.

Warre proclaimed.

The next yeare, 1333. K. *Edward* of England having shaken off all colour of duty to his brother-in-law K. *David*, made open warre to be proclaimed betweene the two Countreyes, which turned on all hands to the disadvantage of Scotland, even upon both the Marches. For the Lord of Liddisdale was taken prisoner on the West hand, he having the charge of that quarter: and *Murray* the Governour on the middle March was taken likewise at the Castle of Roxburgh, by pursuing the victorie too farre on the bridge, and so excluded from his owne. King *Edward* took openly upon him the protection of *Balliol*, having caused him to sweare homage

homage to him, and so with a great Army both of his owne subjects and forreiners, came in person and late downe before Berwick, and besieged it, both by sea and land. Hereupon the Nobility of Scotland choose *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway to be Governour, and Generall of the Army, advising him to enter England, and to spoile it with fire and sword, so to force *K. Edward* to rise from before Berwick, and leave the siege. And this whilest he was about to have done, he is advertised from within the Towne, that Sir *Alexander Seaton* Governour thereof had made a paction with *K. Edward* to render the Towne, if he were not succoured by the Scots before the first of August next, and for performance thereof had given him his sonne and heire in pledge and hostage. Hereupon the Lord Governour changeth his purpose, fearing the losse of the Towne, and against the opinion of the wisest of his Armie, marcheth directly towards Berwick, and the third day after he set forth, he came within the sight both of his friends and foes. Before this King *Edward* (besides *Thomas Seaton*, who was given him in pledge) had taken also *Alexander Seaton*, another son of the Governour of Berwick (whilest at a fally out of the Towne he followed upon the enemy too eagerly) and had now both the brothers in his power, the one a pledge, the other a prisoner. He therefore seeing now that the Towne was like to be relieved, sent to the Captaine, certifying him plainly, that unlesse he did render the towne forthwith into his hands, both his sons should be hanged immediately upon a gibbet in sight of the Towne before his eyes. The Captaine returned him answer, that the dayes of Truce were not yet expired, and therefore desired him either to keep the covenant he had made, or else deliver the Hostages, and be at his advantage. When the King could not prevaile with him, nor breake him off his resolute constancie (to which his vertuous and generous Lady did also notably encourage him) he was as good as his word, and performed indeed what he had threatned, against the law of Nations, and against all humanitie, hanging them up almost in the very sight of their Parents, who bore it patiently and constantly for the good of their Countrey, and thought their childrens lives well bestowed in that regard: onely that they might not be beholders of so heauey a spectacle, they retired themselves to their chamber apart.

Berwick besieged by *K. Edward* the third.

Occasion of the battell at Halidoun hill.

This strange, tyrannicall, barbarous, and monstrous fact is suppressed in the Histories of England, and buried in silence, not unwisely, it being capable neither of defence nor excuse; and yet is contrary to the lawes of Histories, and the duty of an Historian, who ought (according to the oath of witnesses) to tell all the truth, and nothing but the truth; seeing where the truth is either adulterated or suppressed, the life of History is lost, which consists in particular circumstances, truly related. Neither do I see how this same King (in the end of his life) can pertinently and justly be called courteous and gentile, after such a fact, whereof few the like have fallen into the hands of the cruellest Tyrants that ever were recorded in story. And for my part I think certainly, that it is not possible that one who is of a nature truly gentile and courteous, should commit and be guilty of so foule a crime. It is a perpetuall blot and unexcusable, and such

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as no wit can wash away. So it is still, and so let it ever be branded and detested. So it was by our Governour the Lord of Galloway, and so much did it move him, and so farre stirre up his noble indignation, that he thought he could never be exonered with credit, without avenging of it, or spending his life in the quarrell, and so being resolved to fight, he would never give eare to any counsell on the contrary, nor alter his determination for any difficulty that could be proposed. And now K. Edward (after that unpleasant spectacle, detested even by the English themselves) had drawne up his Army, and taken a hill to the west of Berwick, called Halidoun hill, a place very advantageous for him, and the Scottish Army did stand over against them in battell aray. The Governour commanded to march up the hill, and to invade the English where they stood, altogether against the counsell of the best advised, who both before, considering the inequalities of the Armies, both in number (they being but few in respect of the English) and in experience (being for the most part young and raw souldiers, not yet trained) had dissuaded him from fighting any at all, and now seeing the odds, and inequality of ground, would gladly have opposed themselves thereunto. But all was in vaine: he was so incensed with that so detestable fact, that boiling with anger, and desiring of revenge, and trusting to the goodnesse of his cause, and to the forwardnesse of his Armie, who being inflamed in the like anger, upon the same occasion, were very desirous to joyne battell, esteeming that their earnestnesse of minde would supply their want of skill, and overcome all other difficulties, and thinking in himself, that if having bin a spectator of that vile and cruell murther, he should turne his backe without fighting, it would be accounted cowardise; he prosecuted his resolution, and commanded to march forward, which was accordingly performed. They were first to descend and go down from a little hill on which they stood, then through a valley, and so to climbe up another hill so steepe that one man may (as *Major* saith) keepe downe foure, such is the scituation thereof on the west side. Wherefore the Scots, ere they could come to stroakes, were almost overwhelmed with shot and stones; when they were come up, being quite out of breath, and charged from the higher ground, they were borne downe with violence, and slaine. Some write that the first joyning of the battell was at the foot of the hill, upon more even ground, but that the English gave somewhat back towards the side and ascent of the hill, and having gotten that advantage of the rising of the hill, made a fierce onset upon the Scots, who pursued them too rashly, supposing the English had fled, by which meane they were utterly overthrowne.

There died of the Scots in this battell 10000. others say 14000. the English writers say 30000. A rare hoast amongst the Scots, though the Countrey had not been divided in it selfe: and there were but few more then 30000. when they overthrew the King of England with his invincible Army at the renowned battel of Bannockburn: but such is the custome and forme of their Writers, to extoll their owne facts, and to lessen their neighbours, for they say there were slaine onely at Bannockburne of the English 10000. and at this battell but 15. how apparently let the Reader judge.

judge. Our Writers say there was no small number of them slain, and that it was fought with great courage, nevertheless of this inequality: neither did the Scots turne their backs, or give ground, untill their Generall (fighting valiantly in the midst of them) was slaine. There died with him *John, James, and Allane Stuarts*, sons to *Walter Stuart*, in his owne battell, the Earle of *Rosse*, to whom he had committed the Vauntguard, with *Kenneth* Earle of *Sutherland*, *Alexander Bruce* Earle of *Carrikt*, *Andrew, James, and Simon Frasers*. Few were taken prisoners, and such as were taken, by the commandment of *K. Edward* were beheaded the next day, against the law of armes: some few were saved by their keepers, who were more covetous of their ransome, then of their blood. Such cruelty did this gentile nature practise before the battell (upon the *Scatons*) in the the chase (upon the flyers) and after the battell (upon the prisoners) in cold blood. But his aime was to make a full conquest of Scotland, which did faile him notwithstanding. This battell was fought July 22. 1333. called *Magdalens day*, accounted, by the superstition of the people, unfortunate for Scotland.

Thus died *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway fighting for his Countrey: his love thereof, his indignation against so inhumane a fact is commendable: his magnanimitie likewise and valour is such as became his house: his conduct is blamed, and the cause thereof, whether it were anger or errour: his anger or desire of revenge, though the cause be never so just, should have beene bridled and tempered, and so governed, with such wisdom as might have effected a due punishment indeed, and not so headie, as to have precipitated himselfe and the Countrey into extreme danger and ruine, whilest he fought revenge. Or if it were errour, and too much relying upon the forwardnesse of his Army, that indeed is a thing not to be neglected, but to be taken hold of, and made use of, yet it ought not to be so farre trusted, but well imployed, and managed with judgement, as a good addition to other meanes and helps, but not that the whole hope of the victorie should be grounded and hang upon it alone; farre lesse ought it to be made use of when there is too great odds. In which case it serves but for a spur to set us on to our more speedy ruine. If it were feare that he should be thought a coward if he did not fight that moved him, his feare was needlesse: he had given good prooffe of it before, and might have given more thereafter: he should have remembered that he was a Generall, and Leader, in whom want of wisdom and government were as much to be blamed as fearefulnesse. He was also a Governour, in whose safety the Kingdome was interessed, and who ought to have regarded the good thereof. In this ballance he should have weighed things, and should have done according to it, though with hazzard of a sinister report for a while, which might easily have beene recovered in the owne time. Concerning which, and all idle fame, and vaine opinion of ignorant people, we have that notable example of that worthy *Fabius Maximus*, the Romane Captaine, who neither by the provocation of the enemy, nor importunitie of the souldiers, nor disgracefull rumours scattered among the people, as if he durst not have fought, or had colluded with *Hanniball*, and other such slanders, could be moved to fight but  
at

## 60 Of Archbald Douglas Lord of Galloway,

at a convenient time. Nay rather then he would doe it, he suffered the halfe of his Armie to be taken from him, and given to his Lieutenant, as the hardier man than he, who both durst, and would fight, as he bragged. And so he did indeed upon the first occasion, but with such toole-hardinesse, as that he had both lost himselfe, and his whole Army, if *Fabius* had not come in time to his rescue; who at that fit time of fighting shewed in effect both what he durst in manhood, and what he could do in wisdom; and easily made those fond rumours to vanish, to his perpetuall glory, the confuting and confounding of his Competitor, and confession and acknowledgment of his worth from those who had blamed him before. Not unlike to this was the saying of great *Scipio* the Africane, who being reproached by a certain man that he was not so forward a fighter as he could have wished (though in very deed he was forward enough) daigned him with no other answer, but that his mother had borne him to be Commander, not a fighter; thinking that a Captaines chiefe honour is to command well, and to choose fit times, places, and meanes for fighting. And not to goe any farther; we heard before in good Sir *JAMES* his life, how little he was moved at the English Heralds demands, who desired (in the Kings name) that he would fight him on the plaine field, upon equall ground, if he had either vertue or honour. Sir *JAMES* sent him away with derision, as one that had made a foolish request, telling him, that a good Captaine should account it his honour not to fight for his enemies request, but as he found most expedient and convenient for himselfe, in wisdom, choosing the forme, the field, the time, the place, and all for the advantage of his Army, and giving no advantage to the enemy whereof he could possibly hinder him. And this I have insisted upon so much the more, because many that are of good spirits otherwise, do oftentimes erre in this false opinion, and thereby doe both lose themselves and their honours. So that while they affectate to be called hardie fighters, doe prove indeed to be foolish Captains, and ill Commanders, and so doe not eschew reproach, but incurre it. Neither get they the honour of valour, which they seeke, but the blame of temeritie and rashnesse, which they should avoid. So that the Writers speaking of this fact, doe all of them condemne it, and brand it with a note of ill conduct; and some of them say in expresse termes, *Archbald* Lord of Galloway was not valiant (in this case) but temerarious and foolish; very truly and wisely, to warne others to take heed, and beware of failing in the like kinde; very soberly and respectfully, restricting it to this particular onely, and in this case leaving him his due praise and commendation in his other actions, as ye have heard hee very well deserved.

This defeat drew on with it the surrendring of the Towne of Berwick (the next day after) by Sir *Alexander Seaton*, and of the Castle by *Patrick Dumbarre* Earle of March, lives and goods safe, themselves giving their Oath of allegiance and fealty to the K. of England. He commanded the Earle of March to re-edifie the Castle of Dumbarre, which he, being not able to keepe it, had demolished, that it might not be a receit to the English. And within a short time this overthrow had wellnigh overthrowne the



*Governour of Scotland, & 3. brother to sir Iames. 61*

the Kingdome, and the cause : for the greatest part of the Nobilitie, that were not dead before, being slain in this conflict, the rest flying to save themselves, to strengths & desarts; *Balliol* assisted by *Robert Talbot* (a Noble man of England, whom the King had left with him, with a few English bands) being aided by his Favourers in Scotland, made himself once more King, and was confirmed by Parliament, within half a yeare after he had been driven out. All yeelded obedience to him, save onely foure Castles, to wit, Loch-leven, Dumbarton, Kildrummie, Urwhart and Lowdon peeple, seated on a little lake; so that no man in Scotland durst call *David Bruce* their King, except young children in their playes : so far were matters altered by this check ! Where it is to be marked, that as by the wise and wary government of the same *Archbald*, his Countrey and lawfull King were defended, and *Balliol* chased out of his usurped Kingdome : So by the same mans oversight in government, both the usurping *Edwards* (English and Scots) are repossessed again therein, and his Countrey plunged into misery, and the rightfull King and his partners brought to great extremitie.

Of so great efficacie is good, or evill government : therefore it is so much the more circumspectly to bee looked to, and to bee exercised according to the rules of wisdom, and not after the opinions of men, fame, and reports, anger, or whatsoever other cause doth make men stray from the right and strait course of reason. This was the lamentable condition of our Countrey : But let us have patience a while, and wee shall shortly have better newes. Both these usurpers shall ere long bee driven to let go their hold, and at last be utterly disappointed of all their hopes and projects; God conserving the liberty of this Countrey, and the Crowne thereof to the rightfull heire, and the *Bruces* blood, in whose posterity it shall yet prosper. In which work no little part shall bee the valiant and faithfull efforts of the *Douglasses*. Amongst whom it were requisite to speake of the next Lord *Douglas*: But the order of time draws me another way : it being long before his turne come in, even tenne or twelve, or perhaps twentie yeares, as shall be seen in the owne place, for hee hath been young (it should seeme,) and abroad out of the Countrey, but in his absence some other of the *Douglasses* must not be idle.

Archibaldus Douglassius ad Halidonem caesus, 1333.

*Non potuit perferre nefas, fœdamque Tyranni  
Perfidiam. Et quisnam sustinuisse queat?  
Ergo furens animi, atq; accenso pectore inardet  
Pralia, & ingratas increpat usque moras.  
Poscimus aut aquo (dixit) certamine Martem,  
Aut certum est fati cedere velle tuis.  
Ah nimis! ah properant! Non illis ignea virtus  
Defuerat: nocuit precipetasse nimis.  
Nec te victorem jactes, temeraria virtus  
Sic nocuit. Vinci vis animosa nequit.*

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In

## 62 Of William Douglas Lord of Liddesdale

In English thus,

He was not patient enough to see  
 The Tyrants faithlesse fact (and who could be)  
 Hence his enflamed breast with anger sweld,  
 Enrag'd at such impediments as held  
 His hand from just revenge. Come let us trie  
 Our chance, and winne the field, or bravely die.  
 If fate will have it so, he said : and all  
 With too much haste obey'd their Generall.  
 No courage wanted, but the hard event  
 Prov'd the act rash, and lose the punishment  
 Of ill m'd valour. Thou didst nothing gain,  
 Who to his passion yeelds commands in vain.

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of William Douglas Lord of Liddesdale, called the  
*flowre of Chevalrie.*

**B**Efore we proceed to the rest of the Lords of Douglas, the order of the History requires, that wee speake something of *William*, not Lord of Douglas, but Lord of Liddesdale, and a worthy member of the house and name of *Douglas*. The first mention of him, and his actions, is at the battle of Annand, where hee was with *Archbald*, Lord of Galloway. The last of his actions of importance are in the beginning of the first Earle *William*, before the battle of Durham the space of thirteen yeares or thereby; which time hee employed for his lawfull King and Countrey against the usurpers, so diligently as shall bee deduced in the progresse of this Story. Writers call him naturall sonne to Sir *James* slain in Spain, which is truth: But they erre when they say that *John* Lord Dalkeith was brother to *William* Lord of Liddesdale, hee being Liddesdales uncle, and Sir *James* brother, so master *John Major* hath *Davidis*, for *Gulielmi*, and *Hollinshed*, and *Boetius William* for *Archbald*, who was made Captain of the castle of Edinburgh, by this same *William*. But it is so clear and manifest whom they mean of, that there is no question to be made of it. However it be, he hath so honoured and nobilitated himself by his vertue, that no posteritie needs to enquire of his birth. We finde that he was married to a daughter of Sir *John Grahame*, Lord of Abercorne, called *Margaret Grahame*, by whom he got the lands of Liddesdale, he had but one onely daughter (*Marie*) who was married to Sir *James* of Lowden, who after the Lord Liddesdales his death, and *Margaret Grahames*, got the lands of Liddesdale.

His first appearing, to wit, at the battell of Annand, hath been spoken of: after that hee was for his wisdom and manhood accounted worthy to have the custody and government of the West Marches, as the charge of the East Marches was committed to *Patrick Dunbarre*. Being Wairden there, hee had his residence at Annand, where at a certain skirmish with the

Sonne naturall to Sir *James*.

Her marriage

One childe  
*Marie*.

the English, his men were scattered, himself was hurt and taken prisoner, about that same time that Regent *Murray* was taken at Roxbrough, to wit, in the yeare 1332. before the battell of Halidoun hill, which was the occasion that he was not there with his uncle *Archbald*, Lord of Galloway. He continued a prisoner untill 1335. and then he and *Murray* were both set at libertie, having payed a great summe of gold for their ransome. It is strange that these two great Politicians (the two *Edwards* I mean) intending a conquest of Scotland, should have suffered such men to bee set at liberty at any rate, without making them sure to their side; considering that the detaining of them would greatly have facilitate their designs: and their liberty, being enemies, hinder and annoy them, as we shall heare it did not a little. It was apparently the pride of their hearts in that good successe, which made them carelesse and secure, not fearing any danger from these or any else. So doth successe and pride growing thereupon commonly blind men: or so doth God blinde the wisdom of unjust men, when hee hath a work to do against them. But before wee come to the rest of the deeds of this valorous Lord, we must take a view of the estate of things at that time, that the circumstances (which are the life of History, and light of actions) being knowne, the actions themselves may be the better considered.

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We have heard how desperately things went on the *Brucian* (which was the onely right) side: hee that was lawfull King durst not bee named, nor there was none that durst do so much as once offer to call him King, but the little children in their play, who still stiled him so; whether by a naturall inclination to their rightfull Prince, or by some spark of Divine inspiration joyned therewith, who can tell? or who knowes these things? what motions will either remain of old or spread of new in the hearts of men, where Gods work is to be done? wise men keep silence, and therefore the stones behoved to cry out, and foolish simple babes beare witness that the *Bruce* was King, for all the usurpers confidence and cruelty: no doubt, it was with great derision, and contempt of the hearers, but the event did justifie it, that it had a secret mover. No man saw the means how it could come to passe, but means will not be wanting, where a work is to be done. This ought to be a heartning to good subjects in their lawfull Princes quarrell, and for good men in all good causes, not to despair for want of means. Let men do their best, means will come from whence they least dream on: Perhaps it will fall out so here in this case: Out from among the midst of the enemies the first glimpse of deliverance doth arise.

There were that conspired against the *Bruce* to wrack him, and the Countrey, England and the *Balliols* faction in Scotland, and those had overrunne all. There comes a blink of favour, and hope from Rome, by the procuring of France. The Pope sends to King *Edward* of England, to desist from invading of Scotland, but that vanished without effect: pride had so farre prepossessed his heart, that he thought himselfe sure to make a conquest of Scotland, pleasing himself in his owne conceit, and supposing Scotland neither durst, nor could ever make head against him hereafter: wherefore he will not do so much as give the Ambassadors leave

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## 64 Of VVilliam Douglas L. of Liddesdale,

to come into his sight. A manifest contempt, not so much of the people; as of the voyce of equity and reason: But he called it reason what he had ability to doe: (*Stat pro ratione voluntas*) is the voyce of Tyrannie, and indeed a change being to come, pride behoved to go before; but the working of this is obscure, and not perceived at first openly: dissention amongst the conspirators doth arise upon a light occasion, a gnats wing (as the Proverb is) but it growes to a Mountain. *Talbot* an English man was appointed with *Balliol* (as hath been said) for to govern Scotland, his co-adjutors for re-conquering of it were (amongst other Scots Englized) *David Cummin* Earle of Athole, *Henry* of Beaumont, *John Mowbray* an old favourer of that faction, from the time of *Edward* the first, of whom he had received diverse lands for ill service to his Countrey, which *Edward* esteemed to bee good; as indeed it was profitable to him. This *John Mowbray* was dead, and had left his lands to be divided between his two daughters, and his brother *Alexander*, or rather as a bone, and a matter of debate amongst the whole faction: for his daughters claiming it as heires of line, his brother by heire-male as entail, the Case was brought to judgement. *Henry* of Beaumont had married one of the daughters, he therefore was fracker froward that way, as one that was interessed. *Talbot* and *Cummin* swayed this way; *Edward Balliol* enclined to the other party, and gave sentence for *Alexander* the brother. Hereupon dissention ariseth; they grudge and murmur against the judgement, they complain of it in their open discourse, and speeches, as unjust: they withdrew themselves from Court, as mal-contents. *Talbot* goes into England (perhaps to complain to the King) and as he came thorow Lowthian, hee is taken by some of King *Bruces* party (who began to show their heads upon this occasion) and carried to Dumbarton where hee died: *Beaumont* put hand to work, and without so much as acquainting the King withall, takes *Dungard* a strong Castle in Buchan, and the rest of the lands that were in plea; hee ceaseth them, and makes them his owne by the law of the strongest. *Cummin* gets him into Athole and there fortifies himself against whosoever should assail him. This terrifies *Balliol* so, that he retreats his sentence, and turnes his coat; agreeeth with those two, granting unto *Beaumont* the lands which he had adjudged from him, and giving *Cummin* diverse other good lands which belonged to *Robert Stuart*, who shall reigne afterwand, to show upon what ill ground that gift was founded. But is he the better for this? Injustice is sup injustice it must be either first, or last, he is not so much the better, as in likelihood he should have been; for injustice is never profitable. If hee gain one, he losseth another: hee winnes *Cummin* and *Beaumont*, but he losseth *Alexander Mowbray*: who thereupon joins himself to the other party. And thus was this usurpers faction brangled, then bound up again, and after divided again by want of worth in *Balliol* their head. But this is not all, for it seems that *Cummin* mind hath not been so much soundly reconciled to *Balliol*, as it hath been onely plai-stered over, which may appeare to bee probably collected out of the History, which they say is thus. *Edward* of England came with 50000 men into Scotland, to what purpose so manye was there warre? None saith he, nor rebellion greatly, that appeared any where, what doth hee there doth

doth he fight with any man? doth he fortifie Castles? we heare no word of any such matter. What hath been his intention then? wherefore came he, and with so huge an Army? they tell not. But let actions speake, they will tell: All agree in this, that he tooke away *Balliol* into England; there is one point: Then hee hath been jealous of him, and hath feared perhaps that he would not continue long his vassall, as his Grandfather had prooffe, in *Balliols* father: but what doth he more? hee leaves *Cummin* to guide the affaires in Scotland; there is another point: Hee makes him Viceroy in Scotland for *Balliol*, and *Balliol* in effect prisoner in England. Of which course *Edward* of England is the Authour, let it bee so; who will purge *Cummin* of having been a Counsellor, a suggester of information for his owne advancement? he being a man that did ever hunt after preferment, which he made the scope of his actions, and compasse, by which he ever failed, being also of an aspiring mind, and of a fickle and various disposition and nature. However it be, this is another division in that society between the *Edwards*, the usurping Kings. And thus much of the estate of their faction.

Concerning the other partie that stuck to the lawfull King *Robert Stuart*, that afterward was King, had escaped *Balliols* ambush: being but fifteen yeares of age, and by the help of his friends, was conveyed to the Castle of Dumbarton, where hee was received by *Malcolm Fleeming* Captain thereof. Now both the *Edwards* being absent, and he having a particular spleen against *Cummin*, who possessed his private inheritance, the said *Robert* with the help of *Colin* or *Duncan Campbell* in Argyle (from whom he obtained an aid of foure hundreth men) had taken the Castle of Dunholm in Coile, and destroyed the English Garrison there, whereupon the men of Boote (which was his private inheritance) had taken armes, slain *Al-lane Lyle* there Captain, and Sheriffe, who was placed there by *Balliol* and *Cummin*, and were come home very joyfull to their old master the *Stuarts*. Upon this *Thomas Bruce* Earle of Carrikt with his friends, and neighbours of Coile, and Cunningham, and *William Karrudise* of Annandale (who had ever refused the English yoake) coming forth out of the place where they had lurked, resorted to him also. *John Randulph* Earle of Murray was returned from France, and did incourage them with hopes of forreign help of *Jefferey* or *Godfrey Rosse* (Sheriffe of Airc) had drawne Coile, Carrikt, and Cunningham to be of the partie; Ranfrow was also returned to the *Stuarts*. By their example, the dependers of *Andrew Murray* had drawne all Cliddesdale to them, partly by faire means, partly by force. These under the command and leading of *Robert Stuart*, and *John Randulph* had passed into the North parts, chased *David Cummin*, Governor for the English to Lochaber, and compelled him to yeeld, and swear obedience to *David Bruce*: Notwithstanding, that the enemy had committed to him so great a charge, as to bee Lieutenant for him in those parts.

About this time or a little before, *William* Lord of Liddeisdale returns from his captivity, having been three yeares in prison: And hee is no sooner returned, but that presently he begins to serve his King and Countrey faithfully, and diligently against both their enemies, Scots and Eng-

lized



## 66. Of William Douglas L. of Galloway,

Convention:  
at Perth, 2.  
April. 1335.

lized usurpers; recompensing his long imprisonment with his enemies losses, especially in Lowthian: for the more easie performance hereof, and that hee might annoy them that were in the Castle of Edinburgh, (which was then held by the English) and them that went toward it, hee lay in wait in Pentland-hills. To him *John Randolph*, after that he had left *David Cummin* Earle of Athole Lieutenant for him in the North parts (*Randolph* and *Robert Stuart* were chosen Governours by the Kings party) did adjoyn himself as to his old and fast friend: from thence they both went to Perth, to a Convection of the States, the 2. of Aprill 1335. But there was nothing done at that meeting, because of the enmity betwixt the Lord Liddesdale, and *David Cummin* Earle of Athole. The occasion was, the Lord of Liddesdale alledged that hee was detained longer in prison, then other wayes he would have been, by the means of the the Earle of Athole, who (no doubt) did thinke it meet for *Balliol* and the English faction, and therefore advised them to keep him. And certainly he was wiser in that point, then they that set him at libertie for ransome: Now under the colour and pretext of this ill will between him and Liddesdale, Athole was so strongly accompanied with his servants and dependers, that the rest being jealous of his disposition, and fearing his present power did conclude no matter of importance, *Robert Stuart* enclined toward him, but all the rest favoured the Lord Liddesdale. *Robert* was young, and knew not the disposition of Athole, which the rest knew better, and what ods was between them in fidelitie, which was not long in discovering. For King *Edward* of England came with a great army, both by Sea and Land, and brought *Balliol* with him. So soone as he came to Perth, Athole being solicited to defection from *Bruce*, he was not very hard to wooe, whereas Liddesdale did still his uttermost endeavours for him. One of the Governours (to wit, *Robert Stuart*) being sick, and the other (*John Randolph*) thinking it too heavie a burden for him alone to fight, divided his forces, that so he might the more annoy the King. Now word was brought to him, that there was a great army of the Guelders coming through England, to joyne with *Edward*, and help him against the Scots. Wherefore *Randolph* passeth over into Lowthian, to try if he could conveniently intercept them, and cut them off ere they should joyn with the King. There came hither to assist *Randolph* (the Governour) *Patrick* Earle of Marche, *William* Lord Liddesdale, and *Alexander Ramsay* of Dalhousie, and others. These being assembled together, lay in wait for them near Edinburgh in the Borrow moore: and so soon as they came in sight one of the other, without any delay of either side they joyned battell, and after a great conflict, the Guelders were put to rout, and chased to a little hill, where was a ruinous Castle. There they were besieged all that night, and the next day, they rendered themselves, lives safe.

Others write that they fled to the Castle hill of Edinburgh, up Saint Mariess wind or lane, defending themselves valiantly through the high street till they came to that place, where they slew their horses, and made (as it were) a rampart of their carcasses, and so saved themselves. There they stayed all that night, and having neither meat nor drink, nor convenient lodging,

lodging, oppressed with hunger, and cold, and thirst,, yeelded themselves on the morrow. This narration seems not to bee so probable, as the former; for if it had been at the Castle of Edinburgh, it might have made them more support, at least releved the Duke, and have saved him. Besides that, the town of Edinburgh should suffer strangers to passe through the midst of them, and neither aid them if they were friends, nor assail them if they were enemies, nor shut their gates if they were neutrall, for fear of some danger to come to their towne thereby, but suffer both parties to have free accesse into their chief street, and to stand as lookers on, it hath no great likelihood. They ascribe also the winning of the field, to the Lord of Liddesdale, who was not (as *Hollinshed* sayes) present at their first joyning battell, but came to it from Pentland-hills in so convenient time; that if he had not come, the Guelders who fought exceeding well, had got the day. Others make no mention of *Randulph*, but of the Lord Liddesdale, and *Alexander Ramsay* with him.

Those that write of this battell, tell of a huge and wonderfull stroake given by Sir *David Annand* in his fury, hee being hurt, stroke his enemy on the shoulder with a Pole-axe, and clave him and his horse down to the hard pavement, in which, the force of the stroake left a great mark long after. And no lesse memorable is the valour of a woman in the Guelders army, who at the beginning of the battell stept forth before her company, and encountred in a single combat or duell a Scottish Squire, named *Robert Shaw*, whom she slew, and afterwards beat downe her enemies on each side, till at last after a good time shee was compassed about, and so slain. The Duke of Guelder their Captain having yeelded, was courteously, and honourably used, his stuffe and baggage was restored to him, and himself set free. The reason of this was, because *Randulph* Earle of Murray, having been bred in France, knew that the French King did affect him; and therefore to gratifie him, he shewed him this favour to let him go without any other hurt or dammage; onely he made him sweare, hee should never aid the English again against the Scots. This same Author sayes that this was not the Duke of Guelders, but the Earle of Namurs called *Guy* contrary to all our Writers, who with one consent affirme that it was. And if it were *Guy* of Namurs, he had alwayes been an enemy, and received greater courtesie then enemies deserve, and more favour then was expedient for the Countrey. Nay, *Randulph* was not content to dismiss him free onely, but would needs for his safety, accompany him to England, in which journey they were suddenly set upon by the Lord *Percie*, and the Englized Scots, who had dressed an ambuscado for them, and there *Randulph* was taken, and the Lord Liddesdale hurt in the leg. The Governour was carried to the two *Edwards* that lay before Perth, which towne was thereupon soone after rendred unto him.

Upon this successe of the usurpers faction, *Athole* very glad of what had falne out, accounting the prize now wonne, and following forth his fraudulent pollicie revolted again to the usurping Kings, thinking it safest to side with the stronger, and did now clearly show, how worthy he was of that favour bestowed on him by *Robert Stuart*, who at the Convention at Perth had appeared on his side against the Lord Liddesdale. And not onely

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onely did *Cummin* come in to them, but undertakes also the government of Scotland once more as Lieutenant for the English, promising to root out all these of the contrary part that should stand out, and would not acknowledge their authoritie. The King of England partly for lack of vic-tuals (which were put out of the way by the Governour) partly because of his journey into France, which he was then projecting, returned into his owne Countrey, and took along with him *Balliol*, who had the name of a King, but was indeed a very slave to another mans affection, for a vain and empty title; a just reward for his foolish trusting to a stranger in prejudice of his Countrey.

Athole being willing to doe what hee had said to the *Edwards*, that he might approve his service and fidelity unto them (whereby hee proved also false to his lawfull King, and late benefactours; his so friendly enemies, who had not onely pardoned him so lately, and saved his life, but trusted him so far, and committed so much to him) left no kind of crueltye unpractised, that he could against his Countrey, so far, as that almost the whole Nobilitie relented, and became slack and remisse against him, or did yeeld unto him, having forgotten their duty. But behold the reward of such wisdom, and the due fruit of such seed as he had sown; a fruit that is often reaped of such seed, if men would beleeve, & observe it: though the present appearance, the first buds and blossomes of things do blinde their eyes, & make them choose that which should not be chosen, which is unacceptable to man, and not past over by God, as is seen in this man before the yeare be fully expired. For *Robert Stuart* being sick, and *Randulph* a prisoner, there were left but three Noble men who stuck fast, and were faithfull to their King, and Countrey. These were *William* Lord Liddesdale, *Patrick* Earle of March, and *Andrew Murray* who had been Governour. They were so constant, that no promises could corrupt their fidelitie, nor no threatening nor danger could quail their courage so, as to bow their hearts to any English servitude. Some adde unto these the Earle of Rosse, and *William* Lord Keith. These did greatly hate his unnaturall dealing against his Countrey, and treachery against his promise, and crueltye joyned withall: three things ever odious and hatefull to honest minds. Wherefore understanding that hee lay at the siege of the Castell of Kildrummie, they levied such companies and number of men as they could get, and marched towards him. *Cummin* being advertised hereof, raiseth the siege, and meeteth them in the fields within the Forrest of Kilblane: There they fought it very hardly, and *Cummin* being more in number, had overthrown them (as it is thought) but that *John Craig* Captain of Kildrummie, issuing forth with three hundreth fresh men, restored the battell which was almost lost, and gave them an undoubted victory, which when *Cummin* perceived (being conscious of his owne ill deserving) that he might not fall into his enemies hands alive, he rushed into the midst of the battell, and so was slain: Sir *Robert Minyeis* fled to the Castle of Kenmure (saith *Boetius*) who saith also that *Alexander Gordon* was he that slew Athole; but others attribute it to the Lord Liddesdale himself, who for that cause, and for the slaughter of Sir *Thomas Minyeis* (it may be they mean Sir *Robert*) at the Castle of Lochindors, in the Sheriff-dome

*Cummin* overthrown  
at Kilblane,  
and slain.

1337.

Sheriffedome of Bamfe, was rewarded with the Earledome of Athole, and is so stiled in the resignation by which hee surrenders it again some foure yeares after (to wit, 1341) the 16 of February in favour of *Robert Stuart*, Great Stuart of Scotland, whereof the evident is yet extant in the Register. There died in this battell besides Athole, *Walter Braid*, and *Robert Cummin*, and a great number of others both Gentlemen and Commons. Sir *Thomas Cummin* was taken prisoner, and the next day (being the 1. of January) he was beheaded. They were not above 1000. or (as some write) 500. choice men against 3000. yet the event was (as wee have said) favourable to the just and right cause. This battell was fought the last of December, 1337. By this blink of fair weather in such a storme of forrain assaults, things were again somewhat changed, and the *Bruci-ans* encouraged: wherefore that they might have some face of a settled estate and government, they choose *Andrew Murray* Regent as hee had been before his captivitie. He went into the North, and in the mean time the Lord of Liddeisdale with a company of chosen men passeth over into Fyffe, and besieged the Castle of Saint Andrews, Falkland, and Luchers, all which he tooke in with small difficulty, by his wisedome, and manhood, though they were strongly manned, and well fortified, and furnished with munition, and victuall. Major referreth this to the time after the Governour came backe out of the North. After this, he returned into Lowthian to his old haunt in Pentland-hills to wait his time, and watch the English that lay in Edinburgh Castle, that hee might find no occasion of troubling, and molesting them. At last this occasion did happen; the Towne being full stuf with a great number of Souldiers, both English and Scots: There was a scottish man amongst them of a stout stomack, named *Robert Phanderghest* whose lot was fallen to be on that side, but his heart was with the other party, and hee carried no great good will to the English. This being perceived he was the worse entreated by them, so that one day his head was broken by the Marshall *Thomas Kneveton*, whereat taking indignation, hee sought all means to bee avenged thereof, and so brought it to passe that he shortly after slew him; and to avoid the danger of punishment, fled to the Lord Liddeisdale, whom having informed of the negligence that was growne amongst the English; he perswaded him to take advantage of their sloath, he nothing slack in a businesse of that nature, went secretly in the night to the Towne, and slew foure hundreth of them in their sleep, and drunkenesse, before they could make any resistance.

About this time *Murray* the Regent dieth, after he had brought back all the Northerne parts of Scotland to his Princes obedience excepting Perth, a great losse for his Countrey, and hee greatly regrated; But no losse is without some gain. *Robert Stuart* had now recovered his health, who was the other Governour; (and as some write) hee assumed the Lord Liddeisdale for his colleague, whether that were so or not, and whatever his place and name was, hee was a notable adjunct to *Robert Stuart*, and under his authority performed much good service, and profitable to King and Countrey with great hazard of his life, by receiving of many wounds, while he did assaile and vanquish greater numbers with far fewer:

## 70 Of William Douglas L. of Galloway,

So that by his prowesse and singular valour hee reduced Tivedale, Niddesdale, Annandale and Cliddesdale (except the Hermitage) to the Kings obedience, having expelled from thence all the English. These lands and strengths were lost again after the battell of Durham, and recovered again the second time, by William the first Earle of Douglas, which wee have inserted here, lest men inconsiderately should confound, and mistake the one William for the other.

By these doings his name came to bee spread throughout the whole Island, inasmuch that Henry Lancaster Earle of Darbie hearing thereof, and being himself a valiant man, and desirous of glory, provoked him to fight with him hand to hand on horseback : but at their first encounter, the Lord of Liddesdale his hand was so sore wounded with his owne speare (which brake hard at his hand) that hee was not able to prosecute the combate, whereupon it was delayed. Major maketh mention of his jutting, and joyneth Alexander Ramsay with him at Berwick : hee telleth also of one Patrick Grahame, who being provoked and challenged by an English man into the field, told him he was content ; but wished him to dine well, for hee would send him to suppe in Paradise, which hee also did : hereupon hee condemns these juts and duels in time of peace ; so that it should seeme there have been some peace or truce. But wee heare not of any, I doe rather thinke there hath been some assurance at that time.

A battell at  
Blackburne.

That same yeare, the King of England sent a very valiant Knight named Sir Thomas Barclay into Scotland with a great power of men to assist their faction : Robert Stuart and the Lord Liddesdale goe against him, and gave him battell at Blackburne ; where the Lord of Liddesdale fought so eagerly, that all his men being slain, he and Robert Stuart having onely three left with them, continued still fighting, and defended themselves till night, which being come on, by favour thereof they escaped, and saved themselves by flight.

John Stirline  
defeated by  
Liddesdale.

It was not long ere he recompensed this losse, by the defeating of John Stirline and his company. This Stirline with five hundreth men assailed the Lord Liddesdale at unawares, at a place called Cragens, having but fourtie in his company, as he was journeying without any feare or suspicion of an enemy. This did put him into a great feare at first, but he recollecting himselfe out of that sudden affrightment, fought so valiantly that hee defeated Stirline, slew fittie of his men, and tooke fouretie prisoners.

Afterward the English that lay at Creighton, made divers onsets and incursions upon him, in one of which he was runne through the body with a speare, and was thereby disabled to doe any service for a season.

So soone as he was recovered, being accompanied with twenty men onely, he set upon sixty English, at a place called The blacke Shaw, and having wisely taken the advantage of the ground, which was fitter for foot then horsemen, he slew and took them every one.

In the same year 1338. the 24. of December, or as others, the 2. of November, he set upon the convoy of the English that were carrying vivers

to



to the Castle of Hermitage, as they were in Melrosse, or neare to it, and defeated them, but not without great slaughter of his owne men: and so having got the victuals, he went and besieged the Castle of Hermitage, He takes the Castle of Hermitage. rooke it, and did victuall it with the same victuall which he had taken at Melrosse.

He vanquished also *Lawrence Vauch* (alias *Rolland Vanch*) a very valiant man, with a great company of Englishmen.

And in the yeare following ( 1339 ) he fought five times in one day with *Lawrence* (or *William*) *Abernethie*, a Leader under *Balliol*, and having beene put to the worse foure times, saith *Hollinshead*; *Boetius*, five times, Hee fighteth five times with Lawrence in one day, and vanquisheth him. at the sixth time vanquished him, and slew all his men, and took himselfe prisoner, and thereafter presented him to *Robert Stuart*, who sent him to the Castle of *Dumbartan*. For these and such other exploits atchieved by him, he was highly esteemed of all men, and got the name which is commonly used of him, The flowre of Chivalrie.

He was after this sent Ambassadour into France to informe King *David* of the estate of the Realme, and to conferre with him about weighty matters, being either chosen for his worth, or only sent by *Robert Stuart* as his Colleague, and so fittest for that employment. While he was there he obtained pardon of the K. of France, and peace for one *Hugh Hambell* a famous Pirate. He is sent Ambassadour into France.

During his absence in France, *Robert Stuart* had laid siege to *St. Johnstoun* in the yeare 1339. and had divided his Army into foure squadrons, under foure chiefe Captaines ( each Captaine commanding a part ) of which he himselfe was one, the Earle of March another, *William* Earle of Rosse the third, and *Magnus Mowbray* Lord of *Cliddesdale* the fourth. It was divers times assaulted, but they were repulsed with losse, it being valiantly defended by the English that were within. They had lien at it ten weekes without doing any good, and were now almost quite out of hope to take it; so that they began to thinke of leaving off, when in the very meane time the Lord *Liddesdale* arrives on Tay, having brought with him out of France *Hambell* the Pyrate, with five ships well furnished with men, munition, and weapons. These men the Lord *Liddesdale* had hired in France of purpose for this businesse; amongst them were two Knights of the family of Castle *Galliard*, and two Esquires, *Giles de la Hayes*, and *John de Breise*, He landed a part of the souldiers, and left the rest in the Ships to keepe the mouth of the river, and he himselfe marched to *Cowper* in *Fife* to take it. It had beene deserted by the Englishmen for want of vivers in the time of *Murray* the Governour, and now againe it was seized by the Englizd Scots for the use of the English. Their Captaine at this time was one *William Bullock* an English Priest, but a valiant man, who was also Treasurer for them and the faction. The Lord *Liddesdale* deales with him, that seeing there was no hope of succour from England, and that the Scots Garrison was not to be trusted to, he would forsake the English faction, and enter into King *David*s service, promising to procure him lands in Scotland. *Bullock* accepted his offer, and having obtained his promised lands, hee did much service afterward to the King and the Lord of *Liddesdale*. Having by

Recovereth  
Cowper.

Perth taken.

this meanes recovered Cowper, he returned to the siege of Saint Johnstoun, where (as he was ever forward) he was hurt in the leg with the shot of a Crosbow going to the Scalade. Neverthelesse, he departed not till the Towne was taken, or given up by the Governour thereof *Thomas Uthred*. The manner of the taking of it was this : when the siege had lasted foure moneths, and was like to have continued longer, the Earle of Rosse by digging of Mines drew away the water, and dried up the Fosses and Ditches, so that the Souldiers going to the assault upon dry ground, and approaching the walls without any let or difficultie, beat the defenders from off the walls, especially by shooting of darts and arrowes out of the Engines which they had caused make : And so they rendred, and departed with bag and baggage in the yeare 1340.

Stirling taken

Within foure dayes after Stirling was also besieged, and rendred on the same conditions.

After the siege of Saint Johnstoun was ended, the Lord Liddesdale rewarded the Frenchmen very liberally, and sent them backe into France well contented. He caused also restore to *Hugh Hambell* one of his best Ships, which was taken by the enemy during the siege. For *Hambell* having adventured to approach the Towne with his Ships to give an assault, one of them was taken by the English, and now was restored.

Thus *K. Davids* party did flourish by the faithfull valour of these his good and notable subjects, and prevaile against the pretended *K. Balliol* : who seeing such successe in *K. Davids* affaires, durst show his face no longer; but having lurked a while in Galloway, by changing and shifting places for feare of being intercepted, and wearying of that kinde of life, he returnes into England now the second time after his conquest; he did not possesse his Kingdome long, and but with little ease or contentment, what by the Scots chafing of him, what by the King of England (his good Master) detaining of him little better then a captive. A shadow of a kingdome, or slavery rather; being miserable indeed, yet sees he not his miserie, but seeketh it againe, and loseth it againe.

The originall  
of Innerleith.

Occasion of  
taking the  
Castle of E-  
dinburgh.

But let us returne to our Lord of Liddesdale, who desists not here from doing of good service to his King and Countrey. Edinburgh Castle is yet in the possession of the English : it was too strong to force, wisdom must supply, which was not lacking in him, no more then valour; a good harmonie, and happy conjunction, which were ever to be wished ! There was one *Walter Towers* (of whom are descended the *Towers* of Innerleith) a man of his acquaintance, and a follower of him, had (by chance) a Ship laden with victuall in the Firth of Tay beside Dundie. Liddesdale causeth him to bring about his Ship to Forth, where (as he was instructed) feigning himselfe to be an English Merchant, and sending some flagons of very fine wine to the Captaine of the Castle, he prayed him to take him into his protection, and that he would give such order as the rest of his victuall might be free from all danger and perill of his souldiers, and of the enemy; promising that if the Garrison in the Castle had need of any thing, he should command any thing that was in his power, so farre as it could reach. The Captaine desired him to send some hogsheds of the same wine, and some bisket bread, and promised him access when he pleased :

pleased : he further warned him that he should come timely in the morning for feare of the Scots, that did make frequent onsets and incursions in those parts. The Lord of Liddesdale being advertised hereof, chooseth out 12. of his best men, and the same night goeth out to *Walter Towers* ship, and he and his men having borrowed the Mariners apparell, did put it on above their Armour, and so went to the Castle, carrying the wine and victuall with them : he had before placed the rest of his men as neare as he could, that they might be in readinesse, upon a signe given them, to come to the Castle to his aid. Liddesdale himselfe, with *Simeon Fraser*, and *William Bullock* (say our Writers, but his name was Sir *John Bullock*) went a little before, and the rest followed a certaine space after. When they were let in within the Bulwarke, perceiving the keyes of the Castle hanging upon the Porters arme, they slew him, and without noise opened the gate, and presently gave the signall, by winding of a horne. This sound gave warning both to his friends and enemies, that the Castle was taken. Both made haste, the one to defend, the other to pursue ; but the Scots having a steep hill to ascend, behoved to come forward the more slowly : for that cause (lest their Lord should be excluded from his men) they cast down the carriage in the gate to keep it open, and having fought a sharp fight, at last they that were within gave place : the Captaine with fix more were taken, the rest were all slaine. And having thus wonne the Castle, he made his brother *William Douglas* (say they, but should call him *Archbald*) Keeper and Captain thereof.

The Castle taken, hee makes *Archbald Douglas* his brother Keeper.

This same yeare or the next (1342. the 30. of March) *Alexander Ramsay* tooke Roxburgh in Tivdale, and sone after *John Randulph* was set at liberty in exchange for *John Montague* taken in France (saith *Major*) and tooke in his owne Castle of Lochma-bene in Annandale.

So that by the industrie and efforts of these three Wairdens, the Lord Liddesdale in the middle March, *Alexander Ramsay* in the East, and *John Randulph* in the West : the English were wholly expelled out of Scotland beyond the Borders, which fell out in the time of *Edward* the third : neither did the English men possesse one foote of Scottish ground, excepting the towne of Berwick. Such good service did these Noblemen, with the other good Nobilitie, in the minoritie and absence of their Prince from his Countrey, against the great force of England, and a great part of their owne Countrey of Scotland, being unfaithfull Subjects, unnaturall Scottishmen. And this these Nobles did even for the love they bore to King *Robert*, this *David's* father, bearing the heat of the day for him, while he is at ease and securitie, with watching, hunger, thirst, cold and great effusion of their bloud, to make the Kingdome peaceable to him, choosing to adventure their lands, their lives, and whatsoever worldly thing is deare unto men, rather then to abandon him, and follow his enemies with ease and quietnesse, under whom they might have lived a peaceable life ; if they would set aside regard unto their honour and duetie.

Such is the force of the love of Subjects, beyond all strength of men, and riches of treasures, onely able to bide a stresse, and hold out : As may bee seen by this example to bee remarked greatly by subjects, and entertained above all treasure by Soveraignes, and to be accounted a chiefe, yea almost

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almost the onely point of true policy, to love and make much of all men, and most specially their Nobilitie; that they may in such their Princes straits (when they shall happen) endure the better as these men did, which they could not have done, if they had not had authority and dependance, and so been respected by their inferiours: who so would diminish this authority in Noblemen; abasing them too farre, and making them suspect to Princes, and not safe for them, they erre greatly in policie, and unadvisedly cut the props of the Princes standing, which being brangled but a little, his Kingdome is easily bereft him, all authoritie going away with his owne person: It fell well out with King *David Bruce*, that these Noblemen were not so, and therefore the more able to doe so great things for him.

After these things, they sent Ambassadors to desire King *David* to come home, and so hee did the 2. of June that same yeare. His first Act was carefully to inquire for, and gratefully to reward such as had suffered in his service, a prudent Act; But alas (the *mal heur*) it falleth often out that Princes know not all things, and ere they be informed, they many times conclude. The cause of many errors and much mischief hath happened thereby, as it fell out here. We have heard how the Lord of Liddesdale (amongst many his notable services) had in speciall expelled the English out of Tividale, and diverse other places, by his wisdom and valour, and was therefore rewarded with the same lands, which he enjoyed afterwards as his rightfull inheritance: from thenceforth he so used it, as in a manner conquered by himself. He was Wairden, and so defended it: defending ministred justice, and discharged the place and office of Sheriffe, having wonne it from the enemy. This hee did with the tacite consent of the Countrey, and by allowance of those that were in authoritie.

Thus being in possession, and trusting to his deserving towards King and Countrey, and the Nobilitie of his blood, and potencie of that house he was come of; he looked for no competitour in that which he had taken from the enemy. And not knowing or not caring for the Law (as is customable to Martiall men) or perhaps being prevented, being slower in going to King *David*, or on some such like occasion: the Sheriffe-ship is given from him to another. *Alexander Ramsay* was amongst the first that welcomed King *David* at his return, and was received kindly as hee had merited, and much made of by him, who for his service gave him the keeping of the Castle of Roxbrough, and together with it (whether of the Kings owne free and mere motion, or any other suggestion, or by *Ramsayes* procurement) the Sheriffe-ship of Tividale, very unadvisedly if hee knew Liddesdales interesse, very ill formed, if he knew it not. Very imprudently (say our Writers) who blame the Kings indiscretion, for giving it from *William Douglas* Lord of Liddesdale, to *Alexander Ramsay*, and for withdrawing of it from so worthy a man, so well deserving to whomsoever, for that was to make a division among his owne: so it proved, for *William Douglas* of Liddesdale tooke it very highly that *Alexander Ramsay*, should be preferred before him to that office. But hee was chiefly incensed against the taker of it, as having done him a great indignitie, which makes

makes it apparant that hee hath not onely accepted of it, but sued for it: therefore let altogether on revenge, he suppressed his ire for that present. But after some three moneths, as *Alexander Ramsay* was exercising the office in Hawick, and looked for no such thing: hee set upon him, and having slain three of his men that stood to the defence of their master, hee hurt himself, and casting him on a horse, carried him to the Hermitage, where hee died of famine, according to the testimony of sundry of our Writers, and the black booke of Scene, where it is showen that hee was taken the 20. of June, and keepeed seventene dayes without meat, save that some few grains of corne, which falling downe out of a come loft which was above him, were gathered by him and eaten.

*Alexander Ramsay taken by Liddisdale, and starved in the Hermitage.*

Such is the unbridlednesse of anger (justly called fury) to be greatly blamed in him, yet they marke the cause thereof, the Kings unadvisednesse in procuring thereby the losse and ruine of so worthy a man of war, farre from his fathers prudence and probitie. The King (not acquainted yet with military dispositions) was marvellously moved therewith, and purposed to have punished it exemplarily to deterre others from doing the like, and therefore caused search very diligently to have apprehended Liddisdale, but in vain: for hee withdrew himself to the mountains, and desert places; and in time obtained pardon by the sute of his friends, of whom he had purchased good store by his worthy acts for the liberty of his Countrey; Among whom *Robert Stuart* the Kings sisters sonne was his speciall good friend. That which most effectually served to procure him favour, was the magnificke, but true commemoration of the great exploits atchieved by him, the consideration of the time, in respect whereof (the peace being uncertain without, and things not very quiet at home) military men were to bee entertained, and used with all favour. By this occasion he did not onely obtain pardon for his fault, but hee got also the gift of keeping of the Castle of Roxbrough, and Sherifffship of Tivedale (and all other his lands in Tivedale, or elsewhere restored to him) which the other had, and which were the cause of the slaughter. This clemencie of King *David* was (perhaps profitable for that time, but pernicious in example.) This fell out (as hath been said) three moneths after the Kings coming home, and therefore in October, or (perhaps in September) at the head Court in Hawick. His pardon was obtained, and his peace made with the King a little before the battell of Durham, which was in the year 1346. the 17. of October: So as hee hath beene three or foure yeares a banished man.

1346.  
He is banished and restored again.

After his returne from banishment, finding the King bent upon his journey against England, he wisely and earnestly dissuaded him, and did exhort him first to take order with the discorders at home, and before all things to settle them. For the Earle of Rosse had slain the Lord of the Isles, whereby a great party of the Kings army was diminished, the Lord of the Isles men lying back for want of a head; and so the Lord Rosse, and his men for feare of punishment. So did also many others that lay neare them, retire and go home, fearing least they should suffer in their absence by their neighbourhood to thole disagreeing Lords, and be some way endamaged; wherefore they thought good to provide in time, the best



The battell  
of Durham.  
King *David*  
taken.

best they could against all perrills that might happen. For this cause hee counselled the King, first to settle peace amongst his owne subjects before he enterprised a forraign war; that peace being settled, and his army united, he might the more strongly, and with better successe invade England. But the King contemning his good and wholsome counsell, (his French friendship prevailing more with him, then either his owne good, or the good of his Countrey) hee raised an army wherewith hee entred England, and was encountred by the English at Durham, where the Scots were defeated, King *David Bruce* taken prisoner, and with him (beside others) *William* Earle of Douglas, and the Lord of Liddesdale, who were shortly after ransomed or dismissed so much the more easily, for that they had the King, and so cared the lesse for others. This fell out in the yeare 1346. October the 17. as hath been said.

Liddesdale  
taken also.

While the Lord Liddesdale is a prisoner amongst his enemies, he forgetteth not his friends at home. Sir *David Barcklay* had slain one *John Douglas*, brother to Sir *William*, and father to Sir *James* of Dalkeith (say our Writers) beside Horsewood: but they should say rather, brother to Sir *William*, (for there Sir *William* is the same Lord of Liddesdale, of whom wee now speake, sonne naturall to good Sir *James*) neither was *John Douglas* slain in Horsewood, but in Kinrosher, by Loch-leven. This *Barcklay* also had taken Sir *John Bullock* at the Kings command, and put him in prison in Lindores, where hee died of hunger almost in the same sort that Sir *Alexander Ramsay* died. The Writers lay the blame on the Nobilitie that envied so worthy a man, and accused him falsely to the King of unfaithfulness; but they tell not in what point. They themselves call him a worthy Chaplain of great wisdom, singular prudence, and eloquence, beyond any in his time, who had been Chamberlain to *Edward Balliol*, Treasurer to the rest of the Englishmen in Scotland, and lastly, Chamberlain to King *David*, and amongst the chief of his Counsellors reputed as another Chuffay. Neverthelesse, thus was he delated, and taken away, having done divers good offices in the Commonwealth, and being very necessary unto it. The Lord of Liddesdale had drawne him from the English faction to King *David*'s party, and he had used him in good services, whereof hee was not forgetfull, ever remaining one of his speciall friends. This giveth men matter of suspicion, that his death was for ill will to the Lord of Liddesdale by the King incensed against him, never digesting in heart the death of Sir *Alexander Ramsay*, whereby the King is blamed, as counsellor or follower thereof; and that Sir *David Barcklay* enemy to him, did execute it willingly, or did procure the Kings command thereto. The taking of the Castle of Edinburgh, in the yeare 1341. by the Lord of Liddesdale, was plotted by Sir *John Bullock*, say the Writers, who in quicknesse of wit, and sharpnesse of invention past all men in his dayes. In revenge of this, Liddesdale causeth slay Sir *David Barcklay*, by the hands of Sir *John Saint Michaell* (say they) but they should have said *Garmichaell* in Aberdene. A just fact, but not justly done; the matter was good, the forme ill, being besides and against all order, but who could wait for order in so disordered a Countrey? when should hee by order of law have obtained justice, his Prince being in cap-

captivitie ; his duetie to his friends defendeth the fact, the estate of the Countrey excuseth the forme. God looketh not so upon things : hee had before ( as wee heard ) slain Sir *Alexander Ramsay*, he must not want his owne share, but who durst doe it ? The avenger of blood finds the means. Such is the estate of man, what can they lean to on earth ? ere he do not pay that debt of blood, the Earle of Douglas shall exact it ; his Chief, his Cousin, and to adde that also his owne sonne in Baptisme ( as the Lord Liddesdale was to the Earle of Douglas, for the black book of Scone calleth him his spirituall father ) and thus it came to passe.

The Lord of Liddesdale being at his pastime, hunting in Attrick Forrest, is beset by *William* Earle of Douglas, and such as hee had ordained for that purpose, and there assailed, wounded and slain beside Gallewood in the yeare 1353. upon a jealousie that the Earle had conceived of him with his Lady, as the report goeth, for so sayes the old song.

1353  
He is slaine  
by the Earle  
of Douglas.

The Countesse of Douglas, out of her Boure she came,  
And loudly there that she did call ;  
It is for the Lord of Liddesdale,  
That I let all these teares downe fall.

The song also declareth how shee did write her love letters to Liddesdale, to dissuade him from that hunting. It tells likewise the manner of the taking of his men, and his owne killing at Gallewood, and how hee was carried the first night to Lindin Kirk, a mile from Selkirk, and was buried within the Abbacie of Melrosse.

The cause pretended, or the cause of this slaughter, is by our Writers alledged to be the killing of this *Alexander Ramsay*, and Sir *David Barcklay*, and some other grudges, and so the Earle said himself, as they say, and so it was indeed, if we looke unto God ; but who doth beleeeve him, that it was on his part ? no Writers, no report, no opinion of men doth beleeeve it, not untill this day. They lay the cause on his ambition, on his envie of Liddesdales honour, and jealousie of his greatnesse. Reason swaies to the same side, and brings great if not necessary arguments : for what had hee to doe with *Alexander Ramsay*, that he should for his sake dippe his hands in his owne blood ? farre lesse for Sir *David Barcklay*, on whom he himself should have taken avengement, if the Lord Liddesdale had not done it ; this *John Douglas* whom *Barcklay* slew, being so neare to himselfe ; but something must bee said to colour things. But this will not colour this blemish, though in a faire body indeed as we shall see hereafter. Doth ambition spring from a great minde ? Doth envie, of vertue ? jealousie, of hatred ? Let noble hearts eschew them ; it is the basest thought that can fall into a mans mind. Right minds love vertue, even in strangers, even in enemies ; generous minds strive to do better, not to hinder such as do well. It is a strange maxime and ill grounded, a wicked wisedome and perverse policy, to keep backe ones friend in whom vertue appeares. It is of follies the greatest folly, to hinder their growth, for fear they should overgrow our greatnesse ; the which when we doe, it comes to passe that wee are outgrowne by strangers, and often by our enemies : yea under-

M

mined

78 *Of VWilliam Douglas L. of Galloway,*

mined oftentimes, while our friends (thus kept under) are unable to underprop us, as they both should and would do: a just reward of so unjust wisdom. But for themselves to put hand in them for their worth, I can finde no name to it. I must wish this Nobleman had beene free from so foul a blot, and I would faine vindicate him, and some small appeazance there is, that it was not his fault. But the current of witness lay it upon him, and who can contend against all the world. Wherefore let us regrave it and not allow it, eschew it and not excuse it, or follow it, as we are too ready to follow evill examples.

To returne, thus he lived, and thus hee died, for whose *Elogium* short, but worthie; let it be said (as it was then blazed in the mouthes of men, and cited by the manuscript) *He was terrible and fearefull in armes; meek, milde and gentle, in peace; the scourge of England, and sure buckler and wall of Scotland, whom neither hard successe could make slack, nor prosperous sloathfull.* Hee is stiled by the Writers a second to none, and by consent of that age and voyce of the people, the flowre of Chivalrie: he was often wounded, thrice a prisoner, and ever ready to fight again, what manhood? what wisdom behoved it to be? with fifty men, to overcome five hundred: with twenty, to take and slay sixtie. What invincible minde was it, that being defeated five times in one day, hee had the courage to fight and overcome the sixth time. Let *Hanniball* wonder at *Marcellus*, that neither overcoming, nor overcome, would suffer him to rest: yet was he not thus restless that we reade of, a worthy branch of such a stock, a true member of such a house, well retaining that naturall sappe sucked from his Predecessours, of valour, and of love to his Countrey. And thus farre concerning the name of *Douglas* in this branch thereof, in the time of the minority or absence of the chief. Now let us return to the Principall stock, the Earle of *Douglas* himself.

Gulielmus Douglassius *Liddalianus*, 1333. *caesus*

*Omnia quando habebas, quae Mars dedit omnibus unus  
Ut Mars Marte ferox fulminet alta tuo,  
Hoc putes ut patiare parem; tibi Desuit unum hoc:  
Quin age posce hostem cetera solus eris.*

Johns Heroes.

In English thus.

Whiles thou alone all valour didst enjoy,  
Mars doth bestow on those he would imploy;  
One onely vertue wanting, doth appeare  
To make thee excellent, thou couldst not beare  
An equall, bate this pride, and thou shalt have  
This honour never souldier was more brave.

of William the fifth of that Name, the tenth Lord,  
and first Earle of Douglas.

**U**Nto Hugh the ninth Lord of Douglas, did succeed his nephew William sonne to Archbald Lord of Galloway, and Governour of Scotland, who was slain at Hallidon hill. Of this William the other great branch of Douglasses doth spring; to wit, the house of Angus, which overtoppeth the rest, and at last succeedeth unto the place of the stock. Hee it is also that raiseth the house to the dignitie of an Earledome, and doth greatly increase the state thereof. That he was sonne to Archbald, and not to Sir James (as some doe mistake it) it is cleare by divers confirmations, in which Sir James is expressly termed his uncle, and Archbald his father. And so doth the Charter witness, upon which the confirmation proceeds. The Charter is given by Hugh Lord Douglas brother and heire to the late Sir James Douglas, to William sonne and heire to Archbald brother to good Sir James Douglas. It is dated at Aberdene the 28. of May. 1342. The Kings Charter likewise cleareth it, bearing *David dei gratia, & Sciatis nos concessisse, & Gulielmo de Douglas* (saith the one) *Confirmasse dilecto, & fideli nostro Gulielmo de Douglas militi* (saith the other) *Omnēs terras redditus, & possessiones per totum regnum nostrorum, de quibus quondam Jacobus dominus de Douglas avunculus suus, & Archibaldus de Douglas Pater suus milites obierunt vestiti.*

Touching his marriage, we finde that hee had three wives! The first was Margaret, daughter to the Earle of Dumbarre and March; by whom he had gotten two sonnes; James slain at Otterburn, and Archbald called the grimme Lord of Galloway, and afterward Earle of Douglas: and one daughter married to the Lord of Montgomerie. His second wife was Margaret Marre, daughter to Donald or Duncan Earle of Marre, and afterwards heire, and inheritor of that Earledome: for this Duncan had but one sonne named Thomas and this Margaret, Thomas twice married: by his first marriage he had one onely son named Thomas also: This second Thomas was married to Marjorie sister to this Willsam Earle of Douglas, but died without issue: his father Thomas married a second wife, Margaret Stuart, who was inheritor of the Earledome of Angus, but he had no children by her: so that there being none left now of Duncans race, but this Margaret Marre, married to the Earle of Douglas: we finde him stiled Earle of Marre in his wives right in the yeare 1378. whereof divers Monuments and Evidents yet extant do beare witness. By this Margaret Marre, he had one onely daughter Isabell Douglas, who did succeed to the Earledome of Marre. She was twice married, First to Malcome Lord Drummond, by whom shee had no children. Secondly, to Alexander Stuart, sonne to the Earle of Buchan, brother to King Robert the third, but had no children by him neither, yet she did resigne the Earledome in his favour, as a Charter given thereupon by King Robert the third to him and his heires, which falling unto her and her heires. Thirdly, the Earle of Douglas after the deceale of Margaret Marre, tooke to his third wife Margaret Stuart daughter to Thomas Stuart Earle of Angus, and his heire

His marriage;  
wives, and  
children.

and inheretrix of the lands, & Earldome of Angus. This *Thomas* was son to *John Stuart*, & brother to *Walter Stuart* the great Stuart of Scotland, who married *Marjorie Bruce*, daughter to King *Robert Bruce*. Now this *Margaret* had a brother who died without issue, and a sister called *Elizabeth*, married to *Alexander Hamilton* of Cadyow. *Margaret Stuart* herself was first married to *Thomas Marre* Earle of the same, and sonne to *Duncan* or *Donald*, but had no children by him. Then shee was married to this *William* Earle of Douglas, by whom she had a sonne named *George*. This *George* succeeded to her in the Earldome of Angus, and by gift of his sister *Isabel Douglas* inheretrix of Marre, he got the lands that she had gotten from her father: which disposition *Isabel* made to her brother *George*, and not to *JAMES* or *Archbald*, for good considerations to be related at large hereafter, when we shall come to treat of the house of *Douglas*.

And so we see him very fortunate and honourable in his marriage, in his purchases, and in his children: his honourable minde appears in his deportment to his sister *Uterine*, whom the Writers call *Elconora de Bruce*, to whom he gives no less than the Baronie of Wester Calder in marriage to her and her heires whatsoever, with her husband Sir *JAMES SANDILANDS*, as the transumpt of the Charter beares, extracted by *JAMES DOUGLAS* Lord Dalkeith 1420. April 4. The Charter it selfe is not dated, but the giver is cleare, *Gulielmus Douglas Dominus loci ejusdem*, and Sir *JAMES* his entaile doth cleare it, in which he is called Earle of Douglas and Marre. This *Elionora Bruce* had to her father *Robert Bruce* (some call him *Alexander*) son to *Edward* slaine in Ireland, and Cousin Germane with *K. Robert*. He was Earle of Carrikt, and after the death of *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, he married his relict this Earles mother, and had by her this Lady *Elionora*, who (as we have said) was married to Sir *JAMES SANDILANDS*. In regard of this marriage, and the Donation of these lands, that house of *Sandilands* gave the coat of the house of *Douglas*, a Heart, and three mullets, which none else hath besides him, except those of the name of *Douglas*.

This Earle *William* was bred in France, and as the manuscript beareth, most part in the warres; his first returne to Scotland was before the battell of Durham some few yeares, which appears by the forenamed Charter given him by his uncle in the year 1342. Touching his actions after his return, the first was a hard entry at the battell of Durham, where the King made many Knights to stirre them up to fight valiantly; and first he created *William* Lord *Douglas* an Earle. In the morning, being Warden, he is sent to view the English Camp, and engaged among them ere he was aware, he had a number of his men slaine, and himselfe also narrowly escaped. In the battell (being Leader of the Foreward) he was taken, and the King himselfe likewise, with divers others. But his successe after is more fortunate: for the better understanding whereof, let us remember the estate of affaires of the Countrey of Scotland at that time.

After King *David Bruce* was taken prisoner at the field of Dutham, the English repossessed themselves of the Merse, Tivedale, Liddesdale, and Lawderdale: so that their Marches were Cockburnspath and Sawtray, and from that to Carnilops, and the Corse-cave. *Balliol* had gotten again his

Hee is taken  
prisoner at  
Durham.



his old inheritance in Galloway, and waisted Annandale, Nidisdale and Cliddisdale, with fire and sword, and had also with *Percie* overrun Lowthian: neither could there be an army made up in Scotland to resist him for some few yeares, so that *Balliol* behaved himselfe again as King: but we heare that no obedience hee got by the good will of the people. The Scots had chosen *Robert Stuart* (who was King afterward) to bee Governour in the Kings absence, but no great action is recorded, that hee was able to take in hand at such a time, and in such estate of his Countrey. The Earle of Douglas being ransomed or dismist, the more easily for that they had the King in their power, returned home. Thereafter there fell out a matter very greatly to bee lamented, that it should have fallen into the hands of so worthy a person, the killing of the Lord of Liddesdale by the Earle: let me never excuse such a fact, I may well bee sory for it. But I wonder at this, that the Earle after his slaughter, should have obtained his whole estate: not onely that which hee did acquire for his owne vertue and valour in the Borders, as Liddesdale with the Sheriffship of Roxbrough, or Tweddale, but also those lands which hee had gotten by his wife, as Dalkeith, Newlands, Kilbugho, &c. But being rightly considered it seemes not so strange, for after the Lord of Liddesdale had slain Sir *Alexander Ramsay*, the King apparantly hath never pardoned from his heart. But being still incensed against him (as may appeare in that action the King allowed, or rather moved of Sir *David Barclay* in taking and slaying Sir *John Bullock* a speciall freind of the Lord of Liddesdale, and for ill will and spite of him (say our Writers) and that his anger being renewed, and increased by the killing of Sir *David Barclay*: It is possible the King hath beene well pleased to heare and know of his ruine, whereupon the Earle of Douglas there being none so able to do it as he, being his Chief and kinsman, having his owne particular grudge, was encouraged to make him away, and having done it, hath obtained his lands the more easily. Our Histories testifie that the house and name of *Douglas* was divided against it self, pursuing each other for many yeares together with much bloudshed, and all upon this occasion: Belike the marriage of the Lord Liddesdales daughter, to Sir *James Douglas* of Lowden, Kincavell, and Calder-cleere, hath beene or should have been made in his owne time, which hath moved the *Douglas* of Dalkeith, Calder-cleere, and them of Strabrock to make head against the Earle, as those who did most resent that slaughter. But at last the Earle (as commonly remorse cometh after bloud) repenting, or at the intercession of friends, gives the lands of Dalkeith, Newlands, and Kilbugho, to *Mary* daughter to the Lord of Liddesdale, by resignation in favour of her (as is extant in our publick Register) to regain the favour and dependance of his friends, that were alienated from him; retaining Liddesdale and his other Borderlands and Offices in his owne person: for we finde in the Register *James Douglas* sonne to *William* Earle of Douglas, and Marre, stiled Lord of Liddesdale in a letter of pension of 200 marks sterling granted to him by King *Robert* the first of the *Stuarts*.

Ransomed.

He kills Liddesdale.

And obtains his whole estate.

His first care was to deliver his own inheritance from the English bondage, for which purpose having gathered together a company of his friends,

friends. He recovered Douglassdale from them, having slain and chased them every man out of it: then encouraged with this successe, the favour of his countrey people increasing towards him, and greater companies drawing to him: he expelled them also out of Attrick Forrest and Tuedale, and the greater part of Tivedale.

At that time *John Copland* ( I know not whether it were hee) that had taken King *David* at the battell of Durham, or some other of that same name, was Captain of the Castle of Roxbrough, and seeing that the Earle of Douglas did so prevail against his countrey men, gathered together a great company of them, and went forth to oppose him, but was quickly put to flight, and constrained to retire to the said Castle again.

Thus having repressed and ejected the English out of those parts of Scotland, he not contented therewith resolveth to invade them in their owne Countrey: wherefore he accompanied with the Earle of March (his owne father in law) and having gathered together a great power of men, as privately, and as secretly as hee could, hee marched towards England. They sent *VVilliam Ramsay* of Dalhousie before, and gave him order to burn Norame, and to spoil the Countrey about, to draw the English upon their hoast, which lay in ambuscade at a place called Nisbet-mocre. *Ramsay* having done his part very dexterously as he was injoynd, having gathered together a great bootie of cattell, made as if hee would drive them into Scotland. The English to recover their goods, pursued him eagerly, and he flying of purpose drew them into the ambushment, where the Scots arising suddenly, set upon them fiercely, and put them to flight with great slaughter. There were taken prisoners, *Thomas Gray* and his sonne, with *John Darcy* a Noble man, and many others, even the greatest part of them.

Conflikt at  
Nisbet-moor.

He takes Ber-  
wick.

After this (being encouraged by their former successe) they did enterprise against the towne of Berwick, and took it in by scalade, not without great opposition and resistance, having been discovered by the watches. They had in their company *Eugenie Garrantiers*, with some fouretie Frenchmen more, whom *John King* of France had sent into Scotland a little before, with foure thousand crownes to wage souldiers therewith, and this was all excepting fair promises, a weake support in so great a strait! and let it bee well marked, that men may see how farre they erre from the truth, that alledge that our Countrey and the liberty thereof hath been maintained and upheld by support from France, and not by the valour and industry of the inhabitants. The Nobility tooke the money, and divided it amongst themselves, prosecuting the warre in their owne manner by frequent incursions and inrodes. These fouretie were present at this exploit, and at other occasions where they behaved themselves valorously. It is said by some, that *Thomas Stuart* Earle of Angus was present at these surprises, and that he had a chiefe hand in it, as being the man that first broached it, and drew the rest to it by his perswasion: But most Authours mention onely the two former. There were slaine within the towne of Berwick, *Alexander Ogle*, Governour thereof, *Thomas Percie* brother to the Earle of Northumberland, and *Edward Gray* with others: but they could not winne the Castle which he held against them:

them : whereupon King *Edward* coming to rescue it ; they being not able to keep the towne, rifled it, and then burnt it, and razed the walls thereof, in the year 1355. King *Edward* caused repair it again, and while that was in doing, he went himself to Roxbrough, where he kept his residence for that time : Thither came *Balliol*, and being wearied (as may be supposed) of his titular Kingdome, resigned all that hee had, which was a show and pretense to it. The King of England requesting instantly that hee would avenge him of the injuries done to him by the Scots, who would not acknowledge nor obey him, but had expelled him out of his Kingdome : King *Edward* heard him very willingly, and upon that pretext invaded Lowthian by sea and land : but his Navie was dispersed and broken by storme of weather, and by land the victuall was put out of the way, so as he was constrained to retire home again, after he had powred out his fury upon Edinburgh, Haddington, and other townes in Lowthian which lay in his way. He being gone, the Earle of Douglas passed into Galloway, and partly by force, partly by perswasion and entreatie, hee reduced that whole Countie to the Kings obedience; and caused *Donald Mackdowgall* one of the principall men in Galloway, to take his oath of allegiance and fidelitie in the Church of Cumnock. *Hollinsbed* attributeth this to the Lord of Niddisdale his brothers sonne, naturall sonne to the Lord of Galloway : he tooke also by force the Castle of Dalwinton and Carlawerock, and razed them. Some Histories say they were razed by composition, and upon agreement by King *David* himself alter his returne. At this time also *John Stuart* sonne to *Robert* the Governour recovers Anandale from the enemy, and *Roger Kilpatrick* took in Disdeer. And even as before in their Kings minority they had done : so now during his captivity, these his faithfull subjects made his enemies to reap but small profit of all the pains, having now again delivered this Countrey from them almost every where. Let it be remarked ( as wee said before ) to the end that Kings and Princes may think it the best policy that can bee to procure and entertain the love and heartie affection of his subjects, and more specially of his faithfull Nobilitie.

1355.  
Regained by  
the English.

Shortly after this they write , that the Earle of Douglas went into France with 3000. men , and was made Knight of the chiefeft order in that Kingdome : he was present at the battell of Poitiers ; where the field being lost , and *John* King of France taken prisoner by *Edward* the black Prince ( son to King *Edward* the third ) the Earle of Douglas escaped very hardly, being rescued by his own men, of whom there was slain *Andrew Stuart*, *Robert Gordon*, *Andrew Halsburton* , and *Andrew Vasse* Knights. *Archbald Douglas*, son naturall to good Sir *Janes*, and brother to the Lord Liddisdale was taken prisoner, and with him *William Ramsay* of Colluthie. *Archbald* was known for a man of qualitie , but the other not known to be a man of any estate, and they perceiving it, the more to deceive their taker, *Archbald* used him as his serving-man, making him to pul off his boots, and do such other drudgerie, by which means he was set at libertie for a small rancome.

*Douglas* at  
the battell of  
Poitiers.

Now, as these actions of warre do shew his valour and love to his Countrey, so likewise there fell out an occasion at home in matter of State

1363  
A Parliament:  
The union of  
the King-  
domes fought.

State Policie, which did no lesse manifest his prudence, magnanimitie, and affection to his native soile; which was this: King *David* being returned from his captivity, after he had spent some five years in settling of the troubles and affairs of his Kingdome, after he had fined such as had fled first at the battell of Durham, and composed such broiles and disorders as were amongst his subjects, at last in the year 1363. he kept a Parliament. There he propounded unto the Estates, that they would give way to the uniting of the two Kingdomes of Scotland and England; and seeing he himself had no children, be contented to give way, that King *Edward* of England, or his son, might be his Successour. Whether he made this proposition, because he did judge it indeed to be most profitable for both Kingdomes, so to end all their quarrells, and warres, or that he had taken a great liking of the King of Englands son, or else that he had been constrained to promise and sweare to do it, by King *Edward*, when he was in his power, or some other occasion, it is uncertain. But the motion was so ill taken by all that were there present, that they had no patience to stay till every mans vote were asked in his turn, but altogether with one voice did cry out with a confused noise and clamour, detesting it, and protesting, that so long as they were able to bear armes, they would never give their consent thereunto; that they had one of age to be heir already, whensoever God should call him. Especially the Earle of *Douglas* took it so to heart, that he entred into League with *Robert Stuart* Earle of Stratherne, (who was next heir, and was chiefly prejudiced hereby) with *Patrick* Earle of March, *George* Earle of Murray his brother, *John Stuart* of Kile, (afterward *Robert* the third) and *Robert Stuart* of Monteith (after Duke of Albanie) to withstand and oppose this businesse to the uttermost of their powers, in case the King should prosecute it, and to defend themselves if he would use violence against them. And they were so forward herein, and went so farre on in it, that it had almost come to an open rebellion. Neither were they reconciled untill the King changed his purpose; And then by the mediation of the Prelats of the Realm, they desisted, and gave their oath of fidelitie to him again in the year 1366. having been at variance and jealousy the space of two or three years. The English Writers would make it seem to have been but collusion, and that the King did but propound it for exoneration of his promise to King *Edward*, and was glad of the refusall, for that he was not to labour further in it. But our Histories signifie no such thing, and say directly that he did it sincerely, and was highly offended with the deniall for the time, and that those who had refused, looked for the worst, and set themselves for defence; yea, that they went so farre, that some of them made incursions upon the towns and villages in the Countrey, to terrifie the King (saith *Major*) and that he might learne to know, that the whole Kingdome did not altogether depend upon him, but upon the good counsell, and mature advice of the Nobility. And *Boetius* writes, that the convention being dissolved, there followed rebellion of some of the Nobility: whilest they feared that they had offended the King with their free speeches, determining to enterprise and do somewhat before they should be caused to suffer. Such is the force of jealousy when it entereth

tereth into mens breasts. And therefore it is to be elchewed with great care, and the occasions thereof cut off betimes: For it cometh often to passe, that upon such suspitions, when neither partie have had an ill meaning, but have been afraid of ill, and sought to prevent it, such inconveniences have followed, as would not have fallen out otherwise. And therefore above all things assurance should be given to Counsellours, and free voters, that in their free delivering of their opinions, they shall not offend there; or if they do suspect they have offended him, the suspicion should be removed betimes, and they put in securitie. And this King *David* did in this matter, as the most judicious of our Writers say. They that had carried out against it most freely (saith he) hearing that the King was angry, were about to have made defection, whose fear when the King understood, he remitting all wrath, received them immediatly into favour. By this wise government and modestie on all sides suspicion was taken away, and howbeit he was offended for the time, because they did not yeeld to his desire, yet afterward he rejoyced greatly (as certainly he had great cause) to see the true and heartie affections of his subjects to their Countrey, to his own bloud, and the house of *Bruce*, the uprightnesse, sincerity, and magnanimitie (vertues requisite and necessary for Counsellours) in resisting even himself for himself, for his own honour and good, which were both greatly interested by this his desire, if he had obtained it; being so prejudiciall to his sister, and her off-spring, who have happily succeeded yet since, besides the breach of oath to his father, the servitude of his Countrey, subjecting it to strangers, and the stain of his honour for ever, to have been the authour of so unworthie a fact. And without all doubt, it was greatly against the security of his own Person, in regard of the ambition of his designed Successour and Heir (King *Edward*) and his impatiencie to abide Gods leasure, who in a colder hope, had used indirect means to make away *Thomas Randolph*. What would not that man have attempted for a certain possession? And what miserable case had the Person of this good King been in, if he had gotten his own will: if his will had been accounted as a Law by these his subjects? A notable example to Counsellours, of freedome, where their Princes good, and the good of their Countrey doth require it: to Princes of modestie in opposition made to that which may be their will for a time, and whereunto for the present appearance they may be verie bent. A happy King that can so dispose himself not to be wedded to his own affections onely! Or if not so, yet happy is hee that hath such Counsellors, who will resolutely remonstrate the right, and stand to it, by which means he may be brought to examine his own affections, to see the errors of them, and rejoyce thereafter that he did not what he most desired. Certainly, this King hath rejoyced at it all the rest of his dayes, living in great quietnesse some foure or five yeares. There was not any grudge, heart-burning or suspicion after this between him and any of them: such was the integritie of heart on both sides, and so it should be in reconcilements; otherwise enmities must be perpetuall, or would be so, if it were not hoped that the reconciliation would bee sincere, and entire. Nay, where it is not so, that peace is worse then any warre, and nothing else but a snare

to entrap men. King *David* died in the Castle of Edinburgh in the Towre which he himself had caused build, and is called from his name *David's* Towre, in the yeare 1370. the nine and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Holyrood-house.

After his decease there was a Convention of the States at Linlithgow, to have Crowned *Robert Stuart* son to *Marjorie Bruce* King *Roberts* daughter. Thither went the Earle of Douglas, and did claime the Crowne; where he was so strongly accompanied, that they feared hee would have taken it by force, if it were not given him voluntarily. He alledged that he was to be preferred before *Robert Stuart*, because his right was derived both from *Balliol* and *Cummin*: Now for the better understanding of the ground of his claime, wee must remember that King *Alexander* the third dying without heires, the title of the Crowne was devolved to *David* Earle of Huntington, brother to the said *Alexanders* Grandfather, King *VWilliam*. This *David* of Huntington (as Histories relate) had three daughters, *Margaret*, *Isabel*, and *Alda* or *Ada*. The eldest (*Margaret*) was married to *Allane* Lord of Galloway; *Isabel* the second, to *Robert Bruce*, called commonly *Robert* the Noble; the third, *Alda* or *Ada*, to *Henry Hastings*, whose Posteritie doth still yet happily with good report possesse the Earledome of Huntington. This *Alane* Lord of Galloway had by his wife *Margaret* (eldest daughter to *David*) two daughters (as is most commonly reported) *Dornagilla* and *Mary*. *Dornagilla* his eldest daughter was married to *John Balliol*, father to that *John Balliol* who was afterward Crowned King of Scotland. *Mary* his second daughter was married to *John Cummin* Earle of Marre, and (by her) Lord of Galloway, called Read *John Cummin* slain by King *Robert Bruce* at Dumfrees. Some write that this *Alane* had three daughters, and that the eldest was married to one *Roger* Earle of Winton, of whom seeing we have no mention in pretenſion to the Kingdome, it is apparent that either there hath been no such woman, or that she hath died without children. *Buchanan* sayes he had three daughters at his death in the life of *Alexander* the second. Also *Boetius* (in his thirteenth book, fol. 294.) saith the same, and calleth this man *Roger Quincie* Earle of Winton, who (saith he) was made Constable for his father in law *Alane*, and continued in that Office untill the dayes of King *Robert Bruce*, and then being forfeited for treason, the Office of Constable was given to *Hay* Earle of Arrall: hee sayes also that *John Cummin* did not marry one of *Alanes* daughters, but one of this *Quincies* Earle of Winton, who had married the said *Alanes* eldest daughter, which is carefully to bee marked. *Hollinshed* sayes the same in his Chronicle of Scotland, and calleth him *Roger Quincie*. *John Cummin* had by *Mary* his wife one onely daughter, called *Dornagilla*, who was married to *Archbald Douglas* slain at Halidon hill, father to this Earle *William*, of whom wee now speake; whereby hee was Grandchild to *Mary*, and great Grandchilde to *Margaret* (*David* of Huntingtons eldest daughter) and by consequent reckoning from *David* of Huntington his daughter, 1 *Margaret*, 2 her daughter *Mary*, 3 *Maries* daughter, 4 this Earle *William* is the fourth person. On the other side, for *Robert Stuart*, reckoning likewise from the said *David* of Huntington; his daughter 1 *Isabel*, her sonne,



sonne, 2 *Robert Bruce* Earle of Carriſt, 3 his ſonne King *Robert*, 4 his daughter *Marjory*. 5 her ſonne *Robert Stuart* is the fifth perſon, which is a degree further then the Earle of Douglas, who was in equall degree with *Marjory* his mother. This reckoning is not unlike that whereby *Robert* Earle of Carriſt did claim it before when he contended with *Balliol*; for *Bruce* was a Male and a degree neerer, equall with *Balliol*s mother, and this Earle was alſo the Male, and a degree neerer then *Stuart*, equall with his Mother; and beſides all this, he was come of the eldeſt of *David*s daughters, which *Bruce* was not. This was the ground of his claim; but finding his pretenſion evill taken, and diſliked by all the Nobility, and diſputing that which had been decided long before in favour of King *Robert Bruce*, who had been confirmed King, and to whom *Balliol* had renounced whatſoever right he could claim; to whom alſo and to his poſterity they all, and Earle *Williams* owne predeceſſours, had ſworn obedience, and continued it the whole time of his life, and of his ſonne *David* the ſpace of 64. yeares.

To which *Robert Bruce*, and not to *David* of Huntington, *Robert Stuart* was to ſucceed; wherefore the Earles chiefeſt friends *George* and *John Dumbars*, Earles of March and Murray, his brothers in law by his firſt wife, and *Robert Ereskene* his aſſured friend, keeper of the three principall Caſtles in Scotland, Dumbartan, Stirling and Edinburgh, diſwaded him from it: And ſo he was contented to deſiſt, and joyning very willingly with the reſt of the Nobilitie, accompanied him to Scone, and aſſiſted at his Coronation; being no leſſe acceptable and commended for his mo-deſt acquieſcing, then he had been before diſpleaſing for his unreaſonable motion. For the which in token of his good will, and that hee might ſo much the more tie the Earle to him, the new King beſtowes two very honourable gifts upon him: His eldeſt daughter *Euphane* on the Earles ſon *James*, that failing heires Male, the Crowne might ſo fall to his houſe. The other benefit was beſtowed upon the Earle himſelfe, the marriage of *Margaret Stuart* Counteſſe of Marre and Angus, daughter and heire to Earle *Thomas*: This Counteſſe of Marre and Angus did beare to this Earle, *George* Earle of Angus, that was married to one of King *Robert* the thirds daughters; as we ſhall ſee in the houſe of Angus. It is knowne that theſe two lived after from thenceforth in good friendſhip, as Prince and Subject without ſuſpition, grudge, or eye-liſt on either partie; for neither did the King remember it as an aſpiring, whereby to hold a continuall ſuſpicious eye over him; neither did he feare the King as jealous of it, or as eſteeming that he had ſuffered wrong in the repulſe, nor ſeeking any means to proſecute it further, laying aſide all quarrells vvith the cauſe in ſinceritie on both ſides.

This ſhould be the practice of all honeſt hearts, and is the onely mean to end all debates, entertain peace, and keepe humane ſociety: farre contrary to this novv called vvifedome of diffidence, diſtruſt, jealousie, curbing and keeping under thoſe vvith vvhom vvee have had any difference, vvwhich is the onely vvay to foſter variance, and to make enmitie eternall. For truſt deſerveth truth, and moves a man to deſerve that truſt, and to be vvorthy of it. Time vvins and allures even the wildeſt minds of men,

and also of beasts, even of fierce lions, if it bee not a monster in nature, or worse then a monster, one amongst a thousand, which is the onely true and solid policie, that makes the hearts of men ours; for men must be led by their hearts, and by no other way, and so imployed, or else let no man thinke ever to make any great use of them.

King *Robert* after his Coronation made divers Earles and Barons (or Lords) and Knights; amongst whom *James Lindsay* of Glenaske was made Earle of Crawford. This same yeare the peace with England was broken, which had been made with King *David* at his releasing from captivitie for foureteene yeares, and had now continued not above foure or five yeares onely. The occasion of it was this: there is a yearely Faire in Roxbrough, and some of the Earle of Marches servants going thither, were slain by the English that kept the Castle thereof. When the Earle of March craved justice, and could not obtain it, the next yeare when the Faire day came again, hee having gathered a sufficient power of men, invaded the Towne, slew all the Males of any yeares, and having rifled it, and taken a great spoil and booty, he burnt it to the ground.

We reade that a good while after this, the Earle of Northumberland and Nottingham set forward toward Scotland with an army of three thousand men at armes, and seaven thousand archers, and sent forth Sir *Thomas Musgrave* with three hundreth speares, and three hundreth archers to *Melrose*, to trie what hee could learne of the Scots in those parts, with whom the Earle of Douglas encountring, tooke Sir *Thomas* himself, a hundreth and twentie prisoners, besides those that were slain.

Sir Thomas  
Musgrave taken  
by Douglas.

The same yeare (1380.) the Earle Douglas entred England with twentie thousand men, and went to the Faire of Pennure; and having taken all the goods that were there, he burnt the Towne. *Hollinshed* in his English Chronicle speaking of that journey (in all likelihood) saith they brought away fouretiethousand cattell, and were assaulted by the way, but came into Scotland with the prey, having lost some few of their men; he sayes the occasion of it was, because the men of Newcastle had taken a Scottish ship well known to be a Pirate, but very rich, worth seaventy thousand pound, whereat the Scots being angry, and offended, made this incursion.

About this time the Earle of Douglas intreateth for mercy to *James Lindsay* Earle of Crawford, who had been banished a certain time before for killing of *John Lyon*, sonne in law to the King, and Chancellour (as some call him) or Secretary as others: hee was the first of the name of *Lyon*, of whom the house of *Glammes* is descended. This *Lyon* was a young man endued with all the naturall gifts of body and minde that could be. Hee was comely in personage, well bred, and of a good carriage, & winning behaviour, which made him to be wel liked of of all men, and in speciall by this *James Lindsay*, who received him into his traine, and made him his Secretarie. By this occasion being often at Court, the King tooke notice of him, and liking his deportment, and upon *Crawfords* commendation, tooke him into his service, and made him his Domestick Secretary. It fell so out at last, that the Kings daughter (by *Elizabeth Moore*) fell in love with him, and was made with childe by him; which

The originall  
of the house  
of Glammes.

he

he revealed to the Earle of Crawford. The Earle fearing that the King would take the matter heavily and hainously, and use the young man hardly, devised this way for his safetie: hee causeth another Gentleman of his acquaintance to take the blame on him, and to absent himselfe as guilty; and then being very familiar with the King, deals with him to bestow his daughter (seeing shee had thus falne) on *John Lyon*, and to give him the lands of Glams with her; which was done accordingly. He got also for his coat of Armes, the flowre de-luce; field argent, and a Lion, azure, with a double treasure, and a womans head for his Crest. What unthankfulnesse the Earle of Crawford did finde in him afterwards, or did apprehend and conceive, it is not particularly set downe; but finding his owne credit with the King to decrease, and *John Lyons* to increase, and taking *Lyon* to be the cause thereof, esteeming it great ingratitude after so great benefits he tooke it so highly, and with such indignation, that finding him accidentally in his way a little from Forfaire, he slew him very cruelly, and fearing the Kings wrath, fled into a voluntary exile: and so he remained certain yeares, untill (at the Earle of Douglas intercession) the King suffered himself to be so farre entreated, as that he was restored, obtained pardon, and received into the Kings favour. What interest the Earl of Douglas had in it, and what friendship with the Earl of Crawford, or what pitie of his afflicted estate, or commiseration of him; or weighing the cause that drew him to so hard a fact (as great men will regard one another, where they think they have been evill requited by them to whom they have been beneficiall) or how necessary the presence of so worthy a man was for the King and Countries present estate, it is hard to conjecture: but this is cleare, that the Earle of Douglas hath beene not a little respected and accounted of at that time, seeing at his sute the King consented to forgive the murder of his owne sonne in Law, and to receive the Authour thereof into favour.

The yeare following, (which was 1381.) there ensued a truce between the two Countries for three yeares. There met for concluding of this truce *John* of Gant Duke of Lancaster, who was Uncle to King *Richard* the second, with some other Lords of the English side: and for the Scots, the Earle of Douglas and March. In the very time of their meeting and treatie, both parties were informed of the insurrection made by *Jack Straw* in England, and both dissembled the matter untill the truce were agreed upon. Then when all was ended, the Earle of Douglas with a generous wisedome (farre from that which is now in vogue and request) addressd himself to the Duke of Lancaster, and told him, that from the very first beginning of their conference, hee was not ignorant in what estate the affaires in England were, but that they were so farre from catching hold of any advantage of the time, and from making either of peace or warre accordingly, that they had the rather consented to the truce, because of the troubles in England. And for your selfe (saith he) if it please you, you may remain here in Scotland, untill these tumults bee settled, or if you had rather return home, you shall have 500. horse to accompany you, and to set you safe in what place in England you please. The Duke thanked them for their courtesie, but thinking that hee needed it not at that

that time, made no use of either of their offers. But afterwards being on his journey home, when he found that they shut the gates of Berwick against him, and would not receive him into the Towne, he came backe againe, and was conveyed to Haliroodhouse by the Earle of Douglas and his brother *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, and remained there till matters were composed in England.

After the truce was expired, *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, assisted by his brother the Earle of Douglas, and by the Earle of March, wonne the Castle of Lochmabane, as we shall heare in the life of the said *Archbald*.

Upon this the Duke of Lancaster by way of revenge made an incurfion upon Scotland, in which having rifled Edinburgh, and wasted the Countrey, he returned home. And he being gone, the Earle of Douglas tooke in all the Castles and houses of strength in Tivedale, which the English had kept since the battell of Durham, Roxbrough onely excepted, and purged that Countrey of Brigands and Robbers, who had in time of the warre beene very licentious and bold.

1384.  
Earle Douglas  
death.

This was the last work of this Nobleman, worthy (say our Writers) of his house and Predecessours, for he died soone after of a Fever in the Castle of Douglas, and was buried in Melrosse in the Abbey, in the year 1384. as they reckon, and is likely: for his sonne *James* is stiled Earle in the yeare 1385. March 20. Of what age he was at his death it cannot be certainly collected: but from his fathers death at Halidoun hill we have 51 yeares after he began to come upon the stage, and appeare in businesse, and the affaires of his Countrey: 30. yeares at least or 40. since we account that he came home before the battell of Durham.

He was a man (without question) of exceeding great valour, whom even the English Writers spare not to call one of the most valiant personages in his dayes, within the Realme of Scotland: And certainly his actions beare no lesse, even as they are summarily set downe. But if all had beene particularly described, with the full circumstances, it would have beene farre more cleare. And not onely his valour would have appeared, but his wisdom also, travell, and diligence, which he must needs have used in recovering of so many Countreyes and Castles, as he is recorded to have wonne, and in so many yeares, as he was employed in continuall action, ever victorious, without mention of any repulse, overthrow, or evill successe, where himselfe was Conductor, and we may say, nor elsewhere, save at the battell of Durham. Now all is involved in generall, and rowled up in grosse, expressing little or nothing of the accidents, or particular wayes of his exploits, onely they tell us this road he made, and these Castles he wonne, and tell the event indeed to have beene successfull, but no more. This good fortune (as men call it) though it be commended, and commendable in Leaders, yet it is seldome alone, but accompanied with vertue, to which it gives the lustre, and without which he could never have atchieved such enterprises.

The love he carried to his Countrey, and to the libertie thereof, needs no declaration. Those his travells declare it, which could have no other end, chiefly that act of withstanding King *David* in bringing in a forraine King,

King, with such resolution, even to the discontentment of his Sovereign, to whom otherwayes he had beene ever most obedient, with the hazzarding of his person and estate. In which opposition, if we weigh it narrowly, how many vertues doe appeare? An unspeakable love to his Countrey, with such hazzard, freedome of minde, and uprightnesse farre from flatterie, or any dissimulation; not following his Princes humour, or soothing him in his present disposition, but regarding vvhat vvvas most for his good and honour, vvhat best for his Countrey, and vvhat the King vvvas like to acknowvledge best for him, vvhen he should be out of that fit. We may also see in it a strange magnanimitie and courage, in his resolving (as he did vvithout all doubt) to part vvith all that the vvorld could affoord, and vvhatsoever is deare to men in the vvorld, rather then not to maintaine that vvwhich he accounted to be right, his life, lands, dignities, honours, and all such things, both for himselfe and his posteritie. For what was that banding for it, but a plaine opposing himselfe to the power of both the Kings (Scottish and English) the Suiter, and for whom it was suited; who questionlesse would both have concurred in that cause: and what could the consequent of opposing then be other, then the losse of his life, lands, and all? or what other hope could he have? and what meanes to double it out? The more is his constancie remarkable that never yeelded up that disposition. As for his wisedome, it is included in all these things, and doth shine in all his actions, which without it could not have beene performed. Likewise in that favour which was borne unto him by men, the causes of favour are employed, and such qualities and vertues are apt to gaine and procure affection, to wit, gentleness, meeknesse, sobernesse, liberality, and the like; his generosity and courteous humility in his speech, which are the true and onely meanes of acquiring the good will and hearts of men: his generous minde and courteousnesse appeared in his speech and carriage towards the Duke of Lancaster, his justice in pacifying the Countrey, and purging out the theeves: a worthy catastrophe of so well an acted life.

Some may think him ambitious in standing for the Crowne, but if he thought he had right, what could he doe lesse? it was no ambition to seek what was his due. And there was as great appearance of right on his side, as might have deceived a better Lawer than he was. Yet let it be his ambition, and that he was not so ignorant but that he knew where the title was: have not many dispenced with great duties in that case? And is it not thought halfe dutie, not to be over precise in dutie; and half justice, not to look too narrowly to justice? *Si violandum est jus, &c.* If law or lawfulnessse should be broken, where should it rather be broken, then for a Kingdome? which is not so much the saying of one man, as the tacite opinion of almost all men, as appeares by the approbation of themselves, and all others after they have gotten it. It were to be wished that error were away, and men saw as well the inward thornes, as the outward pearles of the Diademe, that they might let it lye at their foot, and not take it up, though they might have it for the lifting: but that will be called a Stoicall Philosophy, and even the Stoicks are thought to have much adoe to keepe themselves in that moderation. Neither doe men  
beleeve

beleieve them when they say they doe it in lesser matters, where they may attaine them : and what they lack is thought to be for want of power and dexteritie to compasse and obtaine ; not of judgement to contemne or neglect. What could the Earle *Douglas* then doe , who was not so well school'd or skill'd ? who had honour and glory for the great objects of his intentions, which is the objects of these great spirits, and many think it should be so. So that in regard of this common opinion of men , and the instructions of that age, yea of all ages , even of this age almost , in such military men, or politicke wise men , who are not pedants (as they call them) or Theologues (to give them the best name men terme them with) I thinke it not so strange that he insisted, as I marvell that he desisted so soone, and easily : neither can I so much dispraise his motion, as I have reason to commend his modestie. For his motion, belike, hath not beene immodestly moved , or too vehemently pressed , that he gave it soone over ; farre from the unbridlednesse of turbulent mindes , that would rather have moved heaven and earth (as we say) to have come to their purpose, and have cast themselves, their Countrey, and all, into confused broillerie and into forraine hands and power : nay ( which is more and worse then meerely forraine) into English, our enemies, which would be flat slavery, as both the *Balliols* (*John* and *Edward*) had done before him, and the last of them on no better, nay not so good a ground. Wherefore if we will needs call it ambition , yet certainly it hath not beene of the worst sort thereof, neither unruly, nor immoderate, but by the contrary, very sober and temperate, and such as may well fall, and often doth fall into the best and greatest spirits, that are not brought up and deeply instructed in the inmost and profound points of humane and divine Philosophie Of which sort how few be there? and how meanly are they accounted of ? Let us either think better of them , or finde the lesse fault with him. Certainly, if he cannot be fully excused, yet can he not be over hardly censured, neither condemned : yea, no more condemned for the moving, then praised for his speedy leaving off, and yeelding , truly acquiescing, and sincerely obeying in all times thereafter.

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*Of James, the second of that name, the eleventh Lord, and second Earle of Douglas, slaine at Otterburne.*

**U**Nto *William* the first Earle his son *James* did succeed , a man in all kinde of vertue worthy of so great a father , and honourable place ; who was no whit inferiour to him either in courage or fortunatenesse , unlesse we account him lesse fortunate for that he lived but few yeares : wherefore wee shall heare his owne judgement at his death.

His wife and children. He had two wives, *Euphane* eldest daughter to the King ( as we have said ) by his wife the Earle of Rosses daughter : yet the genealogie of the Kings in the Acts of Parliament sayes that she was daughter to *Elizabeth Moore* , and not the Earle of Rosses daughter. He had a son by her, who lived not halfe a year : he had also two base sons, *William* (of whom



## and 2. Earle of Douglas, slain at Otterburn. 93

whom is descended the house of Drumlanrig, as evidents do witness given by *Jacobus Douglas Comes de Douglas filio nostro* and *Archbald* of whom is come the house Cavers and Sheriffs of Tivedale, who if they had beene lawfull, had been sonnes to the Kings daughter, and had succeeded to the Earledome before his brother *Archbald* the Grimme, who did succeed to him. But though they did not succeed, yet have they shewed themselves very worthy, and amongst the chief great men of the land. Of this *William* also are descended the houses of Coshogle, Pinyerie, Daveine, and others in Niddisdale: for *Archbald Douglas* the first of Coshogle, was second sonne to this *William* of Drumlanrigge, and was married to one *Pringle* of the house of Galasheiles, who bore to him twelve sonnes, and after his death shee was married to one *Carnel Wallace*, and bore twelve more to him also.

The Originall, of the houses of Drumlanrig, and Cavers.

Touching Earle *James* his actions, which were done in his fathers daies, one thing we have spoken of them in his fathers life, as most proper: there is one thing more, besides what hath been said, recorded of him by some, that during his fathers life he was sent into France, for renewing the ancient League with that Kingdome; in which Ambassage were joyned with him *Walter Wardlaw*, Cardinall and Bishop of Glasgow, and his Uncle *Archbald*, Lord of Galloway. This is said to have been in the yeare 1381. which is the eleventh yeare of the reigne of *Robert Stuart*. The occasion of it was a message that came out of France from *Charles* the sixth, who desired to have it so.

He goeth into France.

After his returne in September, hee recovered the towne of Berwick from the English; and entring England with a competent power, burnt and spoyled all the Countrey about as farre as Newcastle.

He taketh Berwick.

About the time of his fathers decease (in the yeare 1384.) there was a Truce concluded between France and England, to last a yeare, in which Scotland was also comprehended. This treatie was at Boloigne, or at Lillegham (as others write) and for intimation hereof, some French men were directed to come into Scotland: but while they prepare themselves too negligently, the Earles of Northumberland and Nottingham, with such as lay nearest to the Scottish Marches, laying hold of this opportunitee to annoy Scotland, so that the Scots should have no time to revenge it before the truce were proclaimed, entered Scotland with an Army of 20000. or (as others say) 10000. horse, and 6000. Archers and Bowmen, and spoyled the Countrey farre and wide; especially the lands pertaining to the *Douglasses*, and *Lindsayes*. The Scots who trusting to the brute of the truce dreamed of no such thing, finding themselves thus used, were greatly grieved with their owne sloth, and no lesse incensed at the fraud and falsehood of England, and resolved to avenge the same. In the mean time the report of the English incursion coming to the eares of the French, who had the charge to intimate the assurance, admonished them of their slownesse: wherefore to make amends (though somewhat too late) they hasten over to London in the very time that the English Army was in Scotland. There they were very chearefully received, and magnificently entertained with feasting and banquetting, and under this colour cunningly detained, untill it was knowne that the English Army was

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15000. horse-  
men.

was come home and dismissed : then being suffered to depart, they came into Scotland, and shew their Commission. The greatest part of the Nobility, but chiefly the Earle of Douglas and such as with him had received great losse by that expedition, cried out against the craft of the English, that this their fraud and manifest ludification was no way to be suffered. The King went about to pacifie them, and shewed plainly that hee meant to receive and keep the truce, which they perceiving, drew out the matter at length by reasoning and arguing to and fro, untill such time as they had gathered together quietly 15000. horsemen; then *Douglas*, *Dumbarre* and *Lindsay*, withdrew themselves from Court without noise, at a day appointed; and joyning their companies at the place of rendezvous, enter England with displayed banners, waste and spoile Northumberland to Newcastle. Then they doe the like to the Earle of Nottingham's lands, and the *Mowbrayes*, and so returne home with a huge prey of men and cattell. Straight after their returne the truce was proclaimed meeting fraud, not with fraud, but with open force, by a just and honest recompence and retaliation. Neither were the English discontented for all this to accept the truce, acknowledging that the Scots had reason to doe what they did, or confessing their owne weaknesse and want of ability to avenge it at this time, or both, by their fitting still and acceptation: for neither could right (though weake) have had patience in so great an injury, neither would force (if it had thought it selfe sufficient) have been bridled with reason onely in so manifest an affront, and so great damage. How ever it be, they stirred not, and so the truce was kept till it expired of it selfe.

When it was runne out, *John de vienne* a Burgundian, a very valiant man, Admirall of France, and Earle of Valentinois, arrived in Scotland, and brought with him 2000. men, amongst whom were 100. men at Armes. He brought also 400. Curiaffes, and 400. halfe long swords to be distributed amongst the Scots, and (as some write) 50000. Crownes. Before their coming *James* Earle of Douglas entred into England with a new Armie; and upon their arrival was called back to Court, where they attended his coming. Then having consulted of their businesse, and the Army being ready, they accompanied him into England, where they tooke in the Castles of Wark, Foord and Cornewall, and spoyled and burnt the Country between Berwick and Newcastle. But when they intended to goe on further, the continuall rain that fell in great abundance (being in Autumne) did so spoile the wayes, and raise the waters, and wet the Souldiers with their armour, that they were forced to retire home again into Scotland. In the mean time King *Richard* greatly moved that the Scots must bring in strangers to waste his Countrey, entereth Scotland with an Army of 60000. foot, and 8000. horse, and used all sort of Hostilitie in the Merse and Lowthian, not sparing the religious houses and persons, such as Newbottle, Melrosse and Dribrough, with the Monkes thereof. The French Admirall better remembring, and more carefull of his Masters directions, then considering what was fit to bee done, dealt earnestly with the Earle of Douglas to give him battell. But the Earle knowing better, and regarding more the good of his Countrey,  
and

and weighing with judgement the English power and forces, would no wayes listen to him : he told him it was not for want of affection to doe the King of France service that he refused to fight, but in respect of the unequall number and appointment of the Armies at that time. And that he might the better see the English forces, he tooke him up to a hill, from whence they might have a reasonable view of them as they passed by in order ; which when the Admirall had seen, and considered thereof, hee easily yeelded to the Earles opinion. *Hollinshed* setteth downe the oddes, saying, that the Scots and French were not above 8000. speares, and 30000. of all other sorts, and the most part of those not well armed : where he reckoneth of English 6000. horse, and 60000. Archers, which are 2000. horses fewer then our Histories do reckon. In this inequality therefore being no lesse a wise Conductour, then a valiant Warriour, he resolved not to hazard a battell, but determined to take another course, which he did, for he entered England on that quarter, which was furthest distant from the English Army, and wasted Cumberland and the adjacent Countrey neare to it. The King of England being advertised hereof, purposed to have followed him, and forced him to fight, but being better advised, and put in mind (no question) of what had befallen his Grandfather (*Edward* the third) at Stanhope Parke against good Sir *JAMES*, he altered his purpose, and marched the readiest way home. And so both Armies having spoiled and wasted each others Countreys, they returned without encountring or fight of other.

In the return the Earle *Douglas* perswaded them to besiege Roxbrough Castle, making full account that the King of England would not raise a new Army before the next Spring, and so they sat downe before it, but it did not continue eight dayes ere they raised the siege. The cause was a reasonlesse demand of the Frenchmen, who would needs have the Castle to bee given to them, and to belong to the King of France, when it were wonne from the enemy. This demand did so offend the Scots, that they could by no means heare of it, and so the enterprize was deserted upon this occasion, but chiefly by the Frenchmens insolent and licentious behaviour and carriage in the warres ; who rob and steal, and use all manner of force and violence : there arose many times great strife, and many quarrells between the Country people, and them : for the Country people watched them when they were alone, or but few together, and sometimes robbed them of their horses, sometimes of their valises and luggage : sometimes they hurt, and at other times slew of them. The French Commanders complained to the Kings Councell, and the common people answered, that they had received more losse and hurt by the French, who professed themselves to be friends, then they had done by the English, who were sworne enemies. And therefore they said it were reason that the French should no wayes be suffered to goe home, untill they had satisfied for the wrongs they had done. The Earle *Douglas* in this hard case seeing they were strangers that came to aide Scotland, was willing partly to bear with their faults, as proceeding from an evill custome and form used at home in France, and therefore interposed himself to have mitigated the people, but could hardly pacifie them, yet at last with great in-

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stancy and entreatie, being greatly favoured, and generally well beloved and popular, hee obtained that the common Souldiers, and the Army should be suffered to returne into France, and that their Captains and Commanders should be retained still untill satisfaction were made for the losse they had sustained. And so the King of Frances desire was satisfied, who had then sent for them, and withall order taken with the damage done by them.

This was the aide, and this was the successe of the help received from France now the second time. It was very small before, and it is now to very little purpose: more hurtfull and troublesome to the Countrey, then of importance against the enemy. After their embarking the Scots remained still in England the space of two moneths, and then the English having withdrawne and conveighed all the victuall out of the way, they returned into Scotland. And hereby they did show clearly how little they leaned to forraign aid, without which there greater enterprises were ever performed: neither was there ever either by these, or by others before or since (though we looke over all Histories) any great exploit achieved. All the help they ever got was onely in the besieging of some Townes at some happening times, and some such trifles scarce worth the naming, in respect of the whole power of the body and state of the Countrey which I remark again, and commend to the Reader to be truly considered for vindicating the valour and worth of the inhabitants, from that obloquie and unequall judgement of such as diminish and impair it: who cannot but know that it was never forraigne forces (as is wrongfully surmised) but the vertue and valour of their Predecessours that hath preserved the honour and liberty of their Countrey, all manner of wayes: and that any one man amongst diverse of the name of *Douglas* hath done more in that cause, then the force of France (if it were put all together) did ever to this houre.

The yeare following, the Earle of Douglas with *Robert Stuart* Earle of Fife, and *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway his Uncle, entered into England with an Army of three thousand men, passing the water of Solway so secretly, that they were at Cocket-mouth on such a sudden, that the people had no leasure to convey their goods out of the way. Wherefore having for the space of three dayes gathered together a rich bootie, they returned home through Cumberland, Westmerland, and Northumberland, into Scotland again without any encounter.

Not long after *Archbald* Lord of Galloway in company of the same Earle of Fife, made a road into England, in revenge whereof the King of England sent an Army into Scotland, which did great harm in the Merse, and occasioned that notable battell of Otterburn.

Occasion of  
the battell of  
Otterburn.

For the Scots irritated herewith boyled with desire of revenge, being at that time very flourishing with strong youth, and never better furnished with Commanders. But King *Robert* a man by nature given to quietnesse, farre stricken in yeares (seaventy three yeares old) was become slacker, and seemed not to make so great account of the publike injuries. His eldest sonne *John* was dull of nature, and having received a hurt by a stroake of a horse, which pertained to *James Douglas* Lord of Dalkeith,

was

*and 2. Earle of Douglas, slain at Otterburn. 97*

was thereby lame of a legge, and halted, and so unfit for the travell of warre. Therefore they have their recourse to the Kings next sonne the Earle of Fife, and do easily agree with him, resolving to avenge the hurt and dammage they had lately received. So every man promising his best endeavour, appointment is made to convene in August, or (as some say) in July, but so covertly, as it should not come to the knowledge of either of the two Kings, lest the King of Scotland should hinder them, or the King of England prevent them: yet when they had used all the expedition and secrecie they could: The English had notice of it, and were informed of both the day and place of their meeting. Wherefore that they might entrap them and take them at unawares, they advertised one another, and the Noblemen commanded the Commons to be in a readinesse against the next advertisement, without appointing any certain day, for feare that the Scots should heare of it. These things thus ordered when they heard that the Scots were convened in Tivedale not farre from the March to the number of 30000. or (as *Freyard* saith) 40000. men, not daring to joyne battell with such a multitude, they concluded not to stir or appeare before the coming of the enemy, but that every man should remain in his owne bounds, till they saw on what coast and quarter the tempest would light, and then to take the best course they could according as occasion should offer, and if they could doe no more, to invade Scotland on another hand farre from the enemy, as the Scots had done to them the year before, and so to recompense losse with losse: In the meantime they sent a spie to the Scots camp, who might bring them more certain report of all things, desirous to know not onely their intention, but even their particular speeches and actions. Hee who was sent (being nothing different from the rest in language, apparell, or armour, did easily passe for a Scot, and by that mean having been in the company undiscovered, and having observed sufficiently all that was needfull to be knowne) as he returned to his horse to be gone, which he had bound to a tree, he found that he was taken away, whereupon taking him to his feet with his cloake, boots and spurres, and his other riding equipage, he was perceived, suspected, taken and examined what he was, whence he came, and whither hee went: and being found to vary in his answers, hee was brought before the Generall of the Army, where being threatned with the rack, he confessed all, and revealed the English mens intentions, and purposes. Upon this the Scots altered their purpose, and whereas they were before minded to have gone all together in one Hoast, they now divided themselves in two; so that the greatest part of the Army should passe in at Carlile, led by the Kings two sonnes, the Earles of Fife and Stratherne, together with *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway, Uncle to the Earle. The other part of the Army was committed to the Earle of Douglas, and with him *George* and *John Dumbars* Earles of March and Murray (his Uncles) *William* or *James Lindsay* Earle of Crawford, the Earle of Arolle Constable, the Lord *Montgomery*, and *Patrick Hepburn* of Hales with his sonne: the number of his company is not agreed upon. Some say that he had the halfe of the Army, 15000. others but 2000. foote, and 300. horse, with as many foote men waiting on the horse men, who

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who were lightly armed and able to fight, and almost equalling the horse men in speedy expedition. Some say they were foure thousand chosen horsemen in all, which is most apparent by the great diligence and haste he made: with his company he entred England on the East hand, and crossing the river of Tine with great celerity, hee was past Durham, before ever the enemy was advertised or knew of his coming, till he himselfe made it knowne by fire and smoake, in burning the Countrey.

The Earle of Northumberland hearing of him, himselfe being a man of great yeares, sent his two sonnes *Henric* and *Ralph* (hardy and valiant young men) to Newcastle, commanding the rest of the Countrey also to resort thither, that they might intercept the Earle of Douglas in his returne: but hee having spoyled the Countrey about Durham, and gotten a great bootie, passeth Tine again, about three miles above Newcastle, and being desirous of glory, and encouraged by this successe, esteeming it but small honour for him to spoil the villages, and not to dare to looke upon the townes, marched towards Newcastle, and did make offer to have assaulted it, and (as some write) did assault it, having first filled the ditches with hay and faggots, hoping thereby to have drawne out the enemy to the open fields, having staid there two dayes; there passed some light skirmishes amongst them every day: And at last, *Henric Percie* eldest sonne to the Earle of Northumberland (called *Hotspurre*) being desirous to trie his valour, either provoking the Earle *Douglas*, or provoked by him; the combate was offered, and accepted betwixt them.

A combat betwixt *Percie* and *Douglas*.

They mounted on two faire steeds, and ran together with sharp ground spears at ourrance; in which encounter the Earle *Douglas* bore *Percie* out of his saddle. But the English that were by did rescue him so that hee could not come at himself, but he snatched away his spear with his guidon or witter; and holding it aloft, and shaking it, he cried out aloud, that hee would carry that into Scotland as his spoil. *Hollinshed* saith (out of *Froisard*) that they did not runne on horseback, but that in an assault at the Barriers without the gate, *Douglas* by chance being matched hand to hand with *Percie*, by force pluckt his Pennon from him, and holding it up on high, said, he would carry it for his sake into Scotland.

There was then at Newcastle a great number of people, for besides the indwellers, there were all the choice men from York to the borders, as the Writers relate. Wherefore Earle *Douglas* (in respect of his small number) caused keep strait watch; and on the morrow removing his Camp, he marched toward Scotland a slow pace, being loden with bootie. Then sending it away before, hee assaulted, tooke, and demolished a certain Castle and Towne, that was in their way, called Pouclane, whereof Sir *Aymer* of Alpholl was Lord, whom he tooke within the Castle and made him a prisoner. Then marching forward, they came to a place called Otterburn, about twelve miles from Newcastle, where they pitched downe their tents, that the Souldiers might take some rest, and refresh themselves after their great travell, as not having rested that day, nor the night before, nor much any where since their entrie into England. There they consulted about the rest of their journey, and the most part advised to march toward Carlile, that they might joyne with the other Army,

that



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that so they might observe the order given them, which was not to fight at all, till both Hoasts were joyned together. But the Earle *Douglas* thought best to stay there some three or four daies that they might reſell the *Percies* bragging, who had affirmed that they ſhould not carry his ſpeare into Scotland, and that the Souldiers might not be idle the while, they might be taking in the Caſtles, and Gentlemens houſes about, that lay neare. To this opinion the others did yeeld for his ſake, howſoever it ſeemed not to be the moſt expedient: ſo they fortified and ſtrengthened their Camp as well as they could on that ſide where it was weake, being fenced with Mariſhes on the other ſide: they went and beſieged a certain Caſtle, called Combure. *Percie* would fain have followed them preſently upon their retreat, but he was hindered by the better adviſed, for fear of an ambuſh: for they thought it was not likely, that the Scots being ſo fevv in number vould have aſſaulted ſo ſtrong a Towne, unleſſe they had knowvne of ſome greater povver to ſuccour and aid them.

Having therefore ſearched diligently that day, and the next, and underſtanding that the other great Army wat not to bee feared, as being far from the Earle *Douglas*, *Percie* marched towards him with 10000. ſtrong, not ſtaying for the Biſhop of Durham, who was ſaid to be at Newcaſtle that ſame night, eſteeming his preſent forces ſufficient to overthrow his enemies, who were fewer in number by the one halfe at leaſt. The avant-curriers of the Engliſh Hoast were come in fight, whileſt the Scots were ſome at ſupper, and others gone to reſt, being wearied with aſſaulting the Caſtle. Hereupon the alarum was given, and the Engliſh approaching, aſſail them fiercely, and were received valiantly by a part of the footemen, and the lackies, and the groomes, who having the advantage of the Fortification which had been made, ſuſtained the charge till the reſt were armed and ready. At their firſt encamping when they viewed the fields, they had eſpied a little hill which they meant to make uſe of if the enemy ſhould follow and aſſaile them, (as they did certainly expect) and now it ſtood the horſemen in very good ſtead: for whiles the Engliſh aſſaulted the entrie of the Camp, the horſe men fetching a compaſſe about this hill, charged them in flank at the farre ſide, in which charge many were ſlain, and the whole Army was filled with tumult and fears. But by the coming of freſh ſupplies, the Engliſh abounding in number, the battell was reſtored, and their ranks ordered as before: yet this profit it brought to the Scots, that the fight being ſlaked at the entrie of the Camp, they had ſpace to go forth, and to put their men in array. In the mean time night drew on, which was troubleſome, and unwelcome to both; but being ſhort (as in the Northern parts it uſeth to be in July) and the ſeaſon faire, the Moon light did ſerve them in ſtead of Day light, and the fight was continued very hard as amongſt noble men on both ſides, who did eſteem more of glory, then life. *Percie* ſtrove to repair the foil he had gotten at Newcaſtle, and the Earle *Douglas* did as much labour to keep the honour he had wonne: So in unequal number, but both equally eager in mind, they continued fighting a great part of the night. At laſt a Cloud covering the face of the Moone, not being able to diſcerne friend from foe, they tooke ſome reſpite for a while; but ſo ſoone as the Cloud was gone,

The battell  
of Otterburn.

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gone, the English gave so hard a charge, that the Scots were put back in such sort, that the *Douglas* Standard was in great perill to have been lost. This did so irritate him, that hee himselve in the one wing, and the two *Hepburnes* (father and sonne) in the other, pressing through the rankes of their owne men, and advancing to the place where the greatest perill appeared, renewed a hard conflict, and by giving and receiving many wounds, they restored their men into the place from whence they had been beaten, and continued the fight untill the next day at noone. The Earle *Douglas* not being satisfied, nor contenting himselve with that, that he had renewed the battell, but himselve with two companions, *Robert Hart*, and *Simon Glendining*, rushed into the midst of the enemies, and equalling the courage of his minde with the strength of his body, whatsoever way he set himself he made great havock of the enemies. It was a wonder to see the great vassallage that he wrought: *Major* in describing them can make no end, nor satisfie himselve: his comparisons are high, like a Lion of Lybia: his description of his body is, that it was faire and well compacted, his strength huge, which hee yet amplifieth with greater hugeness, saying that he fought with a Mace of iron, which two ordinary men were not able to lift, which notwithstanding hee did weild easily, making a great lane round about him wheresoever hee went: his courage and confidence appeareth in his so valiant insisting, as though he would have slaine the whole English Army himselve alone: and seeking to finde *Henry Percie* amongst the midst of them, hee was entered farre within the rankes of the enemies. *Hollinshead* confesseth, that with a great Mace in his hand he laid such sad strokes about him, that none came within his reach but he went downe to the ground. And *Boetius* saith plainly hee fought with a mase heavier then any man is able to beare in those dayes, and that rushing into the midst of his enemies, hee made such a slaughter, that it was chiefly attributed to his vertue, that the Scots won the field.

*Douglas slain.*

But whiles he is thus fighting in the midst of them, before his friends could come at him, though they pressed forward to have seconded and assisted him with all the force and speed that might be, they found him lying on the ground with three deadly wounds. There was lying dead by him *Robert Hart*, and the Priest called *Richard Lundie* (who was after made ArchDean of Aberdene) that had ever stood fast by his side, defended his fainting body with a halbert from injury: he being in this estate, his kinsmen *James Lindsay*, and *Fohn* and *Walter Sinclairs* came to him, and asked him how he did: I do well (saith he) dying as my Predecessours have done before, not in a bed of languishing sicknesse, but in the field. *These things I require of you as my last Petitions, First, that yee keep my death close both from our owne folke, and from the enemy; then that ye suffer not my Standard to be lost, or cast downe; and last, that ye avenge my death, and bury me at Melrosse with my Father. If I could hope for these things, I should die with the greater contentment, for long since I heard a Prophecie that a dead man should winne a field; and I hope in God it shall be I.* Hereupon they covered his body with a cloake that it might not bee knowne, and then hoising aloft his Standard, and crying (as the manner is) a *Douglas*, a *Douglas*, most part repairing thither

from all quarters they began the fight afresh; for not onely the  
 on fort of Souldiers came thither, but the Earle of Murray also  
 with great speed, thinking that the battell went hard on that hand,  
 he had beaten those that he had to deal with, and Sir *John Mackyrell*  
 taken the young *Percie* named *Ralph*, and delivered him to his Master  
 Earle of Murray, who had sent him (being hurt) to the Camp to bee  
 cured, as *Froysard* saith. *Hollinshed* and *Boetius* agree that it was *Keith*  
*Marshall* that tooke him. By this means the ardour of the battell being re-  
 newed on that hand, the fight was renewed, and the strife redoubled on  
 his side, and the Earle *Douglas* followers (who were gathered about his  
 Ensigne) did at last scatter and defeat the English, weary with the former  
 fight which had continued both day and night: And in this assault the  
 Earle of Montgomery tooke *Henric Percie* their Captain prisoner, where-  
 upon the Army fled and turned their backs. There were slain in this bat-  
 teil 1840. of the English, and 1040. taken prisoners, 1000. also were  
 hurt. Of the Scots there were 100. slain, and 200. taken prisoners, whilest  
 they followed over rashly (fewer following more) they turned and tooke  
 those that would have taken them.

This is the battell at Otterburn, memorable not onely for the magna-  
 nimity, courage, perseverance, tolerance of travell, and (in victory) mo-  
 destie of Souldiers and Captains, but also for the variable event, where  
 the victor in high expectation of glory prevented by death, could not en-  
 joy the fruit of his travels: the vanquished, albeit his Army was defeat-  
 ed, and himselfe made a prisoner, yet lived long after this battell with  
 praise; for it was no reproach to him to be overcome, nor so great a blot  
 to have been put to the worse, as it was honourable to have so contended.  
 The event of battells is uncertain, and onely in the hands of the highest:  
 if men do there endeavour, what more can be required? It is not the  
 least part of the *Percies* honour that they did contest with the *Douglasses*,  
 and did sometimes overcome, and sometimes were thus vanquished:  
 thought it were but seldome that the *Douglasses* got the worse, when their  
 forces were equall

Here there was great inequality, where notwithstanding he wonne the  
 honour through the losse of himselfe: neither was it accounted dishonour  
 to his Army, though more in number, or to himselfe to have been thus  
 overcome: for they are recorded to have done their endeavours, and dis-  
 charged the parts of valiant men, and were onely overmatched by excel-  
 lency of valour as we have showne, and as it may be seen by all Writers,  
 not by hunger, or cold, steepnesse of hills and mountains; which I speake  
 not to reproach any, but to make known the truth, and withall, not to  
 cover vertue on either side, which was confessed of all in that age, neither  
 was any man found of another minde: onely the Earle Marshall of Eng-  
 land being a little after sent downe with a company to be Warden of the  
 Borders during *Percies* captivitie (who did build for his ranfome the Ca-  
 stle of Penoun neare to Glasgow) durst extenuate the vertue of the Scots  
 with the reproach of his owne Countrey-men, attributing the cause of  
 this victory, not to the valour of the Scots, but to the cowardise of the  
 English that fought against them, boasting much of himselfe, that if hee

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had

had beene present, or if he should happen to have occasion to fight with the Scots, he should doe great matters; but his brags were soone made to appeare but idle words: for moved by these his speeches, the Governour of Scotland (*viz.* Robert Earle of Fife) having raised an Army, went into England with *Archbald* Earle of Douglas (called the Grimme); brother to this deceased Earle (and who did succeed him in the Earledome) and made directly toward the Earle Marshall, and as soone as they came in sight, offered him battell: and when they could not draw him out to fight, they sent an Herauld to him to challenge him, and provoke him to fight, but all in vain, for neither did hee send back any answer, neither would hee come to an equall and even ground. Therefore they having spoyled and wasted the Countrey with fire and sword in his sight, and as it were under his nose, returned home into Scotland, to the great contentment of the Scots, and no great discontentment of the English prisoners, who were not sorry that his vanity was thus discovered. Certainly, the truth can hardly be belied, and if partiality will not, yet indifferency will beare witnesse to it. *Freyfard* (a stranger, and favouring more the English) concludeth touching this battell, that in all History, there is none so notable by the vertue of the Captains, and valour of the Souldiers, fought so long, so hardely, so variable, the victory enclining diversly divers times, and at last obtained, not by the cowardise of the overcome, but by the valour of the overcomers: neither is that vertue of valour onely remarkable in this place, and marked by him, but their modestie when they had overcome, rare and wonderfull to him (as it is indeed to others) but common enough to the Scottish Nation, practised by them often in their victories, and almost ever where some great enormitie hath not irritated them, contrary to their nature and custome; yet here very singularly: for in the heat of the conflict no men ever fought more fiercely, in the victory obtained none ever behaved themselves more mercifully; taking prisoners, and having taken them, using them as their dearest friends, with all humanitie, courtesie, gentlenesse, tendernesse, curing their wounds, sending them home, some free without ransome, some on small ransome, almost all on their simple word and promise to return at certaine times appointed, or when they should be called upon. So that of 1000. prisoners scarce 400. were brought into Scotland, the rest all remitted in that same manner, with *Ralph Percie*, and by his example, who because of his words desired this courtesie of the Earle of Murray, and obtained it, and was sent to Newcastle on his naked word to returne when hee should be called for. But what courage and confidence was it, that they durst adventure with so great perill to bee so courteous as they were? when the Bishop of Durham approaching to invade them the next day, 10000. (as some say) with 7000. (as others) of fresh men, yet they would not kill their prisoners that were within their Campe, equall (almost) to the halfe of their owne number, but on their owne promises to remaine true prisoners (how ever the field went) and with a small guard, having onely pinioned them together with small cords, suffered them to live in the Campe, and went themselves to encounter the Bishop, full of confidence and scorn, that after the defeat of the flowre of Northumberland,

with

with there so worthy Leaders as the *Percies*, that a Priest (so they called the Bishop, should dare to set upon them, or but to abide them three marked strokes, as their Leaders said to them in his exhortation, as it came indeed to passe without any strokes: for they affrighted him with the onely sound of their hornes (as it seems *Major* would say) which they winding against him, and the hills redoubling the sound thereof, hee was affraid and durst not invade them, finding them ready and resolved to fight, whom hee thought to have found weary, because of their former travell, or negligent because of their victory. And considering (saith *Froyfard*) there was more to be lost, then to be wonne at their hands, the Captain distrust- ing his Hoast, and the Hoast their Captain, it was thought best not to give battell, and so he retired without assaunting them. Their Leader after the Earle *Douglas* death, was the Earle of Murray (saith *Buchanan*) but I should rather take it to be the Earle of March, for hee was the elder brother, and *Major* saith it was March. However our Scottissh mens courtesie and courage is exceedingly to be commended, who notwithstanding that they looked for nothing but to have fought with the Bishop of Durham, yet did they spare their prisoners, which (and the like actions) when I consider, I would gladly understand of such as delight to reproach our Nation with all the calumnies they can invent, and amongst the rest, stile them barbarous, what it is they call barbarity? and if crueltie, and inhumanity bee not the speciall points of it? whereof they shall never reade that any Nation were more free, or that ever hath been more courteous, humane, gentle, in peace and in warre, even at all times, and in all places. I wish all men would acknowledge the truth as it is: if they will not, yet shall it be truth, and truth shall never want a witnesse. It will be acknowledged, and must prevail to their great reproach that seek to hide or to impair it.

To return to our History: when the newes of these things were brought to the other Campe, which was in Cumberland, they were stricken with extreme griefe, and were more sorry for the death of the Earle of *Douglas*, then they were glad for the victory obtained; all their joy for that successe being turned into grievous lamentation. So great was the affection of all the Army towards him, that not onely those who followed him, but those of the other Army also, retired home silent and sad, as if they had been discomfited, and overcome. It increased the commiseration of men, that he died in the flowre of his age, and that he alone should be deprived of that victory which was obtained by his vertue and valour. And I think that the same affection doth continue in the hearts of the Readers of the History, which is never mentioned without a tender compassion.

And for my selfe so often I call to mind his great worth, and short life, I remember withall that of the Poet,

*ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra  
Esse sinent, &c.*

The fates shall make but of this youth a show,  
Such vertue must not tarry long below.

P 2

And

104 *Of Iames the 2. of that Name, the 11. Lord,*

And with a great hyperbole, greater then Piety can well admit, if any such speeches can be over great, which doe not import what they speak, but are onely brought to expresse the highest excellency that can be.

*Nimium vobis Romana propago  
Visa, potens, superi, propria hac si dona fuissent.*

The Heavens had made the Roman race to be  
Too blest, if this gift had held on with thee.

Change but the Countrey name, call it (*Scotana propago*) and you shall accommodate these verses more fitly here to this man : but most of all in the simple sence, that which followes,

——— *Non illi quisquam se impune tulisset  
Obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem,  
Seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.*

No man in Armes that durst to him make head,  
Did scape unfoild, on foot, or foaming steed.

Which he speaking of *Marcellus*, if he had lived, is witnessed of this Earle *Douglas*, even by the adversary, whiles he yet lived. To which purpose I remember that worthy Sir *Philip Sidney* in his defence of Poesie writeth of himself, that hee never heard the song of *Douglas* and *Percie*, but hee found his heart more moved therewith then with a Trumpet; whereof hee alledgeth the cause to bee the force and power of Poetrie : though it bee sung (saith hee) by some rude crowder, and with no rougher voyce then a grosse stile. What he saith of himselfe I doubt not but others have found in themselves : neither is it the musick of that rough finger, that giveth it this force, farre lesse the vertue of the grosse rime : it is the matter that gives the efficacie, and the vertue of the man that begetteth a resembling vertue in the heart ; not by Poesie, but by the rightly described History. Indeed this is the man apparantly, who hath given subject to those songs, being the first that encountered with *Percie* in such a particular conflict : but that which is commonly sung of the hunting of Chiviot seemeth indeed Poeticall, and a meer fiction (perhaps to stirre up vertue) yet a fiction, whereof there is no mention neither in the Scottish, nor English Chronicle : neither are the songs that are made of them both one, for the Scots song made of Otterburn telleth the time about Lammasse, and the occasion to take preyes out of England, also the dividing of the Armies betwixt the Earles of *Pife* and *Douglas*, and their severall journeys, almost as in the authentick History : It beginneth thus :

*It fell about the Lammas tide  
When yeomen wonne their hay,  
The thoughtie Douglas gan to ride,  
In England to take a prey.*

Whereas



Whereas the other maketh another occasion, and altogether different, yet it is not more effectuell to move vertue, then the true History here set downe: nor indeed so effectuell as it. And therefore let it bee read, and read over again, by such as delight in Military vertues; chiefly by those to whom these examples are as hereditary, and domestick, which they must needs affect, as also all the other actions of the life, but none testifying a better mind, a better resolution of the mind; more courage, more valour, with gifts of the body, strength and activity, all ruled by reason, and guided by wisdom, as is seen in his dealing with the French men, when they would have had him to fight with the King of England: which vertues of valour and wisdom so joyned, are able to make a due harmony, acceptable to a right judgement, commendable to after ages, and profitable for the present.

*Boetius* writeth that hee died not in the field, but after the field in his owne Tent, and that the Earles of Crawford, Murray, and March, went into his Tent, and found him lying hurt with three great wounds, almost dead: at which sight, each looked upon other with a silent astonishment, and then burst forth into teares and weeping: which he beholding, said unto them (with a weake and faint voyce which could scarcely be heard) *I beseech you good friends leave your lamenting, and be glad of the present victorie which God of his goodnesse hath granted to us: We exposed our bodies to the enemies sword, to obtain that which we have obtained: Turne therefore your teares unto thanks, mindefull rather of the benefit, then sorrowfull for that which is happened otherwayes then ye wished. If yee regard my paines and my life, which for you I lose, pray for my soul, and follow Vertue, and Armes, as ye doe, which you may imploy for the liberty of your Countrey, keeping concord amongst your selves, with a kinde remembrance of me.*

Soone after these words were uttered, hee died in the armes of his friends. There are that say, that he was not slain by the enemy, but by one of his owne men, a Groome of his Chamber, whom he had struck the day before with a truncheon in the ordering of the battell, because hee saw him make somewhat slowly to: and they name this man *John Bickerton* of Luffenesse, who left a part of his armour behinde unfastned, and when hee was in the greatest conflict, this servant of his came behinde his back, and slew him thereat: but this narration is not so probable. He was buried at Melrosse besides his father, with a Military pompe of the whole Army, and all the honour that could bee devised for him besides by the Abbot, and Monks of that Convent, after the most solemne manner of those times:

Buried at  
Melrosse.

Jacobus

*Jacobus Duglassius qui obiit ad Otterburnum  
Julii 21. 1388. Moriens.*

*Queritis ô quid agam? an animam jam ago, fata meorum  
Hac sequor. Innumero huc vulnere facta via est.  
Nesciat hoc hostis, sequitor quam quisque secat spem:  
Atque aliquis nostri funeris ultor ades.  
Finiit: Et subito redivivo funere surgens  
Mars novus intonuit, victor & ultor obit.*

Johnst. Herees.

In English thus:

My friends you aske me how I do.  
My soul is now prepar'd to go,  
Where many wounds have made her way.  
Conceal it, till you winne the day:  
Pursue your hopes: this said, he dy'd;  
Then the whole rank's a *Douglas* cry'd,  
And charg'd a fresh, that thou might'st have  
Revenge and honour in the grave.

Before we proceed to speake of the next Earle of Douglas, the order of the History requireth that first wee speake of *Archbald Douglas* Lord of Galloway, brother to *William* the first Earle of Douglas, and of the said *Archbalds* naturall sonne *VVilliam* Lord of Nithisdale. Of this *Archbald* we have mentioned what was remarkable in his brother Earle *VVilliams* life, for that was the time of his action. The first was after the battell of Penure, to bee revenged of the losse, whereof the English invaded Scotland with 50000. men ( as they say that make them the fewest ) or 40000. ( as others ) conducted by the Lord *Talbot* a very valiant man: with this huge number when they had spoyled the Countrey farre and wide, as they retired towards England, they were assailed at a strait passage by the Lord of Galloway, who had not above 5000. in his company: with these he discomfited his hoast, and recovered the whole bootie. There were slain of the enemies in the conflict. 400. and 200. taken prisoners, and many were drowned in the river Solway, as they fled unadvisedly. Some write that he set upon them in the night being incamped in a strait valley, not farre from England, where the first that they met withall being slain, the rest were affrighted and disordered, and so overthrowne.

The next thing that we heare of him, is that he was with his brother the Earle at the conference with *John* of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, concerning a truce, and that hee accompanied the said Duke to Holyroodhouse. The truce was made for three yeares.

And after these were expired, the Lord of Galloway being very much  
grieved

grieved that there should be a Garrison of English in the Castle of Lochmabane, which did daily spoil and rob the villages and townes of Galloway, and Annandale, raised a great power by the help of his brother the Earle *Douglas*, and the Earle of March, and besieged the Castle for the space of eleven dayes. There came some English companies to have raised the siege, and relieved the Castle, but he repulsed them. Thereafter having assaulted it very fiercely, the Captain thereof, Sir *William Ediston*, yeelded it up unto him, lives and goods safe, and he having gotten it into his hands, razed it to the ground.

He taketh and razeth the Castle of Lochmabane.

It is written also of him that hee went into France with his Nephew *James* Earle of Douglas, when he was sent to renew the ancient league with that Kingdome.

The last of his actions that we can finde is that hee was with his Nephew *James* Earle of Douglas, and the Earle of March, at the taking of Wark, Foord, and Cornhill, where he wasted and spoyled the Countrey betwixt Berwick and Newcastle with the Frenchmen. These Frenchmen not contented herewith, but desirous to doe some other exploit, joyning with *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, passed Solway lands, and did wonderfull great hurt in Cumberland.

He is accounted by Writers, to have been a very sufficient and valorous Gentleman, and that he died before the battell of Otterburn, in the year 1387. He founded the Hospitall of Holywood, and to him succeded his Nephew *Archbald* (called the Grimme) in the Lordship of Galloway, who afterwards was both Earle of Douglas, and Lord of Galloway.

His death. He founded the Hospitall of Holywood.

And here it is to be observed, that there were three *Archbald Douglasses* almost contemporary, which are to be distinguished, that we mistake not one for another. The first is this *Archbald*, brother to *William* the first Earle, who was Lord of Galloway, then when his brother lived, and who was father to the Lord Niddisdale. The second *Archbald* was son naturall to good Sir *James*, slain in Spain, who was made Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, when it was taken by his brother the Lord of Liddesdale, who is wrongfully named *William* in our Chronicles, in stead of *Archbald*. He was at the battell of Poytiers, and is reported to have married in France, and remained there till his death. The third is *Archbald* the Grimme, of whom we shall speake hereafter. Our Writers through inadvertance doe divers times confound these three; taking one of them for another. As when they say *Archbald* Lord of Galloway, sonne to sir *James* slain in Spain, was taken at Poytiers, it is a manifest error: for if he was Lord of Galloway, hee was not sonne to Sir *James*; if he were sonne to Sir *James*, then was hee not Lord of Galloway; for Galloway did never belong to Sir *James*, but to his brother *Archbald* slain at Halydoun hill, who obtained it by marrying the heire of Galloway (as hath been said) and gave it to his second sonne this *Archbald*. Thus much I thought good to advertise the Reader in this place, for the better distinguishing of them.

of

of William Lord of Niddisdale (sonne naturall to this foresaid Archbald Lord of Galloway) commonly called The blacke

DOUGLAS.

**T**His William Lord of Niddisdale (sonne naturall to Archbald Lord of Galloway) is (if any else) worthy, who should be spoken of by himselfe being highly commended by Writers, who say that he was the prime and principall of the youth of Scotland, that he was a man accomplished with all abilities of body and minde, straight and tall of stature, not overcharged with flesh, but big of bone, a mighty personage, valiant, courteous, amiable, merrie, faithfull and pleasant in company and converse, of such extraordinary strength, that whomsoever he strooke with Sword or Mace, he fell to the ground, were he never so well armed: he was also wise and sober. At one time having but 800. in his company, he fought against 3000. English, of which he slew 200. and tooke 500. prisoners. This is he that is commonly called The blacke Douglas, because he was of a blacke and swart complexion. His first vassallage of note was at the inroad made by Robert Earle of Fife, and James Earle Douglas, when they burnt Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland. In this expedition he is said to have gained great reputation, for (beside many other exploits not exprest) he with other two only made great havocke of the enemies at the burning of the Suburbs of Carlisle (who offered to hinder him from passing the bridge) by slaying some, and turning over others into the river. Some say that he slew with his owne hands three of the most valiant of the English, of which one was a chiefe Commander: afterwards, when the same Towne was besieged, the enemies having made a sally, whilst he repulsed them, and followed too eagerly, he was engaged too farre in the midst of his enemies, and taken prisoner. As he was led along toward the Towne by foure men (having beene before disarmed, and his weapons taken from him, he strooke two of them to the ground with his fists, and the other two betaking themselves to flight, he returned safe to his company. Hereupon his name was terrible to the English, especially the common sort, who did ordinarily affright and skare their children, when they would not be quiet, by saying, The blacke Douglas comes, the blacke Douglas will get thee.

These his vertues moved Robert the second to favour him so farre, as to bestow his daughter on him, though he knew him to be a bastard. The Ladies name was Giles (or Egidia) and she was a mirrour of rare and singular beautie, so that whithersoever she went, she drew the eyes of all men towards her with admiration. The chiefe noble youths of the land did sute her in marriage, but the King preferred our William of Niddisdale for his worth before them all. Boece writeth that the King of France having heard of the fame of her beautie, sent a painter into Scotland privately, who having drawne her portraiture truly, and shewed it to the King, he was so enamoured thereof, that incontinent he dispatched Embassadours to desire her in marriage; but all too late, for she was married

He is called  
the blacke  
Douglas.

He marries  
the Kings  
daughter E-  
gidia.

ried (before their coming) to Niddisdale. The King gave him and his heires to be begotten by him with his daughter, the Lordship of Niddisdale, lying nearest unto Galloway, with the Office of Warden of that Border, and Sherifffship of Dumfrees, with the Office of Justice, and Chamberlaine, with a pension of three hundred pound sterling by yeare out of the great Customes of certaine Burrowes designed to that effect. He had by this Lady a daughter, who was married to *Henry Sinclair* His daughter married to the Earle of Orkney Earle of Orkney, who bare to him a sonne called *William*, afterward Earle of Orkney. This daughter of his (married to Orkney) was named *Giles* (after her mother) as appeareth by a note that is extant of the descent of the *Sinclairs*. Her husband is called *Henry Sinclair*, and his titles are, Knight of the Cockle, of the Garter, and Prince of Orkney. This note calleth *William Douglas*, Lord of Niddisdale, Prince of Danskine, Duke of Spruce. Sir *William Sinclair*, sonne to *Henry* and *Giles*, is called Knight of the Golden Fleece, and of the Cockle, Prince of Orkney, Duke of Holdenburgh, Earle of Cathnes, Lord Sinclair, Lord of Niddisdale; with the valleyes of Neth; Sheriffe of Dumfrees, Great Admirall of Scotland, Warden of the Marches, Great Justice Generall, Baron of Erkfoord, Caverton, Cowsland, Rosseline, Pentland, Harbarshire, Disfart, Newbrough in Buchan; Titles to wearie a Spaniard: which I have set downe to recreate the Reader, either by seeing his greatnesse, or to laugh at the vanitie of the Writer: and yet he hath forgotten one of his titles, which is, Chancellour of Scotland, as *Buchanan* calls him, and a confirmation given him by King *James* the second in the yeare 1456. April 29. wherein he calls him his Chancellour and Cousin. This confirmation is of the Earledome of Cathnes united into one Baronie, and his lands of Orkney in compensation of his claime and title to the Lordship of Niddisdale, Offices and Pensions whatsoever that were given to *William Douglas* (his Grandfather by his Mother) by contract of marriage with *Giles Stuart* (daughter to *K. Robert* by his wife *Elizabeth Moore*) as is at length therein contained.

About the time of the field at Otterburne, because some Irishmen that adhered to England had roaved upon the coasts of Galloway, and carried away store of booty and spoile, the Lord of Niddisdale to be revenged thereof, gathered together a competent number of men, by the aid of his brother-in-law *Robert* Earle of Fife, and by licence from the King providing himsele of Ships and vessels, passed the seas into Ireland, and besieged Carlinfoord, a rich Towne in those parts. The Townesmen fearing their Towne should be taken by assault, obtained a truce for certaine dayes, promising to give him a summe of money to have their Towne saved. But in the meane time they assembled some 500. men through the help of a neighbour Towne called Dundalke, and joyning with them, they divided themselves into two squadrons or companies: the one of which invaded *Robert Stuart* of Disdier, who conducted the Earle of Fifes men, and was gone abroad to bring in some prey: the other assailed the Lord of Niddisdale, who lay still before the Towne. Notwithstanding of this unexpected sally, they were received with such courage and valour, that at last they were put to flight; and immediately Niddisdale gave

He takes and  
burnes Calin-  
foogd.

gave an hard assault to the Towne, and carried it : having taken and rifled it sufficiently, he set it on fire, and burnt it to ashes. Others write, that at his first landing the Citizens hearing it was the Lord Niddisdale (whose name was so fearfully spread over all those quarters) not only rendred the Town to him, but also received him with great triumph, as if he had been their King or Prince ; and that hereupon he used them courteously. But when his men were in great security, scattered and separated , as fearing no hurt or danger, and some at their Ships, some sent with *Robert Stuart* of Disdier to spoile the Countrey about, which stood out against him, and to furnish his ships and the towne ; so that there remained not with the Lord Niddisdale above 200. men when they set upon him, as before we have said ; and being beaten, the Towne was sackt and burnt. Then they tooke 60. ships, which they found in divers Havens and Creeks, and laded 15. of them with such spoile as they had gotten , and burnt the rest. Then returning homeward, they spoiled the Isle of Man , which lay in their way. He landed at Loch-rien , which divides a part of Galloway from Carriſt, and hearing there of the roade into England, he hastened him hither with all diligence.

He returns  
out of Ireland

He is made  
Admirall.

But truce being made for certaine yeares with England, that he might not languish in idlenesse , he passed into Spruce , from whence he heard that an Army was to be sent against the Infidels. There hee gave such prooffe of his vertue and valour , that hee was chosen Admirall of the whole Fleet, which was very faire and great, esteemed to consist of 250. saile, and was there created Duke of Spruce, and Prince of Danskin. But there arose dissention betwixt him and the Lord *Clifford* an Englishman, upon an old emulation, and present envie of his new preferment, at which *Clifford* grudged. Wherefore being challenged to the field by *Clifford*, he accepted it gladly : but the other weighing with himselfe what a hazzard he was like to runne by fighting with such a man of such incomparable valour, found meanes (before the day of the combat came) to make him away by hired Affasines and Brigands, who murdered him in the night on the bridge of Danskin. The Manuscript seemeth to say that combat was not taken on there and then, but long before, while they were both at home ; and that Niddisdale before the day passing to Paris to provide armour fit for him ( or on whatsoever occasion else ) *Clifford* gave it out that he had fled the combat ; but when he saw that he was returned before the day appointed , fearing to match with his well knowne strength and valour , would have shifted the fight with many frivolous excuses. Now there being assembled and met together at that time brave Knights from all the parts of Christendome , *Clifford* partly for envie of the honour conferred upon his adversary, and partly remembring their old debates , but chiefly because of this disgrace and infamie , of being put to this necessitie of refusing to fight with him , hee caused mercenarie cut-throats to lie in wait for him, who as he happened to walke through the streets, and view the walls of the Towne , set upon him , and murdered him, not without great difficultie : by which losse that enterprize against the Infidels was disturbed and dashed.

He is mur-  
thered by the  
Lord *Clifford*.

We told before how he is stiled Prince of Danskin, and Duke of Spruce,

in



in the Monuments of the *Sinclairs*, of whom one had married his daughter: sure it is, by the report of many eye-witnesses, that there was a gate in Danfick on which the Coat of the *Douglases* was carved and graven in stone, which decaying, and being of late re-edified, this monument of him is perished. The common opinion is, that Danfick having been taken by Infidels, was regained by Scottishmen, and therefore it is that the Scots have such priviledges there: and there is a part of the Town which they call little Scotland, which is inhabited almost with Scottishmen. All which must be referred (most apparently) to the Lord Niddisdale, and to this time, and doth testifie in some measure he hath surpassed the quality and condition of a private man, or of a stranger in those parts, seeing he acquired the title of Prince and Duke, whereof we can affirm no more then hath been said. This fell out about the yeare 1389. or 1390. about the death of King *Robert* the second.

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*of Archbald the second, called The Grimme, the third Earle, and twelfth Lord of Douglas and Bothwell.*

**U**Nto *James* (slaine at Otterburn) succeeded his brother *Archbald*, whom *Hollinshed* wrongfully calleth his Cousin. Hee was married to the daughter of *Andrew Murray*, sisters sonne to K. *David Bruce*, and Governour of Scotland: by her he got the Lordship of Bothwell, and many other lands; and she bare to him two sonnes, first *William*, who died a yeare before his father without children; and *Archbald*, who succeeded to his father: also a daughter named *Marjorie*, married to *David* Prince of Scotland. Concerning this *Archbald* the Grim; we finde not many particular acts of his recorded, besides those which he did in his fathers time, and in his brothers (of which we have already spoken) although certainly hee cannot but have done divers worthy of memorie, seeing he hath the name and reputation of a most worthy Capitaine, being so sterne and austere in carriage and countenance, that hee was termed, *The Grimme Douglas*, and by our Writers, *Archbald* the Grimme.

Now that we may the better understand the reasons of the *Douglases* proceedings and actions, let us (as our manner is) take a generall view of the estate of the Countrey at this time. His succession to the Earledome by the death of his brother was (as we have said) not long before the death of King *Robert* the second, who died in the Castle of Dundonald in the yeare 1390. April 19. Before his death there was a Truce taken betwene England and France for the space of seven yeares, wherein Scotland was also comprehended. By reason of this Truce partly, and partly for that his sonne *John*, who was afterward called *Robert* the third, was lame both of body and minde, and so no wayes fit for warre, there is no mention of any exploit done by this man: onely it is said of him, that when King *Robert* the third, in the year 1396. and the seventh of his reign, created divers Dukes, and would have made this *Archbald* one, he refused it as a noveltie and an empty title, not worthy of the accepting, seeing it

His marriage.

His children.

He refused to be Duke.

was neither bestowed for merit, nor service done, nor had any real advantage in it, save an airy show of appearing honour to please the humour of ambitious minds, of which he was none.

The next yeare following, *Richard* the second of England, was deposed, and the Duke of Lancaster was made King in his roome, who was *Henry* the fourth: In the beginning of *Henries* reigne, the seeds of warre were sown upon this occasion.

*George Dumbarre*, Earle of March had betrothed his daughter *Elizabeth* to *David* the Kings eldest sonne, and had payed a great part of their portion before hand: But the Earle *Douglas*, alledging that the Kings private contracting of his sonne without the consent of the State, was not according to the custome of the Kingdome, nor right and orderly done, caused the matter to be propounded by his Majestie to the Parliament, as former Kings had done, and as reason required, seeing the whole Kingdome hath interest in the matching of their Princes, and Kings children. There he handled the busines so, that the contract with *Marches* daughter was declared void and null, and his owne daughter *Marjorie Douglas*, was contracted to the said Prince *David* by consent of the Parliament; having offered a greater portion with her, then the Earle March had done with his daughter. He obtained for her joynture, all the rents and reve-nues which belonged to the King on the south side of Forth. The way he tooke to bring this to passe, was by the means of the Kings brother *Robert* Earle of Fife, now made Duke of Albany, and Governour of the Countrey under the King, as he had been in their fathers time; who did also then even govern both King and Kingdome, and every thing as he listed: and *Douglas* and he were inward, and deare friends, as his brother *James* (slain at Otterburn) and he had ever been: now whether the Earle *Douglas* had that respect indeed to have matters of such importance to the Kingdome done by common advice of the Nobility chiefly, or if his chiefend were his owne particular, because of the old emulation betwixt the Earles of March and Douglas, to hinder the growth of that house by this great advantage of aliance, or if hee had an eye to both, or to any thing else, I leave it to be judged of others.

His daughter  
*Marjory* con-  
tracted to  
Prince *David*.

1400.  
Their marri-  
age.

The marriage was solemnized in the Church of Bothwel the yeare 1400, with greater haste then good speed, or any comfort to either party that we heare of. For neither came this *David* ever to bee King, which was the thing that was expected, that thereby the house of Douglas might have been greatned: Neither did this aliance of Prince *David* with the Earle of Douglas, stand him in any stead: in that hee was most miserably handled by his Uncle the Governour, who aspired himself to the Crowne, which makes me to wonder why hee did not rather hinder this marriage of his Nephew with the Earle Douglas, then thus further it; seeing in all likelyhood it might have been a great let and strong hinderance to those his ambitious designs: But so are the secrets of things hid from us, that wee cannot finde out the causes and reasons of them by no means, being not observed, or not mentioned by the Writers of those times; howver this marriage bred great contention and enmity betwixt the Earles of March and Douglas (though neare kinsmen) and did

did also disturb the peace and quietnesse of the Kingdome : for March before the marriage was solemnized, did not stick to goe to the King, and upbraid him with breach of promise, which (he said) was neither just, nor Princely ; craving also importunately, and roughly the restitution of his mony which he had advanced for his daughters portion. The King having not answered him according to his mind, hee spared not to threaten that he should be avenged on that ruse and disgrace that he had put upon him and his daughter. And so retiring from Court, he fortifies his Castle of Dumbarre, and gives it in keeping to his Nephew *Robert Metellan*, he himselfe (having received leave of King *Henry*) went into England ; whereupon the Castle of Dumbarre was summoned in the Kings name by an Herauld of Armes, and was surrendered by the Captain thereof *Robert Metellan* into the hands of the Earle *Douglas*. The Earle of March returned into Scotland, but being excluded out of his Castle at Dumbarre, went back again into England, taking his Lady and children along with him, together with the nearest of his kinsmen, and his chief friends accompanying him. There he joyned with *Henry Percie* (called hote spurre) a perpetuall enemy of the house of Douglas, and trusting to the favour and good will borne him by these who dwelt on the East Border of March of Scotland, most of which were his vassalls and dependers, many of them his kinsmen, and all of them tied to him by some relation, or obligation, he troubled the Merse chiefly and the Earle *Douglas* lands with frequent incursions and inroades. The King hereupon caused proclaime him rebell, and yet notwithstanding, sent to him a Herauld of Armes, with profer of pardon, and restitution, upon condition that hee would returne and live peaceably at home, and that he should receive all such satisfaction for any wrong he could justly complain of, as he desired. But when hee refused to embrace this offer, the Herauld passed on to King *Henric*, and complained of the Earle of March, craving that hee might bee delivered according to the Articles of the truce. But hee was answered by the King, that hee had given him his word, and could not breake it.

In the mean time *Percie*, and the Earle of March, being emboldned with divers succesfull attempts upon the Borders, adventured with 2000. men to come into Lowthian, where they wasted the Countrey near unto Hadington, assaulted the Castle of Hales twice but in vain : burnt the townes of Hales, Trapren, Markill, and other adjacent villages. And while they encamped at Linton upon Tine, hearing of the Earle *Douglas*'s approach, who had raised sufficient forces, and was marching towards them, and was come as farre as Penkrake, they arose and fled in great haste, leaving behind them all their booty, together with their owne luggage and carriage. The manuscript and black booke of Scone say clearly that the Earle *Douglas* followed them so quickly, that he overtookethem or they got to Berwick, and killed divers, having wrested an ensigne out of the hands of Sir *Thomas Colbouth* which he brought into Scotland with him. *Boetius* relates it not much otherwise. Other Histories make no mention hereof, but onely say, that the Earle returned to Edinburgh with great congratulation and joy of all men.

He

## 114 *Of Archbald the 3. of that Name, 13. Lord,*

His death.

He died not long after of a burning fever the same yeare 1400, in the beginning of February : very unseasonably for his Countrey ; which was destitute of able Commanders in warre, having lost divers others of good note not long before. He was buried in Bothwell with his Ladie. He was a man nothing inferiour to any of his Predecessours, or Successours of his house and name, in any kind of vertue, and in speciall of true and reall kindnesse to his friends and followers, as appeareth by a letter of his to the Earle of March in favour of the Laird of Ridpeth, a Gentleman in Lammermoore who was his follower, and was wronged by the Earle of March in the possession of some lands : but more in Marches refusall to right him ; he assemblith his forces, and dispossesseth the Earle of Marches sonne, and reponed Ridpeth in his right, and maintained him therein ever after, which his successours doe enjoy at this day. As for his valour and conduct in warre, hee is termed the best Captain of his time, and that in his person the splendour and glory of warrefare both stood and fell.

He founded  
the Colledge  
of Bothwell.

Others say that hee left behinde him an honourable memory of high Prowesse, and noble valour, shewed in many enterprises by him happily atchieved for the good of his Countrey. In Piety hee was singular through his whole life, and most religious according to those times. He did very much honour and reverence all religious persons ; for whose use he founded the Colledge of Bothwell. Out of his zeal and sincerity he expelled the Nuns of the Abbacie of Lincoudon, and changed it into a Colledge of Clerks, because the Nuns (saith *Boetius*) kept not their institution of their order : and *Major* saith it is to be presumed, that they kept not their Chastitie, otherwise he could never have thrust them out. And in this he commendeth him, as having an eye to Religion, and a speciall care of the pure and sincere worship of God, as his onely end and intention. As for his prudence and providence, it appeareth that he did greatly encrease his Revenues, and enlarge his Dominions : hee was trusty and faithfull in his promises, and carried a minde free from all ambition, and vain glory : All vertues greatly to bee accounted of, and imitated of all.

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*Of Archbald the third of that Name and thirteenth Lord,  
the fourth Earle of Douglas, Lord of Bothwell,  
Galloway and Annandale, first Duke of  
Torrane, Lord of Longe-ville,  
and Marshall of France.*

**U**Nto *Archbald* (the Grimme) succeeded his second sonne, named also *Archbald* ; he was married to *Margaret* daughter to King *Robert* the third, and second of the *Stuarts*. She lieth buried in the Church of Lincouden, with this inscription on her Tombe,

*Hic jacet Margarita Scotia regis filia, Comitissa de Douglas, vallis  
Anandia, & Gallovidie Domina.*

Here lies *Margaret* daughter to the King, Countesse of *Douglas*, Lady of *Annandale* and *Galloway*.

He

He had by her two sonnes, *Archbald*, to whom *Thomas Flemine* Earle of Wigton resignes the Earledome of Wigton, and he is entituled (during his fathers life time) *Archbald* Earle of Wigton : his other sonne was *James*, Lord Abercome, called grosse *James*. Hee had also two daughters, *Margaret*, married to Sir *William Sinclair* Earle of Orkney who was fifth in line from the Earle of Saint Clarences second sonne, that came first out of France, and was sonne to *Giles* (or *Egidia*) *Douglas*, daughter to the Earle of Niddisdale. *Elizabeth* was the other, who was married to *John Stuart* Earle of Buchan, second sonne to *Robert* the Governour, afterward Constable of France : her dowry or portion given with her in marriage, were the lands of Stuarton, Ormeshugh, Dunlope, Trabuyage (in Carriët) by resignation.

His children.

This *Archbald* is hee who was called Tine-man, for his unfortunate and hard successe he had, in that he tint (or lost) almost all his men, and all the battels that hee fought. This nick-name, or cognomination in the old manuscript (of Sir *Richard Metellan* of Lithington) giveth to *Archbald* slain at Halidoun hill, and calleth this, *Archbald* one eye, for distinction, because of the losse of his eye in a battell against *Percie*. But that surname of Tyne man cannot bee given so conveniently to the former *Archbald*, who lost onely one field, and himself in it ; whereas this man ever lost his men, himself escaping often : hee is distinguished also from others by the Title of Duke of Turrane : But however he be named, it is true, that no man was lesse fortunate, and it is no lesse true, that no man was more valorous, as will appeare by the History.

Or Tine man.

At his beginning to bee Earle, a little after the decease of his father in August 1409. *Henry* the fourth of England entered Scotland with an Army, and came to Edinburgh, where he besieged the Castle, in the which the Duke of Rothsay ( Prince of Scotland ) and with him the Earle of Douglas, were. The Governour of Scotland raised an Army to have given him battell, and was come to Calder-more, but went no further, and there disbanded his Army. The English Histories say, that the Governour sent word to the King of England, that if he would stay for him but fixe dayes onely he would give him battell, and that the Herauld got a silke gowne, and a gold chain for his newes from the King ; but the King having stayed twice fixe could heare nothing of his coming. The cause of the Governours slacknesse is given out by some to have been the desire that he had that the Duke of Rothsay might perish, and be taken out of the way, that he himself might come to the Crown. Now as all do agree, that he had these ambitious thoughts, so *Major* stewarteth that there was also some other particular between them, whereof he relateth the occasion to have been this. There was one *John Remorgeny*, who first laboured to perswade the Duke of Rothsay to cause slay the Governour, and then (when he could not prevail with him to wrong his Uncle) he dealt with the Governour to cut off the Duke his Nephew, as one that would raine him, if ever he should come to be King. This *Remorgeny* was seconded by *Lindsay*, who was upon the plot with him, and helped it forward upon malice against Rothsay, who had betrothed his sister, and rejected her, as he had done to the Earle of Marches eldest daughter. This seemeth not

to

to be unlikely, and giveth some further light to the History, as containing the cause of the Governours not relieving the Castle of Edinburgh. It is also a remarkable example of crafty Counsellours, who are to be noted and avoided. And I marvell much how it hath escaped the diligence of our best Writers. I thought it not to be omitted in this place, as an instance of feare concurring with ambition in the Governour: and indeed these two are commonly joyned together, and take matter each of other. Ambition bringeth feare with it, and feare spurreth forward ambition toward that it aimes at; as being not onely honourable, but necessary, and the onely meane to secure a mans selfe: especially where it lighteth upon such Counsellours, as these were, to blow the fire, whereof Princes had need to be aware, and stop the entrie to the first motions thereof.

The blacke booke of Scone saith that *Henry* the fourth acknowledged himselfe to be (*semi Scotus de sanguine Cumini*) halfe a Scot of the bloud of the *Cummins*, and that he tooke the most High to witnesse, that he was not come to hurt the Countrey, but onely to have reason of some of the Nobilitie, who had written to the King of France that he was a Traitor in the superlative degree (which letters his men had intercepted) and to trie if the Authours of these letters durst fight it with him. The Manuscript saith that he was disappointed of his purpose notwithstanding: for he thought to have taken the Castle of Edinburgh, and to have made Scotland subject to him thereafter; but it being valiantly defended by the Earle *Douglas*, he was constrained to rise from before it with great losse and discontentment, and no great credit; especially for that the winter drew on apace, having sat downe before it about the end of September. I am not ignorant that our Writers give this *Henry* the commendation of great modestie in this journey, as being mindfull of the courtesie showne to his father the Duke of Lancaster in Scotland, and that they say that he used the prisoners not cruelly but courteously, and that when he passed by the Castles and Forts of the Countrey, he did onely require of the Captaines and Keepers of them, that his Ensignes might be set on the top of the wall, as a token of their submission, and that they were in his will: but seeing their owne Authors deny him this honour, and say that he burnt the Towns, Villages, and Castles, even a great part of Edinburgh and Leith, we have small reason to contend with them for it; and so we accept of it, and follow the Scottish Manuscript.

Upon *Henries* departure, because the Earle of March troubled the Countrey with frequent rather than with great incurfions, the Earle *Douglas* (who had the government of Lowthian, and the Castle of *Dumbar*) went with an Army into Northumberland, and wasted the Countrey with great havock. At his returne he gave order that the Barons and Gentlemen should choose some of their number to be Captaines, and allot unto them a competent number to follow them, who might by turnes wait and be in readinesse, either to resist the enemy, or to make an inroad upon him in his owne Countrey, as they should find occasion. The first turne fell to *Thomas Haliburton* Lord of *Dirleton*, who having entred England, and gotten a great bootie neere unto *Bambrugh*, returned home safe.

Edinburgh  
Castle defended  
by *Douglas*  
against  
King *Henry*  
the fourth.



safe. But *Patrick Hepburne* of Hailes ( the younger ) had not the like successe : for he going upon the like adventure, had indeed taken a rich bootie, but having stayed a day longer then he should (and had beene advised by his friends) in the enemies bounds, they gathered themselves together, and following him, overtooke him at West Nisbet in the Merse. There, after a sharp encounter , the Scots had gotten the better of the English, and well nigh the victorie, till *George Dumbarre*, the Earle of Marches eldest sonne, coming in with an hundred fresh horse, regained the victorie to the English, and slew the flowre of the youth of Lowthian , together with their Captaine *Patrick Hepburne*. The fight happened the 22. of June 1401. the place whereof is yet called, The Slaughter Hill.

This *Patrick Hepburne* was entirely beloved of the Earle *Douglas*, and as deare to him as his owne selfe : for he it was that fought so valiantly at Otterburne , and therefore he was filled with griefe and indignation for his death, being so brave a Captain, and so deare a friend to his house, and to himselfe. His honour also, and the credit of his Countrey stirred him up also to seeke a revenge of the Authors thereof. Whereupon having obtained leave of the Governour, he gathered together about some 10000. men , amongst whom were many of the chiefe Nobility of the land, even the Governours eldest sonne *Murdock* ( who succeeded to his father in the Government ) *George* Earle of Angus (his owne Uncle) *Thomas* Earle of Murray, and *John Dumbarre* brother to the Earle of March, one that had married the Kings sister. With this company he entered England as farre as Newcastle upon Tine, and having gotten a great bootie, was retiring homeward. In his returning, neare unto Milfield, *Henry Hotspurre* and *George* Earle of March lay in his way with a farre greater power then he had. Wherefore the Earle *Douglas* tooke a ground of advantage, which was a little hill besides Homildon, a Village in Northumberland. *Percie* would have marched straight towards him to have assailed him, but the Earle of March (being very skilfull in warre , and more calme and advised) stayed him, and gave him counsell first to send a flight of arrowes amongst them, and to give them a vollee of their fielding pieces, which was done accordingly, and did greatly annoy the Scots , and slew many of them. *Douglas* perceiving that he could not brooke that place with safety, thought it better to hazzard the battell in plaine field, then to stand still and see his men slaine about him by the enemies shot, while they stood safe, and came not within stroake of their swords , and long weapons. And so (though farre inferiour in number) downe the hill he goes, and gave a fierce assault upon the enemy. But the Vauntguard being brangled, and giving backe (being much troubled and sore wounded by the Archers) though they were sharply rebooked by *Adam* Lord Gordon, and Sir *John Swinton*, and brought on againe, yet were they not able to sustaine and abide the shot of the enemy, but were defeated every man. The rest that were behind, being exhorted by their Captaines to revenge the death of their fellowes slaine before their eyes , did acquit themselves bravely , but being overwhelmed with the greater number, were also overthrowne at last. There were many slaine, amongst whom were the forenamed *Adam* Lord Gordon ( who had beene at variance

Occasion of  
the battell of  
Homildon,  
neere Milfield

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with

## 118 Of Archbald the 3. of that Name, 13. Lord

with the Earle *Douglas*, but in this expedition hee had been reconciled to him; and Knighted by him) and Sir *John Swinston*, who that gained greater reputation of valour and courage that day, and fought so valourously, that if the rest had followed their example, that field had not been so lost. There were also divers others of note, such as *John Livingston* of Calender, *Alexander Ramsay* of Dalhousie, with a number of common souldiers. Many were taken of quality, *Murdach* the Governours son, *George* Earle of Angus, *Thomas* Earle of Murray, *Robert* Bessie of Alloway, *James Douglas* eldest son to the Lord Dalkeith, and his two brothers, *John* and *William*, *George* Lesly of Rothos, *Patrick* Dumban of Beall.

The battell  
lost, and *Douglas*  
taken.

In the black Booke of Scone is set downe the death of the foresaid *George* Earle of Angus, how hee died in England of the plague being a prisoner (with many others) and *Alexander* *Hume* of Dunglas also, as the same Booke doth wienesse. The Earle *Douglas* himselfe was taken also, having lost one eye in the fight. This battell was fought on the Holy Rood-day in Harvest, or (as others) the 5. of May 1401. or 1402. rather as appeareth by the former History.

Whilist the Earle *Douglas* was prisoner in England, the Duke of Rothsay became so riotous, and insolently unruly, that his father not being able to governe him by his owne authority, did commit him to his brother, the Governours tuition, to be corrected and tamed by him. Hee made use of this occasion for compassing his owne ambitious ends, or to be rid of the feare hee had of him, shut him up in Falkland, and starved him to death. The blacke Booke of Scone saith, that the Earle *Douglas* was with the Governour, when hee brought the Duke from Saint Andrews to Falkland. But it should rather seem that hee had been a prisoner in England, when the Duke was thus used: for if hee had been at home, in all likelihood hee would have reclaimed the Duke (being his brother in law) and have brought him out of his wild courtes, or by his credit with the Governour would have saved him, and prevented such extremity, unlesse he had proceeded so farre as to cast off the Earles sister, whereof we heare nothing. And even in that case, seeing there is alwayes some hope of reconciliation between man and wife, and therefore such fallings out are often born with, in Princes upon that hope; it is likely hee would have used his care and credit to have composed things in some better sort: however, whether through his absence or negligence, or that having small hope of amendment, hee would not meddle in it: the Duke persists in his lewd wayes, and growes rather worse then better. Wee reade of no help or assistance that the *Douglas* made unto him, as hee was bound by so neare alliance. Neither do we heare how hee carried himself toward the Earles sister his wife, or whether shee had any children by him or not, though they had been married at that time some foure or five yeares, and hee was a man of twenty three or twenty foure years of age at the least, having been eighteen when hee was entailed Duke in the 1396. yeare, which is a great neglect and oversight in our Writers. This is clear that neither party had any contentment, or comfortable succes from this match which they so much affected & brought to passe with so great trouble, disquiet, and mischief in the Kingdome: a notable lesson for men

men to moderate their desires of any thing, and not to seeke it over eagerly (though it seem never so advantagious) in respect of the uncertainty of the sequell and event of all humane things.

But to returne to our prisoner: wee see him hurt, defeated, a captive, but neither disgraced, nor discouraged; no nor any whit lesse esteemed of by his friends, or enemies: who indeed needed not to bee over proud of this victory, which was obtained rather by the multitude of men, then meer valour, neither were they yet quit with the house of Douglas, for what they had received of them before: however these vicissitudes of fortune in the emulation of these two houses (*Douglas* and *Percie*) were matter rather of sharpening then discouraging, and dejecting their spirits, and bred not hatred, but an higher (though emulous) esteem of each towards other. This overthrow and losse of the Earle *Douglas* did not diminish, but rather increase his praise and glory, and that even in the opinion of the Conqueror. It became also the occasion of shewing his worth in a more conspicuous and publike Theatre, and on a more eminent subject, and powerfull enemy: for not long after, the Earle of Northumberland (whether for envie of King *Henries* good successe, to whom he had been a great friend in the beginning; or for that *Henry* usurped the Kingdome contrary to his oath and promise; or for his neglecting to relieve *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of March, taken prisoner in his service against *Owen Glendour* by the said *Owen*, or out of indignation against him for craving to have his prisoners from him, which hee had taken at West Nisbet, and at Homildon, of whom onely they had sent *Murdock Stuart* to the King; or for what ever other cause) the said Earle entered into league with *Edmond*, *Owen*, and some other Lords, against the King, with such confidence, that they made a tripartite Indenture, wherein they divided all England into three parts, to each of them a third: whereupon *Percie*, esteeming highly of the *Douglas* valour, having had good prooffe thereof at Homildon, offered if hee would take part with him in this enterprise, and shew himself as valiant on his side, as hee had done against him, that he should not onely be let goe without ransome, but also (if they prevailed) he should have Berwick, and a part of Northumberland for his reward.

Occasion of  
the battell of  
Shrewsbury.

*Douglas*, who was no wayes slack to embrace any good occasion against England, gladly accepted the condition, and getting leave to come home, returned again at the time appointed, well accompanied with many of his friends and followers. The leading of the vanguard was committed to him, which place he discharged bravely, and behaved himself so, as no man ever did more valiantly and admirably by all mens confession: for after the Scots (who were led by him) had made a fierce onset upon the Kings foreward (conducted by the Earle of Stafford) and forced them to give back, having almost broken their ranks, the King came to their aid with his fresh troupes, and renewed the fight more fiercely then before. *Douglas* and *Percie*, perceiving the King to be there in person, bent their whole forces towards him with such violence, that if *George Dumbarre*, Earle of March (who had of late betaken himself to the Kings side) had not warned the K. to withdraw himself from that place, *Douglas* had

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certainly

*Walter.*

certainly slain him, for hee made so hard an onset on the Kings Standard, that he bore all down before him, and slew the Earle of Stafford with his owne hands, who had been made Constable of England that same day: as also three more, who were apparelled like the King: and when the K. restored the battell again, and had broken the rankes of those that stood against him, *Douglas* seeing him the fourth man in royall apparell, hee said aloud in great choler and indignation, where the Devil were all these Kings borne? and withall running fiercely at him, beat him from his horse, and at the same instant slew Sir *Thomas Blunt*, the Kings Standard-bearer, and overthrew the Standard. But the K. was rescued, and mounted again by those that were about him, especially by his owne sonne (afterward *Henrie* the fifth) and so escaped. At last the victory fell to the Kings side, who had behaved himself most valorously, and is reckoned to have slain with his owne hands thirty six of the enemies. So that the victory is ascribed chiefly unto him, who did both by word and example encourage his Souldiers, that they renewed the fight, slew the Lord *Percie*, and with him discomfited the whole Host.

*Douglas taken*

The Earle *Douglas* was taken prisoner, and brought to the King, who would on no wise consent to have him put to death (though divers perswaded him to it) but commended his faithfulnessse to his friend, and praised his valour, which he honoured much; in regard whereof he both caused cure his wounds, and sent him rich presents. Some write that being asked by those of the Kings side, why hee did joyne with such traitours against the King, his reply was onely this; It seemeth (saith hee) that the King is yet alive, though divers Kings have been killed to day. This answer being so full of resolution, and courage, and void of all fear, did move the King to regard him so much the more. They tell also that being hurt in his privie members, when after the battell every man was reckoning his wounds, and complaining; hee said at last when hee had hard them all, *They sit full still that have a riven breike*. The speech continueth still in Scotland, and is past into a Proverb which is used, to designe such as have some hidde and secret cause to complaine, and say but little.

*Hollinshed* writeth, that in respect of his Noble parentage, and Valour, he was tenderly cherished by King *Henry*, and frankly and freely demitted without ransome: and such indeed is the custome of generous minds to honour vertue even in the enemy. It is generally agreed upon by all, that he was highly honoured and esteemed, so that the King (or some of his Nobles) caused draw his picture, which is still to be seen in the privie Gallery at White Hall. But touching his delivery, some say that when he had stayed in England certain moneths, he was with difficulty set at liberty after he had payed a great summe of money. Others write, that he was detained eight or nine yeares at least, but that seems to be too much for this battell (called Shrewesbury field) was in the yeare 1403. in the fourth yeare of King *Henry*, on Saint *Magdalins* day, and *Douglas* was set free at the death (or not long after) of K. *Robert* the third of Scotland, in the yeare 1406. When the Earle hard word of his death, he made shift to agree for his ransome, and so returned with all speed into Scotland.

1406.  
He is set free.

land. It is said, that *George Earle of March* did him very good Offices in England, and was a chief mean and instrument of his delivery, being reconciled to him during his imprisonment: wherefore the Earle *Douglas* at his return procured liberty for the Earle of March to come home into Scotland, and to be received a free Liege again; but upon condition that he should suffer the Castles of *Lochmaban* and *Dumbarre* to remaine with the Earle *Douglas* and his heires, notwithstanding of any agreement made between them to the contrary in England. And so in the year 1411 he was restored by the Governour, after hee had remained fifteen yeares in England, or thereby, having done great hurt to his Countrey, and much good service to the Kings of England; but for all the service hee did, hee could neither move the King to restore him, and repossesse him again in his owne, neither obtain competent means and allowance for his estate and quality. A notable example for Subjects, to learne hereby not to forsake their naturall King, and native Countrey in hope to be supported or ayded by forrain Princes: farre lesse thus to hurt and endamage their owne Countrey, for the pleasure and advantage of strangers.

The black book of *Scone* ascribeth the restitution of the Earle of March to *Walter Haliburton* sonne in law to the Governour (*Gener Gubernatoris*) by marrying his daughter *Isabell* (a widdow, and Countesse of *Rosse*) for which he got from March a fourty pound land in *Birgeam*; and that the Earle *Douglas* got back *Lochmaban*, and the Lordship of *Annandale*: however it bee, a yeare or two after the Earle *Douglas* was returned, the Earle March was restored, whereunto *Hollinshed* also seemeth to agree: for in another place after the death of King *Robert* (which hee setteth in the year 1408.) forgetting what hee had said before (that the King dimitted *Douglas* frankly and freely) hee writeth thus. Archbald Earle of *Douglas*, as yet remaining captive in England, after hee had knowledge of King *Roberts* death (to wit, five yeare after this at least by his owne account) made shift to agree for his ransom, and so being set at liberty, returned with all speed now at length into *Scotland*. Wherein he contradicts himself, and casteth downe all that liberality, and magnanimity of his King (in dismissing the *Douglas* freely) and with so much the more blemish, as in saying it was done, he acknowledged it should have been done, as it had indeed been most honourable and Princely, and might (perhaps) have gained the heart of that worthy Nobleman. But we find but few actions in that kind of full beneficence practised towards the Scots: and it seems that his great worth hath extorted their admiration, and some Offices of courtesie, & common humanity, such as were the preservation of his life, and curing of his wounds; but the old grudge of Nationall quarrell remaining still in vigour, did choake the fruit of true Princely dealing, and kept it that it came not to that full maturitie of beneficence, which the party deserved, and was futeable for such a King. Wherefore let him content himself with this honour, that his valour was acknowledged abundantly, and himself by the confession of King *Henries* owne Heraulds, accounted one of the chiet Chivaliers and Champions in *Albion*: and let him thanke his own, prowess more then their kindnesse for this testimony. Wee will also adde a witnesse of these in our times, one of their owne Poets (*Samuell*

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*Daniell*) who speaking of King *Henries* son, who releevd his father in the battell of Shrewesbury from the Earle Douglas, he writeth thus :

Lib. 3. Stanza 113.

*Hadst thou not here lent present speedie aid  
To thy endangered father neerely tired,  
From fierce encountring Douglas overlaid,  
That day had there his troubled life expired.  
Heroicall couragious Blunt arrayed  
In habit like as was the King attired,  
And deem'd for him, excus'd the fault of his,  
For he had what his Lord did hardly misse.*

Taking *Blunt* for one of those that were apparelled like the King, whereas others account him to have been the Kings Standard-bearer. But in the warres between York and Lancaster, it is more amply set downe in this sort :

Lib. 4. Stanza 49.

*Yet here had he not speedy succour lent  
To his endangered Father, neare oppress,  
That day had seen the full accomplishment  
Of all his travels, and his finall rest :  
For Mars-like Douglas all his forces bent  
T' encounter and to grapple with the best ;  
As if disdainng any other thing  
To doe that day, but to subdue a King.*

Stanza 50.

*And there with fery courage he assailes  
Three all as Kings adorn'd in Royall wise,  
And each successive after other quails ;  
Stil wondring whence so many Kings should rise.  
And doubting least his hands or eye sight faile,  
With these confounded on the fourth he flies,  
And him unhorses too, whom had he sped  
He then all Kings in him had vanquished.*

Stanza 51.

*For Henry had divided as it were  
The person of himself into foure parts,  
To be lesse knowne, and yet known every where,  
The more to animate his peoples hearts ;  
Who cheared by his presence, would not spare  
To execute their best and worthiest parts :  
By which two speciall things effected are,  
His safetie and his Subjects better care.*

And



And in the 54. Stanza, speaking of Hotspurre,

*But he as Douglas with his fury led  
Rushing into the thickest woods of speares,  
And brooks of swords, still laying at the head.*

Then a little after in the 56. upon the killing of Hotspurre

*Which thou mispent, thy Army presently  
As if it could not stand, when thou wert down,  
Disperst in rout, betakes them all to flee:  
And Douglas faint with wounds, and overthronged,  
Was taken; When yet wanted the enemy  
Which took him, by his noble virtue shon me  
In that day: mighty marks, and most preferred,  
With all the grace and honour he deserved.*

And that was all to be preserved and respected, but not easily nor soon dismissed; for (besides what hath been said of this point) there is an Indenture yet extant, which contains the agreement betwixt King Henry, and him. That whereas the said Earle was lawfull prisoner to him, or to his sonne, John of Lancaster, he should have free libertie to returne to his own Countrey of Scotland, upon his giving of twelve Noble Hostages for his reentry into the Castle of Durham, being then in the custody of the said John of Lancaster. The Hostages were, 1. Archbald Douglas, his owne eldest son and heire: 2. James his brother: 3. James son and heire to James Lord Dalketh: 4. Sir John Montgomery, Lord of Addorson: 5. Sir John Seiton, sonne and heire to the Lord Seiton: 6. Sir William Douglas, of Drumlainrig: 7. Sir William Sinclair of Hermiton: 8. Sir Simon Glendiving sonne and heire to Sir Adam of Glendiving: 9. Sir John Harris, Lord of Tarregles: 10. Sir Harbert Maxwell: 11. Sir William Hay: 12. Sir William Berclayke. The Condition beares that upon the Earles reentry of his person into the wards of the said John of Lancaster, the said Hostages were to bee set free to repair with safe conduct into their own Countreys, and that within forty dayes after the Earles re-entry, or after his death. And that the Prince Thomas, and his said brother John, and the Earle of Westmorland should be obliged by expresse commandment from the King to secure the said Hostages, during the time of their abode, and residence in England. And if the Earle should fail of his re-entry again, that the said Hostages should be at the Kings disposing. And in case the said Earle should die, his eldest sonne and heire was to abide prisoner with the King in his sons keeping, and the rest of the Hostages were to be set free immediately. And further it was conditioned, that the Earle should do his uttermost to keep the truce that had been reated of between the King, his Counsell, and the said Earle: and that he should cause it to be ratified and confirmed by both the Realms of Scotland and England, for sixteen yeares: and in case he could not obtain that, that then the said Earle for himself, and his

his Countreyes betweene the East and West seas, inhabited by any of his men and vassals, should keepe truce with England from Pasch next, till Pasch thereafter. These conditions were drawn up by the Kings Councell in forme of an Indenture, whereof each had a counterpane, signed, sealed, and delivered reciprocally by the said parties at London the fourteenth of March 1407.

During the time of his captivity in England, the Duke of Rothsay was famished to death by his Uncle the Governour, who being accused thereof by the King his brother, made such a slender purgation, that the King fearing he would doe the like to his other sonne *James*, sent him by sea to France, where he might remain in safety while he were come to years. But being driven in by storme of weather into the coasts of England, he was detained as a prisoner by the King and State. Hereupon followed the death of the desolate father, and the continuance of the Governour in his Office. And now *Douglas* being come home (in the yeare 1411.) hee kept good correspondencie with the Earle of March ever after, for there had alwayes beene friendship betwixt the two Houses (of March and Douglas) untill the match with the Duke of Rothsay did separate them; and now that being away and digested, and March having furthered *Douglasse* delivery out of captivitie, and *Douglas* procured, or helped to procure Marches peace and restitution, they joyned ever thereafter in all common affaires. Some write that those two did burne the towne of Roxbrough, but it seems to bee mistaken, for that was done ere they came home, by *William Douglas* of Drumlanrig, and *Gawin* third sonne to the Earle of March. After their return, there is no mention of any exploit of warre between Scotland and England for the space of tenne yeares: whether it were that there hath been any truce, or that *Henry* the fourth dying, his sonne *Henry* the fifth was so taken up with the warre with France, that he had no leasure to looke toward Scotland; or that the Governour durst not attempt any thing against him, for feare hee should send home the rightfull heire to the Crowne of Scotland, whom he had in his power and custody, and who (he doubted not) would finde favour enough in Scotland, both for his right, and out of commiseration of his estate, and condition. So there was nothing done, except some slight and private inrodes, such as when the Earle *Douglas* burnt Penmoore a towne in England at which the Earle March is also said to have been in the yeare, 1414.

He burnes  
Penmoore.

In the yeare 1420. The Governour died, and his sonne *Murdock* was made Governour in his place, having been relieved a little before by enterchange of a sonne of the Earle of Northumberland. He was a man of a dull and heavy spirit, and of no authority, not so much as to governe his owne family, which made him to be little regarded: about this time the civil warre in France grew hot between *Charles* the sixth King of France, *Philip* Duke of Burgundie and *Henry* the fifth of England on the one part, and the *Daulphin* of France on the other, for *Philip* of Burgundie had perswaded the King of France to dis-inherit his sonne the *Daulphin*, and to give the Crowne with his daughter to *Henry* of England. So that the *Daulphin*, (afterwards King *Charles* the seaventh) was redacted to that extremity, that his enemies called him in derision

derision, King of Bourg, because his residence for the most part, was in Bourg in Berrie. Wherefore he being thus abandoned by his own Countrey men, and destitute of all forraign help, sent (this yeare) the Earle of Vandosme Ambassadour into Scotland to crave aid according to the ancient League, and made great promises to all the Scots that would assist him in this quarrell. It was willingly granted by the whole State, and seaven thousand men agreed upon, as a competent number for that service, which was soone made up of Volunteers: the youth of Scotland being now greatly multiplied by long peace with England. Their Generalls were *John* Earle of Buchan, and *Archbald* Earle of Wigton the one sonne, the other sonne in law to *Archbald* Earle of Douglas.

Whilest they were busied in France, the Earle *Douglas* was not idle at home, for the black booke of Scone beareth that hee went with an army to besiege the Castle of Roxbrough, and with the Governour *Murdock*, against Berwick, but they returned both without effecting any thing; by reason of the treachery of some Scots; wherefore this was named the foule roade. We reade of *Douglas* also how hee was judge to a duell in Bothwell-haugh, between *John Hardy*, and *Thomas Smith*: this *Smith* had accused the other of treason, which *Hardy* denying, and the other not being able to prove it by witnesses, the combat was appointed for triall of it, in which *Smith* (the accuser) was slain. The same booke also saith that (in the yeare 1420. or 21.) the Earle *Douglas* entered England, and burnt the towne of Aewels.

The foule road.

But here it will not be impertinent for us to step over to France, and see what Buchan and Wigton are doing, seeing that this imployment gave Wigton occasion to show himself there, and did afterward also draw over his father (the Earle *Douglas*) thither: and the order of time doth also leade us to speake of those things in this place. We have told before how *John Stuart* Earle of Buchan, who was second sonne to the former Governour, and brother to *Murdock* present Governour of Scotland) and *Archbald Douglas* Earl of Wigton (whose sister Buchan had married) were chosen to conduct the forces sent into France, to aid the *Daulphin* against the King of England, and Duke of Burgundie. The chief Gentlemen of note and qualitie that went along with them were *Robert Stuart* (another sonne of the Governour) *Alexander Lindsay* (brother to the Earle of Crawford) and *John Swinton* Knights, being arrived in France, they were received of the *Daulphin* with great joy, and made heartily welcom; who gave them the Towne and Castle of Chastillion in Turrain for their rendezvous and place of retreat and resort, being a fertile Countrey, and abounding in all things necessary; as also for that it lay neare unto the enemy, for the Duke of Clarence (King *Henries* brother and Lieutenant) was about to have spoyled the Countrey of Angiers, or as (*Hollinshed*) had spoyled it already, and had retired into the towne of Beaufort in the Vallay, and was ready to assault a towne called Vielle Baige (old Baige) some two dayes before Pasche. The Scots expecting that (as the manner then was) he would have abstained from all feats of armes, and have given himself to the devotion of the time: or having (as some others say) taken and given assurance for eight dayes, which is the space of time

His sonne Wigton and Buchan in France.

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commonly bestowed upon that solemnitie, were somewhat remisse and negligent in their discipline. The Duke of Clarence having notice hereof by a Lombard called *Andrew Fregosa* (as some say) or by some Scottish prisoner intercepted (as the Annals of France do beare) who discovered to him the government of their army, and the carriage of their Leaders and Captains, was very glad of so good occasion (as hee deemed it) to take them at unawares, and defeat them. Wherefore he rose presently from dinner, and taking with him onely the horsemen, leaving the Archers under the conduct of the bastard of Clarence, *Sir Thomas Beauford*, whom he had lately Knighted at Angiers, together with two Portugall Captains to assist him, he made straight toward the enemy, saying, that he and the Nobles onely, would have the honour of that day. Hee went with great confidence to have surprized the enemy, carrying a faire Coronet of Gold on his head, and very magnificently apparelled, as if hee had beene riding in triumph.

There was a Village called little Bauge, through which the Duke was to come, where a few Frenchmen of the *Daulphins* side lay. These being terrified with the sudden coming of the English, got up into a steeple for safety and sanctuary: there while they make a halt, and assault the steeple, the cry riseth, and the noise of their approach was carried to the rest of the Army, whe presently ran and took armes. While they were arming themselves, Buchan and Wigton sent 30. Archers to keep a certain bridge, by which it behoved the enemy to passe over a brooke which ran in the way. These went as they were commanded, and as they were going *Hugh Kennedie* came out of a Church where he lay with an hundred men, but unarmed, or halfe armed, by reason of the great haste, and joyned with them: while they defended and made good the bridge, and kept off the horsemen with shot of arrowes, the Duke with the principall of his company alighted from their horse, and made such an onset upon them, that they were forced to leave the bridge and passage open for the enemy. Being past the bridge while the Duke mounteth again on horseback, and the rest of his folks are passing after him, Buchan and Wigton came upon him with two hundred horse, and enter there into a sharp conflict on both sides, both parties being (most part) Noble men, who were desirous of glory, and had a minde to give a proof of themselves with equal courage, and hatred. The Scots were glad to have occasion to show the French what they could doe, and to confute their whisperings, and surmises, wherein they reproached them, as fit onely to consume victuals: and the English were moved with great indignation, that they should bee thus perpetually troubled by the Scots not onely at home, but also abroad beyond the sea in a forraine country.

And none among the English fought with a greater courage and resolution, then the Duke himselfe: but *Sir John Swinton* espying him (being easily knowne by his Coronet shining with pretious stones, and his glistering armor) ran fiercely at him with a lance, and wounded him in the face: hee being hereby in a great fury, put forward his horse to have charged the enemy, but was encountred by the Earle of Buchan, who

The Duke  
of Clarence  
wounded by  
Sir John  
Swinton.

who ran him through with a speare, and so slew him ; or (as others) felled him downe to the ground with a steell hammer. The rest seeing him fall, some fled, and many were slain in their flight, being pursued till the night came on. This battell was fought on Pasch Eve, in the yeare 1420. or (as our Writers and the English) 1421, There were slain of the English 200. Nobles and Gentlemen : The Duke of Clarence, The Earle of Tankervill, The Lord Rosse, Sir *Gilbert Wimfravill* ( whom they call Earle of Angus ) *John Lumlay*, Sir *Robert* the Earle of Summerfet, and his brother (whose sister *James* the first did marry afterward) Suffolk and Perch, the Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *John Barcklay*, Sir *Ralph Nevil*, Sir *Henry Englishes*, Sir *William Lanton*, Sir *Thomas Borroughes*, were taken prisoners. There were but few slain of the Scots and French, and those meane and obscure men. This is the most common report of the Duke of Clarence his death : but the booke of *Pustardan* saith, that he was slain by *Alexander Macklellane*, a Knight in the Lennox, who also having taken the Coronet from off his head, sold it to *John Stuart* of Darnelay, for 1000. angels.

Clarence  
slain by Buchanan.

Pasche Eve.

This victory being obtained, most part by the vallour of the Scots, the *Daulphin* in recompense hereof made Buchan Constable of France, and morgaged the Dukedome of Turraine to Wigton, the revenue whereof at that time was vallued to 10000. crowns. The reversion of this Dutchy he gave afterward to the Earle *Douglas* his father, who was created absolute Duke of Turrain, and Lord of Longu-vill, and established the same to his heires male, as shall be shewed hereafter. The French Writers say also that he made Wigton Marshall of France.

The King of England upon the death of his brother, came into France in May, or about the beginning of June ; and carried along with him the heire of the Crown of Scotland : ( afterwards King *James* the first ) thereby to divert the Scots from assisting the *Daulphin*, or to have made the *Daulphin* to suspect their fidelitie ; but none of those plots succeeded as he would have had them : for neither would they acknowledge him for their King being in anothers power : neither did the *Daulphin* conceive any sinister opinion or jealousie of them. Wherefore the same yeare (or the next, to wit, one thousand foure hundreth and twentie one) the *Daulphin* caused besiege the Towne of Cosme upon Loire. And *Henry* departed from Paris to have relieved it, but by the way hee was overtaken with sicknesse, and returned to *Bois-devincins* : yet he sent the Duke of Bedford with a puissant Army to succour it ; and the Scots and French finding themselves too weake to resist, rose and retired to a strength, where the rest of the Army had assembled with resolution to abide the enemies comming. While as the English were preparing to fight, newes were brought them of their Kings death, which made them to alter their purpose of giving battell. The King died about the last of August, one thousand foure hundred and twenty one, and his corps was carried into England, the two and twentieth of October. Not long after *Charles* King of France died also, which was the occasion that Buchan, and Wigton, with many of the Gentlemen that accompanied them, returned into Scotland.

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The Earle  
Douglas goes  
into France.

Made D. of  
Turraine

But it was not long ere the *Daulphin* had need of them, sent his Chancellor *René de chartres*, and the Archbishop of Rheims into Scotland to recall his Constable, but the Earle of Wigton was so vehemently sick that he could not possibly travell. Wherefore the Earle *Douglas* his father went in person himself, and being a Noble man greatly regarded far above any other Subject in Scotland: there went with him great store of young Gentlemen, some to doe him honour, some to bee participant of his fortunes, and most to bee trained under him in discipline of warre. So besides those that went over with Buchan and Wigton, in the year 1420. there went at this time with the Earle *Douglas* 10000. more, as faith *Hollinshed*. They landed at Rochell, and being to come to the *Daulphin*, were gladly welcomed and much made of, especially the Earle *Douglas*, of whom he had heard much by report, that hee was both valiant and skillfull in warre: And therefore he enstalled him in the Dutchie of Turrain, which he gave to him and his heires for ever, having onely engaged it before to his sonne (upon reversion) and moreover made him Marshall of France.

The occasion  
of the battell  
of Vernoill.

This hath been (in all appearance) in the year 1423. at most, yet we do not finde any memorable thing done by them, or against them, untill the battell of Vernoill, (which if we reade our Histories) one would think it had been fought immediately upon their landing, thought it be cleare, that it was not till after the death of King *Henry* the fifth, and in the second year of his sonnes reigne in the year of God 1424. The occasion whereof was this: The Earle of Bedford having besieged Ivery, the *Daulphin* to relieve it, sendeth the Army under the Conduct of the Duke of Turrain (whom the French call Marshall *Douglas*) of the Constable Buchans the Earle of Narbon and others. They not being able to force Bedfords camp, when they were come within two miles of him, returned towards Vernoill in Perch, which belonged to the King of England, and sent word to the Garrison there, that they had discomfited the English Army, and that Bedford with a small number had saved himself by flight. The Garrisons giving credit thereto did open the gates, and received them with the whole Army into the towne, where having left a part of their Army, they came and encamped in the fields neare the towne. Bedford having gotten Ivery by composition, or surrender, followeth them, and sent word to the Duke of Turrain by a Trumpet, that he would come and dine with him: The Duke bade him come, he should be very welcome, for all was ready. Nevertheless, when the point came to consultation, his opinion was that they should not fight at that time, because hee thought it not fit to hazzard a battell, but in case of necessitie, and that they had no necessitie to fight at that time, in respect that they had Vernoill in their hands, and other two good townes besides, whereby they might bee plentifully furnished with provision, which the English could not have, and thereby would bee constrained to retire: But the Earle of Narbon was earnest to have them fight, and said the Nobility of France should not receive such a bravade from the enemies, and if none would fight, he would do it alone, and so getting him hastily out of the Counsell, he began to put his men in order.

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The Duke of Turraine tooke such indignation hereat, that hee should offer to fight without his leave, that hee determined not to have stirred at all, and it was long before hee would suffer his men to goe forth: yet at last, thinking that it would reflect upon him if he should sit still, and see them overthrown in his sight, he armed and went forth also. But then there arose some strife for the vanguard betwixt them, which made things to be so confusedly handled, that the English got the victory, slew the Duke, Buchan, Sir *Alexander Lindsay*, *Robert Stuart*, and Sir *John Swinton*, with above 2000. others of all sorts. *Holinshed* in his Chronicles of England saith, ( but upon what warrant wee know not ) that the Earle Buchan ( Constable ) was not slain, but lost an eye onely, and was taken prisoner: he reckoneth among the slain Sir *Alexander Hume*, whom our Writers doe not mention, yet it is true and knowne to them of that house: that Sir *Alexander Hume* of Douglas went thither in the Earle Douglas company, and was slain with him: for they tell how Sir *Alexander* being minded to send his brother *David Hume* of Wedderburn, went to accompany the Earle to his Ship, and when they were parting, Douglas embracing him kindly, said to him, would I have beleevied Sir *Alexander* that ever you and I could have been separated from one another: To whom hee replied, surely then my Lord, I shall not part; and so taking his brother *David*s apparrell and furniture, and sent *David* back: he went with him to take care for his house and children in his absence, or in case of his death: which he also did with such fidelity, and industry, after the death of his brother, that he greatly increased the estate, and purchased for a younger sonne of his brothers, called *Thomas*, the lands of Tiningham: and for another (named *James*) the lands of Spot: hee is said to have purchased Wedderburn for himself: but the truth is, he had it tenne yeares before, not by marriage, but by the gift of *Archbald*, Earle of Douglas, which must have beene the same Duke of Turrain, as the date of the evident doth clearly show, being of the yeare 1413. His sonne *Archbald* also entitling himself Earle of Wigton, and Lord of Longueville, and Eskdale giveth to the same Sir *Alexander Hume* a bond of one thousand Nobles, dated at Bothwell the 9. of February 1424. whom it designeth Sir *Alexander Hume* of that like, which I mention the rather to show what great freindship hath been between them.

A battell at  
Vernoil:  
Douglas slain.

Here again I cannot passe by the sloath. and unattentivenesse of Writers sloath, (Scottish and English) who reckon amongst the slain, here a sonne of the Earle Douglas (whom some call *James*) and make him his second sonne, nay, some doe even make him his eldest sonne and heire, and call him Earle of Wigton. But those are all mistakings; for the Earle of Wigton ( whose name was *Archbald* ) was left sick at home, and possessed the Earledome after his fathers death: Neither was it yet *James* his second sonne, who was Lord of Abercorn, and outlived his older brother, and his children, that were put to death in the Castle of Edinburgh, to whom also he succeeded in the Earledom, as the same Writers themselves (almost all of them) confesse. Wherefore the Reader had need even to reade the best Writers with judgement and attention, seeing such escapes are incident ever to the most accurate, and careful Historians.

Touch-

Touching this battell, this is the relation of it, by *Duferres* in his inventarie whom I have chosen to follow, not because I thinke it the fullest or faithfullest narration ( for certainly the French Writers speake slenderly enough of the actions of strangers, as may bee instanced in the battell of Baugue, and other exploits done by the Scots in France, which they passe in silence ) but because his testimony cannot be rejected by the French, and may well bee admitted by the English, as being indifferent for his person, and no wayes partiall in his penne, at least in setting forth this battell : but if we shall rely upon the writings or reports of our owne Countrey men. The losse of that field was caused for the envie and treachery of the Earle of Narban. We heard how *Douglas*, and he contested for the vanguard, each striving who should be first : *Douglas* being ready sooner then he, or being quicker in his march led on before him, and charged the enemy first : whereupon he abandoned them, and would not second them as he should have done. And so it came to passe that they being destitute of his help, and not being able to make head against such a multitude, were encompassed about by the English ( who saw their backs left bare ) and so overthrown, fighting valiantly, that they might die nobly. Some blame the Lombards ( who were in the Army assisting the French that were for the *Daulphin* ) but tell not, why, nor wherefore, or wherein. Others say that there were 400. of them all horsemen, who being commanded to breake the ranks of the English, either in the flank or in the reare, did what they were appointed to doe : and having broken through the English Army, vvent to their carriage to pill and spoil, vwith-out prosecuting their charge any further : and so having got their prey, departed off the field, whereupon 2000. English Archers that were set to keep the carriage, and had now no more to doe ; entered into the battell, and being fresh and unwearied, made such an impression, that they did cast the ballance and gave the overthrow, whereas before they had fought for the space of three houres so doubtfully, that no eye could guesse, which way the victory would goe.

*Major* also telleth us that there was some dissention between the Duke of Turraine, and Buchan, for precedency, but that is not likely : for although Buchan had the honour to bee Constable, and was the chiefe Commander, so long as hee had no other Colleague but Wigton ( his brother in law ) yet the Earle *Douglas* being an old experimented Commander, and it being ever his due to leade the vanguard at home, and being even there, for his vvell knowne worth and sufficiency made Duke and Marshall upon his first arrivall. It carrieth no appearance that the other vwould strive vwith him, especially seeing hee vvas his sonne in law ( for he had married his daughter ) and also the yonger souldier. And that the English did acknowvledge the Duke for Chiftane, it is evident : for Bedford sent the Trumpet to him, and hee returned answer : It vvas he that resolved they should not fight, and tooke it ill at Narbons hands, that he vwould not follovv his conclusion, and obey his direction : So as I cannot be persvaded that their could, or vwould bee any difference betvveen them for that matter : And if there had beene any, they vwould have composed it, and agreed betvvixt themselves before that time, to have

have resisted the common enemy. However, they both died in the field: And the Earle of Narbon wanted not his reward of his either treachery, or headinesse and folly, for hee was taken and hanged as guilty of the death of the Duke of Burgundie. A notable example of the end of such as carry themselves after such a manner.

Of those that escaped at this defeat, *Charles* the *Daulphin* (afterwards King *Charles* the seventh) effected a company to continue a guard to himselfe, and his successours for ever, of the Scottish Nation. For he was not contented to reward their Nobles and Leaders with honours and dignities, but thought himselfe also obliged to recompence even the inferiour sort, and to respect the whole Nation, whose valour and fidelity hee had found to deserve regarding: As also he saw their service would be steadable to him, and therefore in wisdom did thus oblige the whole Countrey, and ingage them to assist him in his warre with England. And so they did, as now, so often hereafter both within the Isle, and in France: neither could they ever bee diverted by any losse or dammage whatsoever. They did still cleave fast unto the French, untill they were fully freed from the English: sending over army after army, and Captain after Captain, without wearying or relenting, or the least shrinking: and even after this battell wee read of divers that spent their lives in the Frenches quarrell against the English, and that within three yeares, (notwithstanding this great losse) who were men of quality, such as *William Stuart* and his brother, and two *Douglasses* who were predecessours of the houses of *Drumlanrigge* and *Lochleven*. There was also amongst those that escaped at this battell of *Vernoill*, one *John Carmichell* of the house of *Carmichell*, in *Douglasdale* (who was Chaplain to the Duke of *Turrairie*) a valiant and learned man, who remained in France, and was for his worth and good parts made Bishop of *Orlean*: hee it was that during the siege thereof, did notably assist *Jane D'arc*, called the maiden of *Orlean*, The French History calleth him *John de Saint Michael* (for *Carmichell*) *evesque d'Orlean*, *escossois de nation*. Hee is mentioned in the particular Story of that Maiden, and in the *Annales, Ecclesie Aurelianensis auctore Carolo Sansepe Aureliano*. Wherefore in the principall Church in *Orlean*, called *Saint Croix*, there is Masse said for the soules of the Scots dayly that were slain there. But to return:

The Duke of *Turrairie* being thus slain, was buried in the Church of *Tours*, called *Saint Gratians*, the 20. of August, in the yeare 1424. whose coat of armes was to bee seen long agoe upon the gates of *Tours*. Hee was a man no where branded for any vice, and of unquestioned valour, for so much as belonged to his own person, equall to any that were before him. Neither can I see any evident fault in his conduct and leading. It is true *Major* taxeth him as unskilfull and unfit for matters of warre, though hee gives him a large commendation of courage, and personall valour. But he seemeth to have grounded his censure more upon the success, then upon his actions, to which we will answer with the Poet, *Cereat successibus & quisquis ab eventu, &c.* Or if that will not serve, we wil choke him with the French Proverb, *Le clerc aux armes*, he is not a fit judge of such things. But we have to do with a more judicious indeed, who glanceth

The Scottish guard erected in France.

at

## 132 Of Archbald the 3. of that Name, 13. Lord

at no lesse for speaking of his father *Archbald* the Grimme, he saith that Chivalry stood in him; as though hee would have said, it fell also with him: which seemeth to prejudge this his sonne (*Tine-man*) if not in his valour (which no man can call in question) yet in his conduct, and leading, which is the chiefe propertie and qualitie of a Generall and Commander. Of which judgement questionlesse, the ground is the same, his hard successe in his interprises. And there is no reason that hee should be thought so of for it, if there be no other cause of evill successe. But if there may bee some other reason, and if many well guided Armies, and interprises have mis-carried (which none will deeme, there is no necessity nor just cause why he should be double burthened, both with ill luck, and the blame of it, unlesse it be shewed where and how he erred, which neither hee, nor any other Historian doth. Wee must therefore absolve him as free from this imputation, seeing they do not make it to appeare, that hee was guilty of any errour, or oversight either at Homildon, Shrewsberry, or Vernoill. On the contrary, his warinesse and circumspection may sufficiently appeare to the attentive and judicious Reader. Let not then his praise be lessened, or his glory eclipsed by his crosse fortune, nor himselfe esteemed any whit inferiour to his Predecessours. Nay, hee deserveth to have so much more praise, as that his worth doth shine through the thick cloud of the frownings of fortune, whereas their glory is increased, and lusted with the beams of a prosperous issue in their exploits.

*Archibaldus Douglassius Dux Turrenensis, & Johannes  
Stuartus, Buchania comes ad  
Vernolium cæsi.*

*Gallia vos titulis, vos gallica regna trophæis  
Auxistis, meritis utraque regna cluunt,  
Tertia si inuideant, quid mirum ingentia damna  
Quæis data, Saxonidum dum cecidere duces,  
Desine lingua præcax verbis incessere Testis:  
Gallus adest, servat tot monumenta ducum,  
Et vos æternum memorabit Gallia cives  
Grata suos, titulos quæ dedit, & tumulos.*

Johan. Johnston

*Heroes.*

*Archbald Douglas, Duke of Turraine, and John Stuart  
Earle of Buchan his son in law, Constable  
of France, killed at Vernoill.*

France gave you Titles, you it Trophies gave;  
Both Kingdomes, mutuall obligation have:  
If the third envi'd it, their losse receiv'd  
Might well excuse them, being oft bereav'd

of

Of their most ancient Leaders: no bold tongue  
By base detraction can have power to wrong  
Your merit, and the French will witness beare,  
To whom your memory shall still be deare:  
Their gracefull Monuments the same expresse,  
As do the places you did there possesse.

Archbaldus Dux Turonensis &c.

*Bis victus, captusque amisso milite; casus  
Denique cum sociis, Vernolia occubui:  
Dura meis raro affulsit victoria signis:  
Nostra tamen nusquam sunt data terga fuga.  
Semper at ingentes hac dextra liquit acervos,  
Hostibus & semper maxima damna dedit.  
Hinc fortis, magnisque ducis veracibus urnant  
Me titulis; nec non hostis & ipse colit.  
In me virtutem videas, verumque laborem:  
Fortunam proprio quis regat arbitrio?  
Discite, ab eventu qui censes facta virosque  
Exemplo, non sic esse notanda, meo.*

Archbald Tine-man, Duke of  
Turraine.

Twice with my Armies rout I lost the field;  
Now with my friends, I am at Vernoil kill'd:  
My labours hardly met with victory,  
Yet did I never stay behind, nor flie,  
But kill'd my foes on heaps: my valiant arme  
Did ever bring revenge, and equall harme.  
Hence was I honoured, as most fit to be  
A Leader, courted ev'n by th' enemy.  
In me you may the hight of worth behold;  
But ah, who in his power can Fortune hold?  
O! you, who from th' event your censures take,  
Disprove your selves, and me the instance make.

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of Archbald the fourth of that Name, the foureteenth Lord, and  
fifth Earle of Douglas, he was the first Earle of Wigton, Lord of  
Bothwell, Galloway and Annandale, the second Duke of  
Turraine, Lord of Longe-ville, and  
Marshall of France.

**U**Nto Archbald Tine-man succeeded his eldest son Archbald: he had  
to wife Mauld Lindsay, daughter to David Earle of Crawford:  
hee was married at Dundee with great solemnitie and pompe.

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This

# 134 Of Archbald the 4. of that Name 14. Lord,

This alliance hath been the occasion of Crawfords going with him into France (as wee told before) and the ground of that friendship that was betwixt Earle *William* (slain at Stirling) and that Earle Crawford, whereof wee shall heare more of hereafter. It appeareth also, that there hath beene continuall friendship betwixt these houses from the first Earle *Douglas* time, who procured a pardon for Crawford who had slain *John Lyon*. His children were *William*, *David*, and a daughter named *Beatrix*. The time that he possessed the Earledome of *Douglas*, from his fathers death in the year 1424. untill the year 1439. is fifteen yeares; all the time of King *James* the first, and about two yeares in the minority of King *James* the second. So that the estate of the Countrey may easily bee knowne, if wee call to minde what hath beene said of the death of King *Robert* the third, and of *Robert* the Governour, to whom his sonne *Murdock* did succeed in the government before the King came home out of England.

This *Murdock*, when hee had governed, or rather misgoverned some three yeares, or foure, being provoked by an insolent fact of his eldest sonne *Walter* (who to despight his father, had wrung off the necke of a Hawke which hee loved) determined in revenge hereof to send and fetch home the King out of England, and to possesse him of his Kingdome.

No other motive we reade of to induce him to this; whether it bee because there were no other, or because they have not beene carefull to set downe the true cause, I know not. But if this were indeed, it is so memorable, that it deserveth not to bee passed over with a dry foot (as wee say) and without observation: For who can but wonder at so rare a fact betwixt a father and a son; as the like is not extant elsewhere in any Record or History, and hath not beene heard of, I thinke, since the world stood: That a man to spite his sonne should quite a Kingdome, whereof hee was possesse, and saw no other appearance but to enjoy it still. I confesse there hath beene much unnaturall unkindenesse in the world, whereby they have procured the death and destruction of those, whose safetie they were tied by the bonds of nature to maintain: but that hath beene for their owne honour and dignity, to obtain the place, or continue in it, which men doe so much aspire unto: but that their unnaturall despight should reach so farre, as to undoe themselves, and to quite a Kingdome, for obtaining and retaining whereof, ambitious men turne the world upside downe, onely to satisfie a passionate humour, or malice conceived against their owne childe; let him that can, parrellel it; and put this up in his note booke for a second instance at least. It was for love of his Cousin, for respect to equitie, out of duetie to God, and love of his Countrey, which he saw hee himselfe could not, and his son would not govern rightly, and therefore thought fittest to resign it to him that both could and would doe it; it was a good, sober, wise and worthy thought. But then our Writers doe him wrong, that never signifie that such was his minde, no not in the least word: and mention onely his owne anger, and the instigation of *Coline Campbell* a chiefe man in Argyle, who blew the coale out of a private spleene against *Walter*,



ter, who had done him some injury : but however it were, whether his spight moved him to do justice, or desire to do justice caused despight, he threatned to do it to his sonne, and performed what he threatned ; for he sent Ambassadours into England to have the King released, of which this *Archbald* was chief, about the time of his very first coming to the Earldome. He with his two Colleagues, *William Hay* Constable, and *Henry Bishop* of Aberdene, carried the matter so wisely, that they brought it to a conclusion, which was the more easily effected, because King *James* married a Lady of England without portion, which they thought would move him to forget any wrong he had received by their unjust detention. The Ambassadors also condescended upon a ranome to be payed, though none were due from him, who never was lawfull prisoner. So at last hee was released, came home, and was crowned King the 22. of May

He is sent  
Ambassadour  
into England.

Brings home  
the King.

1424.

We have heard hitherto the rise of the house of Douglas, and the continuall increasing thereof by their great deserts, with the approbation and applause of all men, with the good will and liking of their Princes for the space of many yeares : their Princes delighting to imploy them, and they endeavouring to serve their Princes, and their Countrie to the uttermost of their power, with a good harmony, and happy agreeing on all sides. Let us now bee contented from henceforth to find the world to bee the self still, that is, rolling and tumbling by perpetuall vicissitudes, and changes: for though this house shall yet grow up, and to a higher pitch then ever, yet this concordance shall not continue so full, but shall beginne to have some jarring ; their Princes being jealous of them, they standing in feare of their Princes, sometimes in favour, sometimes out of favour ; sometimes imployed, and sometimes neglected : having mens affections sometimes towards them, sometimes averse from them, liking and disliking by turnes and fits.

They also for their parts were now well-contented, then malecontented : now dealing in affaires, then withdrawing from all meddling in State businesse, from whence did spring discords, imprisonments, banishments, slaughters : which things beginning in this mans time at his committing, strangeness and discontents continued in the next, and proceeded in his sonnes time to his putting to death, and was transferred as hereditary to his successours, with many interchangings of smilings and frownings of fortune and Court, which at last ended in that fearefull catastrophe of the finall ruine of this flourishing family, in the yeare 1483: which troubles continued the space of 59. or 60. yeares, beginning at King *James* the firsts return into Scotland.

For the very first yeare of his reigne, this Earle *Douglas* is committed to ward, but is soone released : and then within some few yeares, was committed again. For his first commitment, there is no cause thereof recorded, onely the time thereof doth furnish some matter of conjecture, together with other circumstances set downe. As for the time, it was when Duke *Murdocke*, and his sonnes (*Walter* and *Alexander*) and their Mother, and her Father, *Duncane Stuart*, Earle of Lennox, were committed. The circumstances are;

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that

that he was not alone, but with him twenty foure Earls and Barons were committed likewise, amongst whom there were some of the Kings owne speciall friends, and kindred : as *William* Earle of Angus, who was the Kings sisters sonne, and so Duke *Murdokes* Cousin. The Earle of Douglas was also allied with him : for *Robert* the Governours son, *John* Earle of Buchan had married *Douglas* sister; and there had been cor-respondency, and friendship betwixt the Governour, and *Archbald* the Grimme, as also *Archbald Tyne-man* (this Earles Father and Grandfather) and Buchan and this Earle, had been fellowes in Armes together in France at Baugue : as also Buchan and *Archbald Tyne-man* were slain together at Vernoill. Likewise the Earle of March, who had been restored by Duke *Murdocks* Father, and had kept good friendship with him, and his sonne after his restitution : *Robert Stuart* of Roth-house, *Stuart* of Dundonald : *John Stuart* of Carden, being also of the name of *Stuart*, and all in some neernesse of blood to *Murdock*, as the King himselfe also was. The rest *Hepburn* of Hailes, *Haye* of Yester, *Ramsay* of Dalhousie, *Haliburton* of Dirleton, we finde to have beene dependers of the houses of Douglas and March : and the rest also, *Walter Ogilbe*, *Alexander Seiton*, or *Gordon*, *Haye Arroll*, *Scrimger* Constable of Dundee, have beene friends and followers of the house of Douglas, as wee find they did assist and accompany them in diuerse battells ; and have also perhaps had some friendship with the Duke or his Father in law, as commonly the Nobilitie are allied, and of kinne one to another. Who therefore (thought they were willing, that their lawfull and rightfull Prince should enjoy his owne place) would not agree so easily to the putting to death of those, whom the King was resolved to make out of the way. Now what it was that moved the King to this course, whether desire to be revenged of the cruelty of *Robert* the Governour (their Father) toward *David D.* of Rothsay his elder brother, or for his mis-demeanour and undutifulnesse towards his Father (*Robert* the third) or for his neglecting himself in his captivity, or for that he esteemed all that government (of *Robert* and *Murdock*) to be an usurpation of the Crowne, and feared the like hereafter, or even perhaps found such practisings to his prejudice, is uncertain. However being resolved to ridde himself of them, he thought it the safest way to make them fast, who hee beleaved would not be so well contented with it, as he desired. Hee did therefore commit them till he had tried their minds, and drawn them to his course, or at least taken order with them to sit quiet. And this was not long a doing : for we reade that the foresaid prisoners were all shortly releaved, and some of them also put upon the others quree (or assise) as *Douglas*, March, Angus, Arrole : But by what means he hath constrained them to be content, or what remonstrance or evidence hee hath given them, to let them see that those men were guilty of death, or what crime they died for, (if any new conspiracy, or what else) our Histories tell us not, which is a great defect in them : *Major* thinketh it likely that there was some conspiracy found against the King, otherwise they would never (saith hee) have condemned such men to death (Princes of the blood as wee may call them) and their owne especiall friends. And thus much of the Earle *Douglas* first committing, and the issue thereof.

For

For the second *Hollinshed* and *Boetius* doe agree, that the K. arrest the Earle *Douglas*, and kept him long in prison; till at last, by the mediation of the Queen and Prelats, he and the Earle of Rosse were released. *Boetius* calleth him *Archbald* Duke of Turraine plainly: but *Hollinshed* is pleased (out of some partiall humour as should seeme) to suppress the Title of Duke of Turrain, and this is all the difference betwixt them. It was some yeares after his first committing, but what yeare? it is not condiscended upon. Some say, it was in the yeare 1431. but impertinently, for the yeare 1430. is the yeare of his releasing, except wee will thinke that hee hath been imprisoned thrice, which is not mentioned by any. And a little mention there is of the cause wherefore hee was warded, whereof *Major* complaineth saying, that our Annals tell not the cause of the *Stuarts* executions, and the incarcerating of the Earle *Douglas*, and *John* Lord of Kennedie, the Kings owne sister sonne; for both were committed, *Douglas* in Lough-leeven, and *Kennedy* in Stirling; for how shall it bee knowne whether it was done justly, or for matters of weight, or if for trifles onely, and for his owne pleasure. Others insinuate a cause, but doe but glance at it without setting it downe so clearly as to let men know, whether it were just or unjust, which is the light and life of History, and the right end and use thereof: for they say no more, but that they had spoken sinisterly or rashly, and somewhat more freely then became them, of the estate and government of the Countrey. What use can any man make of this generality? rashnesse may be a fault, yet perhaps none at all in them, of whom it is spoken, they being Privie Counsellors. Likewise the phrase (*freelier than became*) is so generall, that the Reader remaineth unsatisfied: neither can posterity (either King or Subject) judge of this fact, whether it were right or wrong, or whether the example were such as men ought to follow, or forbear and avoid.

It should have been expressly set downe what they spake, to whom, if to the King himselfe, or to others: In what sort, if by way of admonition, counselling, or advising, or if by forme of cavilling, detracting, murmuring, mutining, and such other circumstances, whereon the judging of it chiefly dependeth: In this uncertainty wee can hardly condemne or absolve, praise or censure them, In that the Lord *Kennedy* was of the same minde, and category with the Earle *Douglas*, apparently it hath not been spoken in malice, seeing the Kings nearest and his best friends (such as these *Kennedies* were) having approved thereof. And that Noblemen must not speake their opinion freely of things to the King, or if the King (being without malice) is very hard: for how shall a King know, that will not heare? hee cannot know all by himself: And how shall he heare, if Noblemen have not leave to speake freely: he cannot heare all by himself.

Such carriage as this hath often done Princes ill, and it may bee, hath done this same Prince no good. And what ever it was, that displeased the Earle *Douglas* in the government was either for the Countreyes sake, or the Kings owne sake, or for both: why might not the King thinke there might be errors? And why might hee not then have heard them? To have proceeded so vehemently (for their hath been great vehemency in it)

it) to have cut off his owne kinsmen, and leave none but himself for the Earle of Athole to aim at : it was most important, and worthy to be considered of, whether or not it were best for him (in policie) to do. Doubtlesse his doing of it hath emboldned Athole to cut off the King himselfe, when all the rest were cut off first by the King. And was it nothing to lose the Nobility, to alienate their hearts ? to irritate them by imprisonments, forfeitures ? hath it not done ill thinke you, and encouraged him to goe on in his intended treason ? looking for the favour of the offended Nobility, or for neutrality, and slacknesse to revenge the Kings death. We see the King himselfe retreateth his taxations once or twice, when he saw the people grieved therewith. And wisely, in that hee was carefull to keep the hearts of the people. But was there no care to be taken for keeping the Nobility also ungrieved ? was it enough that they would not, or durst not (perhaps) or could not openly rebell ? was it not something to want their affections ? to want the edge, and earnestnesse thereof ? to relent them, to coole them ? Certainly such proceedings as these have encouraged his enemies in hope of impunitie (greater then they found) yet in hope of it to go on with their designs, and hath furthered and hastned that dolorous conclusion which ensued.

What ever the cause were, he acknowledgeth the Earle *Douglas* mind not to have been of the worst sort, in that he releaseth him, and in token of a full reconcilement, makes him a witnesse to the Baptisme of his two sonnes (twinnes) which was in those dayes no small honour and signification of good will, and a pledge of intimate friendship. He made also his sonne *William* (though but a childe of five yeares of age) the first knight of fiftie, who were dubbed at that solemnity, as the Manuscript affirmeth. By which actions, as he honoured *Douglas*, so did he withall honour himself in the eyes of the people, and of forrainers, gracing his Court, and that so solemne action by the presence of such a Peere, farre more then if he had been onely accompanied by *Creighton* and *Levingston*, and such new men ( who were but new and mean in regard of him ) as then but growing under the Kings favour. And so it is indeed, the Prince honoureth his worthy Nobles by his favours to them, and they grace, adorn, and decore, and give a lustre and splendour to him, and his Court, by their presence, and attendance thereat. And it is wisdom so to esteem, and so to use them ; and happy are they on both sides, and happy is the Countrey where they thus agree and concur. This was he in the yeare 1430. in October, released out of prison, and this solemnity being ended, hee past into France, and was installed in his Dutchie of Turrain: whether he went thither forthat onely, or if hee used that fairest colour of his absence, that he might not see the government, which hee disliked, and in which hee had no employment, I leave it : yet his going thither gave others occasion to grow great, and to be employed ; especially the house of Angus, which was at last the overthrow of his house. So as the honour and profit they had in France, may have been said to have beene their wrack in Scotland : what by the envie of their greatnesse, what by their absence from home, as hath beene said. So uncertain are the affaires of the world ! neither is there extant any mention of his actions in France, though

though at that time (from 1430. till 1437.) the warres were very hot there, King *Henry* the sixth of England being brought over in person, and crowned in Paris. It is attributed to the Earle *Douglas*, that he moved the King of France to require King *James* his daughter (*Margaret*) in marriage to his sonne (afterward *Lewis* the eleventh) and that he met her when she landed at Rochel, and was present at her marriage.

He remaineth there untill the yeare 1437. in which, the 21. of February, King *James* was slaine at the Black friers in Saint Johnstoun by *Patrick Grabame*, and *Robert Stuart*, at the instigation of *Walter Stuart* Earle of Athole, the Kings fathers brother by the Earle of Rosses daughter; who pretended to be the rightfull heire to the Crowne, and that he was wronged, and defrauded by the sonne of *Elizabeth Moore*, who was onely a Concubine, as he alledged.

This posterity of *Elizabeth Moore* he had craftily caused to destroy one another; the Governour *Robert* to destroy *David* Duke of Rothsay, and now King *James* (*David*s brother) to destroy the house of the Governour *D. Murdock*, and his children. And thus causing the King to spoile and weaken himselfe by cutting off his friends, none being left alive but the King and his onely sonne (a childe of six yeares) he was emboldened to put hands in the King also; so much the rather, because he knew that many of the Nobility were discontented, what with being imprisoned, what with being endamaged in their goods, lands, and rents, what with putting to death of their friends. So that he hoped that they would be wel contented with the Kings death, at least they would not take great care or paines to be revenged therof: which things if the Earle *Douglas* foresaw; and being grieved therewith, admonished the King thereof, or caused any other to warne him that these courses were not for his good; this event sheweth he did the part of a faithfull Subject, Friend, and Counsellour. However, it was not so well taken by the King at that time, as being contrary to his humour, and present disposition. He did wisely also to withdraw himselfe, seeing he could not help things, as he would have gladly done. Now that the King was dead, he returns home, and was present (as some think) at the Coronation of his sonne *James* the second, who was crowned at Edinburgh the tenth of March 1437. not a moneth (or no more then a moneth) after the death of his father: where it is to be observed, that either the death of the King is not rightly said to be in the yeare 1437. in February, in stead of 1436. or else they reckon the yeare from the first of January, which was not the custome then. And yet *Buchanan* meanes so; for he sayes he was slaine in the beginning of the yeare 1437. in February, which makes me think the Earle *Douglas* hath not come in time to the Coronation, seeing he could hardly have used such diligence to have had notice of the Kings death, made himselfe readie, and come home out of France in so short a space, though the winde had favoured him never so much. However, through his absence, his adverse partle and faction had gotten such possession of guiding State affaires in the late Kings time, and had so handled the matter, that he was no whit regarded, nor was there any account made of him. He was not admitted to the managing of any businesse of the Common-wealth, or any publick place or Office

Office therein. *Creighton* and *Levingston* (the one made Protector or Governour, the other Chancellour) did all according to their pleasure.

Our Writers say that the reason hereof was, because the Nobility envied the greatnesse of *Douglas*, which was suspected, and too much even for Kings. How pertinently either they write so, or the Parliament thought so, I referre it to be judged by the indifferent. He was farre from the Crowne, to which he never pretended title; his predecessours had quit all pretension, title, claime, or interest thereto, in the time of K. *Robert* the second: he that did claime it, and gave over, and all his posterity after him had ever behaved themselves modestly, they had submitted themselves to all government, even to be ruled by them who were but Governours onely, and not Kings (*Robert* and *Murdock*) as obediently in every thing as any of the meanest of the Nobility, and had never given occasion of any suspition to any man, nor taken upon them any thing beyond or above the rest, unlesse it were they tooke greater paines in defence of the libertie of the Countrey, in which they spent their lives under their Kings. And this same man in the late Kings time had behaved himselfe most humbly, going to prison once or twice, and obeying his Sovereign in all things, without the least show of discontentednesse, farre lesse of opposition. So that whatever hard opinion either the King had taken of him, or any man had put into the Kings head, hath beene without his deserving; who if he had beene that way disposed, how easily might he have troubled the Governour, and the whole Countrey? But suppose they did suspect, and were jealous of his greatnesse (though without a cause) what moved them to neglect and passe by the rest of the ancient Nobilitie? was there none of them fit for those places? where was the Earle of March, a valiant man, and of an ancient stocke? Where was the Earle of Angus, the Earle of Cassils, and divers others? They will say that *Creighton* and *Levingston* were wise men. But were they the onely wise men? were there no more wise men in the Countrey? Then if they were wise, were they good also? were they just? were they sober, modest, and moderate? For without these vertues their wisdom was not good, but dangerous, and even ill; chiefly when it is joyned with power, and is in authoritie. And I pray you what hath their wisdom beene? or wherein did they shew under to the late King? They tell not, and I beleeve it, if it be tried, it shall be found that which made him to have so short a life, that gave occasion to his enemies to take courage against him; even their seeking of their own particular advancement, with offence, and vexing of the Nobilitie, without regarding the Kings good, or the good of the Countrey. And it must needs be so, if it were the same wisdom they show now after the Kings death. Therefore if we shall speake in right termes of that matter, we shall say that *Alexander Levingston*, and *William Creighton*, both small Barons onely, and not of the ancient bloud of the Nobilitie; new men bent to seeke their owne profit onely, without regard to any other duty, had misgoverned the State, and gotten the guiding of the late King, and drawn such a faction, that *Douglas* being absent in France, they had gotten all into their



their hands; *Levingston* being made Governour, and *Creighton* Chancellour, who is the first Chancellour that wee reade of in our Chronicles.

The Earle *Douglas* tooke such indignation at this, esteeming it disgracefull to the whole Nobility, and more especially to himselfe, that finding he could not bow his heart to acknowledge such men, and yet not willing to oppose or impugne them who were cloathed with authority (which would move warre and trouble in the Countrey) he chose, as the calmest and best course, to withdraw himselfe, and not to meddle with any publick businesse, or to take any care or share in ruling the Countrey, which he left to them to whom it was committed, and to such as had taken it upon them: with this resolution he returned home to his owne house, without further troubling of them. But that he might keepe them from infringing his liberties, and priviledges granted to the house of Douglas of old by former Kings for their good services, hee commanded such as were his to containe themselves within his regalitie, to answer to his courts, and to no other; professing plainly that he would keepe his priviledges, and that if any man should usurp or encroach upon them, he should be made sensible of his errour.

This was a bit cast into the teeth of the new Governours, and did curb them very short on the south side of Forth, he having large lands and lordships in those parts. And here their foolishnesse was quickly scene, in that they would take upon them such authority, and the unadvisednesse of those who had given it them who were not able to execute it, but by the permission of another. Hereupon also fell out great inconveniences, for the men of Annandale (accustomed to theft and robbery) seeing the Earle *Douglas* discontented, and retired (who was the onely man they stood in awe of, and was onely able to restraine them) they began to slight and contemne the authority of these Governours, and to molest and vexe their neighbouring Shires with driving away preyes and boorie by open force and violence, as if it had beene from the enemye. This the Governours not being able to repress, the evill increased daily, as a canker, so that it overspred the whole region (almost) on that side of Forth.

In the mean while these jolly Governours were so carefull of the common good of the Countrey, and the charge committed to them, that in stead of thinking how to pacifie and restraine those Annandians, they fall at variance each with other, sending out contrary Edicts and Proclamations: The Governour commanding that none should acknowledge the Chancellour, and the Chancellour that none should obey the Governor; so that when any came to the one to lament his estate, and seeke redresse, he was used by the other as an enemye, and both pretended the Kings authority. For the Chancellour had the King in his custodie in the Castle of Edinburgh, and the Governour had the name of authority, and was in Stirling with the Queene mother: at last she under colour to visit her sonne, found meanes to convey him out of the Castle in a Chest to Stirling. And now the Governour having gotten the Kings person to countenance and strengthen his authority, went with an Army to besiege the

Variance betwixt the Governours.

Y

Castle

Castle of Edinburgh where the Chancellour was.

The Chancellour to make himselfe a party, sendeth to the Earle *Douglas*, offers to come in his will, desireth his protection, remonstrates to him the cruelty, avarice, and ambition of the Governour, telling him that he was deceived, if he thought they would goe no further then to seeke to extinguish him, and that he would make him but a step to overthrow the Nobility, and him with the first. *Douglas* returned answer, "That the Governour and Chancellour were both alike false, covetous, and ambitious, that their contentions were not of vertue, or for the good of their Countrey, but onely for their owne particular quarrells, and private commodity, in which contention there was no great matter which of them overcame, and if both should perish, the Countrey were the better: neither could there be a more pleasant sight for all honest men, then to see such a couple of Fencers yoked together. This answer was so true: that none can or doth contradict it. Their falsehood he hath known, and that is it which men call wisdom in them by a faire name. It sheweth it self in their dealing with this Earles sonne, and appears also in their carriage one towards another, each striving who should deceive the other.

Their factiousnesse likewise, ever when they durst for feare of a third, and that their contentions were but for particulars grounded upon ambition and avarice, without any care of the common wealth, the world saw it then, and it may be seen as yet. And therefore it is most true that the Countrey had been better if it had been ridde of such ambitious and avaritious Governours, seeking nothing but themselves; and that it was not for any honest man to embroil himself in their so dishonest debates, but a pleasant show and spectacle indeed, and to be desired to see each of them (though unjustly) yet to doe justice upon the other. It was a free speech also, no man can deny. But they say it was not wisely spoken, for it made the two parties agree to his prejudice, and procured to him the hatred of both, at least increased their hatred: for no doubt they hated him before, and now hee might have divided them by joyning with the Chancellour.

To this we answer, that seeing the Chancellour hated him, he would have done nothing, but served himselfe of him for his owne particular: either to have overthrowne the Governour, that hee might have had all the prey and benefit alone; or perhaps made use of his helpe to agree vvith him on better termes, and easier conditions, as vvee see they did agree at last. It vvas for no common good of the Countrey, no nor for any good vvill to the Earle: vvhat could he doe then? vvhy should hee have meddled vvith them? they say to have met vvith him in his owne craft, and to have used the one of them to overthrow the other, that so both might have been overturned. Will men never leave these things? such false tricks, such bastard and spurious vvisedome? and shall vvee not thinke there is another vvay besides it? there is a true honest vvisedome, that honest men may keepe vvithout falshood, or any point, or tincture thereof, vvithout deceiving any, even the deceivers. What other answer did his request deserve? vvas it not fit that such crafty companions, vvho had

had abused the Countrey, should heare the naked truth out of a Noble-mans mouth? Should such a Nobleman have glosed with such as they were, flattered and dissembled, and strooke cream in their mouth? Nay, it is a part of punishment to wickednesse, even to heare the owne name given to it: And it is very fit it should have it. So that his answer cannot be justly taxed, but commended as true, just, magnanimous, and such as became his place, house and birth, without fraud or dissimulation, calling (as the Macedonian did) a spade, a spade; vice by the owne name: which as he did here, so perhaps had hee done before, when hee spake of the government in the late Kings time, whereby it would appeare that such was his naturall disposition, far from all frivolous flattery, or dissimulation, either toward King or others. Indeed now these are crept in, and accounted wisdome, to the prejudice of the ancient true generositie of these great spirits, farre better, and farre more worthy to bee adorned with the full and due praise, then to bee obliquely taxed and nipped by halfe words, as not being wisely and profitably enough spoken, when there can be no just blame laid upon them. Neither ought it to be thought unprofitably said, or dangerously, seeing (out of all question) the same courage and magnanimity that moved him to speake the truth, made him also now to despise their persons, contemne their spleen, and slightly account of any power they had to doe him any harme, for all their joyning together. Neither is there any appearance, but that hee did it out of a right weighing of his owne and their power, and not out of any arrogancie, or idle confidence. And certainly, any indifferent man can thinke no lesse, and that they durst not attempt any thing against him or his successour after him, but after a most treacherous manner as ever any was since the world stood. So that there was not any want of wisdome in this speech, nor in this same point of profit or harme.

His death followed not long after in the yeare 1438. at Rastalrigge, of a burning feaver: very opportunely & in a good time (say our Writers) and so it was indeed for them, and such as they were, who had now better opportunity to prey upon the Common-wealth, and spoil and use it for their best advantage. But it was unseasonably for the house of *Douglas*, which was left in the hands of a youth without experience; and therefore uncircumspect, yea untimely for the Nobility, who became a prey to the avarice, and ambition of these two, and untimely for the Countrey, in that these two were now left free from the feare of him they stood most in awe of, and who might most have repressed their attempts, and bridled their appetites.

This thing onely I can account worthy of reproofe in him, that he suffered Annandale to overcome the adjacent Countreyes, and did not hinder them from wronging the innocent people: hee should not have thought that it did not belong to him to hinder them, because he was no Magistrate. This if he had done, and kept justice within himself, it would have gotten him both favour and honour, and might have brought contempt upon the Governours, that could not keep peace in a more tractable and peaceable Countrey, nor amongst themselves: for how excellent a thing is it by good means to seeke honour. It would have taken away

## 144 Of VWilliam slain in Edinburgh Castle,

the occasion of the Calumnies of his enemies, who yet did much worke themselves : he was otherwise a valiant wise man, a lover of his Countrey, and of a free, plain, good and generous nature; his generous disposition appeareth in his brave demeanour towards the Lord *Kennedie*. There being something wherein the Lord *Kennedie* had wronged and offended him, he conceived such high indignation thereat, that hee published his desire of revenge to be such, that whosoever would bring the Lord *Kennedies* head, should have the lands of Stuarton. This offer proceeded from so powerfull a man, and knowne to bee a man that would keepe his promise, the Lord *Kennedie* hearing of it, (feareing hee could hardly long escape his hands) resolved by way of prevention to be himselfe the presenter of his owne head unto him, and accordingly (keeping his owne intention close to himselfe) hee came privately to Wigton, where finding the Earle *Douglas* at his devotion in Saint Ninians Church (a place famous in those dayes for the frequent resort of Pilgrimes thither) immediately after divine Service, offered his head to the Earle, as one who had deserved the promised reward, and did crave it. The Earle seeing the resolution and confident assurance of the man, who had put himselfe in his power and mercy, forgave him all former faults, made him his friend, and withall gave him the reward he had promised, disposing to him and his heires the lands of Stuarton, which his successiours (the Earles of Cassils) doe peaceably enjoy to this day.

He was buried in the Church of *Douglas*, called Saint Brides Church, with this inscription.

*Hic jacet Dominus Archbaldus Douglas, Dux Turonia, comes de Douglas, & Longe-ville : Dominus Gallovidie, & Wigton, & Annandia, Locum tenens Regis Scotia. Obiit 26. die Mensis Junii, Anno Domini millesimo quadingentisimo tricesimo octavo.*

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Of William slain in Edinburgh Castle, the sixth William, the sixth Earle of Douglas, and third Duke of Turraiv, &c.

**U**Nto *Archbald* Earle of Wigton, succeeded his sonne *William*, a youth of no great age, of an high spirit, and of a sweet, tractable, and meeke disposition. And therefore we cannot but detest and execrate the wickednesse, and treachery of his enemies, who did so unworthily cut off such a sprig in the very budding; from whose blossomes none could but have expected passing good fruit, to the great good of the common-wealth, and Kingdome, if malice and envie had suffered it to come to maturity. Let us notwithstanding rest contented with his change begunne in his father by warding, and displacing from the roome of his Predecessours, from manning of affaires in the Kingdome, prosecuted against him in his life time, and now followed forth against his son. This vicissi-

vicissitude which befell this house, is to be found and seen in all humane affaires, and doth overturne all due and right order in the world, as farre as men can judge: for innocency is often overthrowne by cruelty; honesty and uprightnesse of heart by craft, falshood and treachery: and yet let us reverence the Sovereigne cause, and Over-ruler of all things, who in this disorder directeth all things certainly by a great wisdom, and with good order doubtlesse, things unsearchable by man. But as nothing hath ever been so enormous, which may not receive some colour, either of vertue to make it seem good, or at least of some extenuation to make it seem not so ill, as it is: So this fact amongst others I perceive to bee of the same kinde: by some thought to be good (but very ignorantly, or maliciously) by some excusable, both in form and in fact, by a necessity, or pretext of the common good; by all that have written, more slenderly handled, and doubtingly, then ought to be. For they leave it almost uncertain what ought to be judged of it, whether it be good or ill: so that sometimes you would thinke they condemne it, sometimes they allow of it, and none of them deals with it so fully, as reason would they should doe for the information of posterity, and according to the right law of an History: but as men do with nettles which they would gripe, they are affraid to handle them heartily and hardly.

Now that this so instant a fact may the better appeare in the owne colours, I will labour to wash away the painting and plaister wherewith the Authours would so fain (but falsely) overlay it; or wherewith mens judgements (whereof many are but halfe wise, and perceive but the halfe of matters; not plumbing and sounding the depth and ground of things so well as were needfull) may be deceived by others, or may fancy to themselves for excusing of it, that we may learne to detest and abhorre so detestable and horrible facts with a true detestation and abhorring in earnest and effect, that Posterity may know and condemne, and avoid the like practices.

And for this purpose, before wee come to the narration of the fact it selfe, we will speake something of the Authours thereof, *Levingston*, and *Creighton*, and their actions in the last Earle *Douglas* time.

We heard before (and wee must not forget it) how well these men guided the Countrey, what care they tooke of the Common-wealth; or to say better, how little care they tooke of it: how they cared for nothing save their owne particular, under colour of the Common-wealth: each striving to disgrace other by their private speeches, and open Proclamations: so greedy and ambitious they were, that howbeit they had all the Countrey between them, yet it could not satisfie, or content them: they could not so much as agree between themselves, to divide the spoil, and part the booty peaceably and quietly, which theeves and robbers, and Pirats are wont to doe without discord or injustice. But they had not so much modesty, but fell at variance; spoyling, fighting and besieging one another, till remembring themselves that a third might come and take the bone from both, they were so wise as to agree for feare of him. I meane the Earle *Douglas*: and that they did so, more in that regard, then for any good to their Countrey or love they bore one to another, is soone

foone appeared after his death : for incontinent thereupon they returned to their old byas, and the agreeance that was made for feare of him, lasted no longer then he lived : wherefore *Levingston* being Governour, and having the King also in his custody, being freed from the feare of the Earle *Douglas*, respected the Chancellour *Creighton* no longer, but began to despise him, and though now there was no band to binde him any longer to him, hee would give him no share of his bootie and spoile of the Countrey, but would needs keep all to himself. This was his ambition, or avarice, or both ; for ambition would be alone in all, and likes of no equall, no fellowship, no copartner. And avarice might also have moved him to this, for guiding all, he might take all : and if hee made the other partaker of the guiding, he behoved to make him partaker of the gain : and therefore hee would none of his assistance in the government. But let us see now how well he governed, hee imprisoneth the Nobles at his pleasure, upon light grounds of suspition onely, yea he casteth them into fetters.

The third of August 1439. he warded the Lord *Lorne* and his brother Sir *James Stuart*, who had married the Queene Mother, upon suspition onely for their dealing with the Earle *Douglas*, and did commit the Queen her selfe to bee kept in a close chamber in Stirling Castle, of which hee himselfe was Captain : so that she could not get her selfe released, untill there was kept a Convention of the Lords, then by the intercession of the Chancellour and some others, she was dismissed, having given Sir *Alexander Gourdon* (*alias Seton*) who was the first Earle of Huntly, surety and cautioner for her, that she should pay 4000. markes to the Governour. This was his iniquity, yea tyranny, and barbarous abusing of Noblemen, and yet he gave remissions, and pardoned men guilty of great crimes, or passed them over by conniving.

The Chancellour therefore (who thought hee should have his share of the booty) seeing his life thus debouted by the Governour, and not being able to help it, nor to have patience, and sit quiet, it being more then he could digest or beare with, retired him from Court to Edinburgh Castle, there to bee safe in his Fort, and lie in wait for the first opportunity that hee could finde to supplant *Levingston*. Neither was he slow in coping of him : for before the yeare was ended, hee tooke occasion of the Governours going to Perth, and knowing by intelligence the time and place of the Kings hunting in the fields about Stirling, thither hee rides, and bringeth him away to Edinburgh Castle. By this means the dice are changed, he had now gotten the durke (as our Proverb goes) he will divide the prey over again, he will have his large share of all, and direct all now, as *Levingston* had done before. The other finding himselfe in this strait, might lament his case, but could not helpe himselfe : necessity hath no law. The Chancellour had yeilded to him before, when he (or the Queene for him) stole away the King. Now he hath gotten a meeting, he must yeeld to him again, and so he doth : Bowes his bonie heart, goes to Edinburgh, gets mediatours, brings on a meeting, and finally agrees by the mediation of *Henry Lighton*, Bishop of Aberdene, and *John Innesse*, Bishop of Murray.

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But if you would see the right face of a stage play, deceivers, deceaving, dissembling, and putting a faire outside on their foule falshood, and proceedings; reade me there harangues on both sides, that you may either laugh or disdain them. I cannot take leasure to set them downe at length (as they are to bee found in our Histories) but in a word, you shall finde nothing but pretexts of the Common-wealth, of the Publike peace, the good of the King, and the well being of all honest men, which is all joyned, and depends upon them, and their well being forsooth. " That hath been still their scope, that hath beene the aime of all their intentions, no particulat, no ambition, no avarice; onely love of those things which were common and profitable unto all; and because in them all did lie and subsist, in their standing honest men did stand, and by their ruine honest men did fall; nay, the King and Countrey were ruined. For this cause and for no other, that the Countrey might bee well, that wickednesse may bee bridled, they forgive one another, avouching that their discords arose onely from diversitie of opinion, and judgement; while as both seeking the common good, one thought one forme the best for it, and the other another form to bee best for it, and the other another forme, which if it were true, let what hath been said above beare witnesse. It would make a man to loath speaking vertuously, to see vertue by them so farre abused; yet the old Proverb might have warned them: (*Oportet mendacem esse memorem*) and sometimes a liar will speake truth is verified in them. They confesse their ambition, and striving for honour and preheminance, they are ashamed to say for goods and riches, but it was no lesse true, and both were alike faulty, and they exhort one another, and promise to amend thereafter by a better strife, who should be most moderate and just. But they were as true in keeping that promise as they were in their discourse what was past. *When the Foxe preacheth, take heed of the hens* (saith the Proverb;) we shall see notable moderation and justice, such, as the world hath scarce seen the like example of treacherous tyranny.

This is the sum of these jolly men harangues. The conclusion is a new friendship (if falshood be friendship) or rather a conspiracy against the Countrey, and directly against the Noblemen, who (their conscience tellet them) hate them as new men, lifted up to the highest degree (as they grant themselves) and that was reproach enough to the Nobility, and an argument of their unworthinesse. But they might have said as truly, that they were hated for abusing the King and Countrey for their private advantage, under pretext of the common wealth, which whether the whole Nobility repented or not, we cannot tell, for there is no mention, and it is a wonder if they did not, yet it would seem they did not: they had stouped and taken on an unworthy yoke of slavery. But what ever the rest did, there was one that was a forethorne in their foot, and moate in their eye, it behoved to be pluckt out.

The Earle of Douglas was of the old spirit, of the ancient Nobilitie: he could not serve, nor obey but whom he ought, and the lawfull commanders, lawfully commanding for his honour and utility, whereof they were neither. Such a spirit is unsufferable, under these new conspiring Tyrants:



rants : he will not acknowledge their authority, his father had told them their holy dayes name, himselfe tooke them for his enemies. But how shall they doe with him ? hee is not easily to bee dealt with ; they must have muffles that would catch such a cat. Indeed he behaved himselfe as one that thought he would not be in their danger, hee entertained a great family, he rode ever well accompanied when he came in publike, 1000. or 2000. horse, were his ordinary train. He had great friendship, and dependance of old, he had been carefull to keep them, and had also increased them, and conciliated many new followers and clients by his beneficence and liberality, and his magnificence, which was answerable to his place, suitable for an Earle of Douglas, and Duke of Turrain ; which Dutchie he had obtained himself to be invested in, as heire to his father : having sent *Malcolme* Lord Fleming, and Sir *John Lawder* of Bassie, (or *Haton* as others say) into France for that purpose ; and was well accepted of in remembrance of his father : and grandfather, he had all his affairs in singular good order : he had his ordinary Councell, and Counsellours for guiding his affaires : he dubbed Knights also, as he thought men worthy ; which power and priviledge he did not usurp out of pride, nor take upon him by imitation to counterfeit Kings (as some would insinuate) but by vertue of both his dignities of Duke and Earle. And although he were but fourteen yeares of age at his fathers death (in the yeare 1438. or 39.) and was put to death in the yeare 1440. not having attained to fifteen or sixteen, or little above at the farthest, yet in this his port and behaviour, did not onely appeare the sparks of a great spirit, but also of such wisdom and providence as could scarce bee looked for from so young a man. This galled them so much the more to thinke if that fruit should come to ripeness at any time, how poysonable, or rather, how great a counterpoyson it would prove to their greatness. But here the skinned Lion would not serve their turne (he was too hard for them to deale with by force) they doe there sow that on that of the Fox.

The occasion fell out thus: During the time of the jarres betwixt themselves, the common affaires were neglected between stooles, and partly because they could not (being but meane men of small power) partly because they cared not to prevent, or to amend things, many insolencies were committed without redresse. The men of the Isles had come into the main land, had put all to fire and sword, men, women and children, young and old, farre and wide, omitting no kinde of example of avarice and cruelty : and that not onely on the Sea coast, but in the Lennox also: out of the Isle of Loch-lomond (called Inch-mertin) they had made an appointment with a Gentleman, named *John Calhoon* (Laird of Luffe) as if it had been to end some businesse and slaine him (the 23. of September) with many such things, and many fowle facts had beene done in divers parts of the Countrey. Likewise Sir *Allane Stuart* of Darnelay was slaine at Paselay, by Sir *Thomas Boide*; and again, Sir *Thomas Boide* was slaine by *Alexander Stuart* of Belmot (brother to the foresaid Sir *Allane*) and his sonnes, through which there arose great troubles in the west parts of the Countrey and Kingdome. The Borderers had not been idle, who living under the Earle *Douglas*, and being his followers,

or

or retainers, what they did was interpreted to be done by his allowance. And at a Convention in Edinburgh many complaints were given in against him, but never a word spoken of the taxe of Isles men: never a word of *Levingstons* and *Creightons* own doings, who had warred one upon another, not a word of any other slaughter or bloudshed, but as though nothing were amisse in the Countrey, but what was done by the Earle *Douglas* dependers; they onely were complained of. Whether the cause was in his enemies, and that this proceeded from them, or was done by their instigations, our Histories tell not, neither can we affirme it: yet it is strange, that there being so many more, and more enormous faults (for the Isle-mens were more hainous) none should bee taken notice of but his mens. Theirs are exaggerated, multiplied, and made odious; and the envie thereof derived upon the Earle, as Authour of all: hereupon Sir *Alexander Levingston*, (carrying malice in his heart, but dissembling it for a time, with a false deceitfull minde) perswaded the rest, that the Earle *Douglas* was rather a man to be dealt with by fair means, then to be irritated by suspicions: As one who had such power, that if he should oppose himself, he might frustrate all their conclusions & decrees. Wherefore he procured a letter to be written to him in an honorable manner in all their names, intreating him, that being mindful of his place, mindful of his Progenitours, whose good deeds and deservings, most ample and notable towards his Countrey of Scotland, were still extant, he would come to the Convention of the States, which could not be conveniently kept without him, & his friends. If he had taken offence at any thing, they would satisfie him so far as was possible. If there were any oversight committed by him, or any of his friends, they would remit it, and would forgive many things to his most noble house which had done so many good offices, and so much good service to his Countrey. They would impute many things to the times, and consider his youth, and the great hope and expectation they had of him. That hee should come therefore, and take what part of the affairs of the common-wealth he best pleased, and as his Ancestours had often delivered the Realme from dangers of warres by their armes and victories, so that he would be pleased now by his presence to raise it, and establish it almost sunk, & overthrown with intestine discords.

This letter as it was honest in words, and very right, carrying that right course that should have been used towards him, and the duty that all these reasons contained, craved to have been done to him, if it had been in sincerity: so being in falsehood, and with a treacherous intention, used onely to entrap him, makes their ditty the clearer: for he (out of the honesty of his owne heart) interpreting their meaning to be according to their words, and being of no ill disposition, but of a sweet and tractable nature, desirous of glory by good means, that so hee might have followed the footsteps of his Predecessours in all good offices to his Countrey, not having so great malice in his minde, and therefore not thinking any could have so great in theirs against him, as to seeke his life, (for there had been no such occasion, their contentions with his father had not come to that hight and degree, but had been contained within the bounds of words onely) and therefore not imagining that so great villany

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could

could have been harboured in their hearts, he willingly embraces the occasion of making peace in the Country, & that he might contribute there to his best endeavours, taketh his journey for Edinburgh. His friends are reported to have furthered him in this resolution, in hope of their owne particular imployments and preferment, which (say they) blinded their eyes that they saw not the danger. But truly I cannot see how they could have seen any perill, unlesse wee will say that they might have knowne that the Governour and Chancellour were treacherous men, and had given some prooffe of as great disloyalty before, which is not mentioned any where that we know of; for though they were knowne to be subject and inclinable to falshood (as his father had objected to them before) yet it was so well covered, that it was not accounted falshood, but wisdome: for there are degrees, and there bee many who will dispencc with themselves to step something aside from the strict rule of uprightnesse (which is accounted simplicity) that will bee ashamed of so high a degree of manifest treason, as this was. So that howbeit they knew their falshood in some measure, yet could they not have looked for such proditorious dealing: besides it might have seemed to any man in discourse of reason, that if they cared not to blot their names with the foulnesse of the fact, yet they could not have great hope to gain or profit much by it: for what could it avail them to cut him off, seeing another was to succeed in his place, as ill (perhaps) as he: so that by putting of him to death, all that they could gain would bee but an irreconcilable deadly feude with that house, which was too high a degree of enmity for any thing had yet been amongst them, being nothing but grudges, and such things as might have been easily taken away. So that (sith the discourse of man for ought we can judge, could never have reached so farre as to have suspected what followed, but rather to have looked for the contrary) I see not how the Earle nor his friends can be blamed for credulity, or how it can be censured in him as a defect of his youth, and proceeding from want of experience: for what otherwise could he have done, if his experience had been never so great: or himselfe never so old: neither is there sufficient ground to tax his friends as if their hopes had, blinded them so that they could not see any perill which no discourse of reason could see, or apprehend. It is true, men ought to be circumspect, but it is a fault also, and proceeds of an ill nature to be suspitious, as he might well have seemed to bee, if hee had refused to come. The event shewes there was cause to suspect the worst: but I deny that reason could foresee that event, or any, considering of the circumstances, could have made one to have looked for it: neither can any man save himselfe from such treason, neither can it bee reputed as simplicitie to the sufferer, but as a monstrous enormity to the doer.

To returne to our purpose, their disloyall practice stayed not in this smooth letter: they double fraud upon fraud: for so soone as Creighton knew he was on his journey, he came many miles to meet him, and inviting him to his Castle of Creighton (which was neare the way he was to go) he feasted him, hee cherisheth him, hee entertaineth him friendly, cheerfully, and magnificently: and that not for one day, but two dayes, kindly, with all the tokens and demonstrations of a friendly minde that could

could be given. And to remove all suspition of unfriendlinesse, and the more circumvein him, he admonished him familiarly, that hee would remember the royall dignity of his Prince, and his owne duty towards him. " That he would acknowledge him for his Lord and Sovereigne, whom " the condition of his birth, the lawes of the Countrey, and the consent " of the estates had placed at the rudder of the Common-wealth : that he " would labour to transmit his so great Patrimony acquired by the vertue " of his Ancestours, and with spending of their blood to his Posterity, " even so as he had received it: that hee would be carefull to keepe the " name of *Douglas*, which was no lesse illustrious and renowned for their " faithfulnessse, then their deeds of armes, not onely from the foule blot " of treason, but even from all stain of suspition, or aspersion thereof: " that hee himselve would abstain, and cause his men to abstaine, " from wronging the poore people : that hee would put from about " him theeves and robbers: finally, that in time to come he would " set himselve to maintaine justice, that if hee had offended any " thing in times past, it might be imputed not to his naturall disposition, " but to ill counsell, and that infirmity of his youth, penitency would be " admitted, and accepted as innocency. Venemous Viper that could hide so deadly poyson under so faire shewes! unworthy tongue, unlesse to be cut out for example to all ages! Let not the Poets bee thought fabulous, who have transformed men into beasts; loe a beast composed of many beasts: a Lion, a Tiger, for cruelty of heart: a Waspe, a Spider, a Viper, for spight & malicious poysonableness: a Foxe and Camelion, for falsehood and doubleness: a Cockatrice and Crocodile, and whatsoever nature hath brought forth, that is deceitfull and hurtfull, a sweet singing Ciren, enchanting the outward senses to the destruction of the listner, so much the more odious, that it was in the shape of a man; and the more detestable, that it durst so pollute the image of God, so abuse the glory of man: the speech of the tongue therefore given him (beyond the beast) that he might imploy it well to informe aright, to speake truth, and to do good to others. The honest heart of the hearer that knew what he spake was right, and intended to follow so good counsell, taketh all in good part, beleeveth the speech for the truthe sake, the man for his speeches sake. And who could have done otherwayes? who would not have thought that he who knew so well what was right, would have had some regard to doe right? shall we account it childishnesse, that he accounted so of them, and suffered him to be so deceived? nay, hee could not keep himselve undeceived. Good men, and wise men have often been deceived both in sacred and prophane Histories. We must not impute it to childishnesse in *Abner*, that *Joab* stabbed him under trust, but esteeme it vile treachery in *Joab*, of whom *David* sayes, *Hee dieth not as a foole dieth*, howbeit his hands were not bound, but as a good man falleth before a wicked man, that is by treason, which no man can eschew,

It is said that his friends seeing so extraordinary entertainment, so faire language above measure, so humble behaviour, and withall so many messages (at every step almost) betwixt the Governour and the Chancellour, tooke some suspition of ill meaning, and that there arose first a still mur-

more through the whole company; thereafter some began to admonish him, that if he would persist to goe on, he would send back his brother *David*, being mindefull of a precept of his fathers, *That they should not come both together into one place where themselves were not masters, lest they should endanger their whole family at once.* The unwary youth (unwary indeed; but what warinesse could he have poore innocent?) and very well inclined, even angry with his friends; stayed those murmures by a plain commandment, and assured his friends thus: That he knew well it was a perpetuall pest of great houses that they had ever about them some men that were impatient of peace, who made gain of the perils, travels, and miseries of their Lords and Patriarkes: and because in peace they were restrained by the bridle of the law, they were ever stirring up strife and sedition, that in troubled times they might have greater scope and liberty to their wickednesse. As for himself, hee reposed more upon the known wisdome and prudence of the Governor and Chancellour, then to give eare to their suspicious surmises.

This speech thus uttered, testifying both an acknowledging of the evill past, and a resolution to amend, was it not sufficient to have purged whatsoever error had been, or might have been thought to have escaped him before? And certainly it would, if these men had regarded Justice, or the good of the Common-wealth, and had desired to reclaim him from his errors, and winne him to his Countrey. But his so full confidence thus reposing on their credit, was it not enough to have tied them to have kept their credit? If there had been any spark of humanity or nature of man left in them: and if they had not beene worse then savage beasts. Trust deserveth that we should prove worthy of that trust, and credit procures keeping of credit; where all humane nature is not extinct, and even simplicity deserveth favour and pitie. Neither can a man that is not altogether given over, and hath not sold himselfe to wickednes choose but favour it, and have compassion of it; yea though he had been otherwise disposed in the beginning, it would even move any mans heart (that were indeed a man, and not changed into a beast) to favour and commiserate, and would have tamed and calmed any former discontentment, and have wrung from them any evill intention which they might (perhaps) have conceived before. However, this noble youth goeth on in the innocency of his heart, and that the more quickly, to cut off all occasion of such speeches, and with his brother, and with a few other principall friends goeth directly to the Castle, (being led as it were and drawne by a fatall destiny) and both enter, and so come in the power of those their deadly enemies and fained friends. At the very instant comes the Governour (as was before appointed betwixt them) to play his part of the Tragedy, that both might bee alike embarked in the action, and beare the envie of so ugly a fact, that the weight thereof might not lie on one alone: yet to play out their treacherous parts, they welcome him most courteously, set him to dinner with the King at the same table, feast him royally, intertain him chearfully, and that for a long time. At last about the end of dinner, they compasse him about with armed men, and cause present a bulls head before him on the boord: the bulls head was  
in

in those dayes a token of death (say our Histories) but how it hath come in use so to bee taken, and signifie, neither doe they, nor any else tell us, neither is it to be found (that I remember) any where in any History, save in this one place: neither can wee conjecture what affinity it can have therewith, unlesse to exprobrate grossefesse, according to the French, and our owne reproaching dull, and grosse wits, by calling him Calves-head (*teste de Veau*) but not Bulls head. So that by this they did insult over that innocencie which they had snared, and applaud their owne wisdom that had so circumvented him: a brave commendation indeed, and an honest! yet I wonder what they meant by entertaining him so well at that time, there was some reason for it why they should have done it by the way, that they might worke out their treason, untill he were within their thongs: but being now within the Castle, and fully in their power, I wonder what it should mean to make him so faire a welcome, to feast him so liberally and solemnly at the Kings table, and from thence to bring him to the shambles: what could have beene their intention? might they not have conveyed him to some private chamber? might they not have carried him to the place of execution? what needed all this proceffe? what needed they to have let him see the King at all? It would seem as if they had not been fully resolved upon the business before; and that their intentions and purposes were not treasonable, but that they tooke occasion to be treasonable from the facility to atchieve it: but our Writers are cleare against that, and say onely it was pre-concluded, when he was written for. It might seeme also that they did this to communicate the matter, or to transerre it altogether upon the King: but he was too young, and purges himselfe by disproving of it. So that I can see no other reason of it, but as the Lion with his prey, or (to use a more base, yet a more familiar example, and the baser the fitter for them) as the cat with the mouse, which she might devoure immediately, yet it pleaseth her to play a little with it: So they for their greater satisfaction, and contentment, delight to play out their Steane; so strangely (notwithstanding) that such proceffe and uncouth formes of doing might seem to import some mystery, and deeper reach then ordinary: which I confesse is so profound and deep a folly, and mischance, that I can no wise find it, unlesse it were that the Noblemans place, and his worth forced their wicked hearts to acknowledge it notwithstanding their wickednesse: And although the acknowledging could not prevaile so farre, as to make them leave off the enterprize, yet did it in some sort brangle their resolution, and wrung out this confession of his worth: as all the actions of wickednesse, and all wickednesse in the acting, are full of contradictions, as this same is most clearly: for if this Nobleman was guilty of death, why is he brought into the Kings presence? why is he set at his table? If he was not guilty, why was he put to death? So difficult a thing it is in a lie to keep conformity, either in a lie of actions (so to speake) or in a lie of words! In words it is difficult so to speake that the attentive hearer shall not perceive contrariety: In actions it is impossible that they can be dissembled. This action is a lie, for it saith he is guilty of death; but their welcomning of him, their setting of him at the table with the King, and their feasting,

sayes,

sayes, he is an innocent, Noble, worthy man; Indeed onely truth in word and action can accord with it selfe : as it is uniforme, it floweth from unitie, tendeth to it, and endeth in it, and keepeth the taste of the fountain from which it cometh. So they having given this confession of his worth, and again, (by that ominous signe) contradicted their confession, must needs be false witnesses however it go. The young Nobleman either understanding the signe as an ordinary thing, or astonished with it as an uncouth thing, upon the sight of the Bulls head offering to rise, was laid hold of by their armed men in the Kings presence at the Kings table, which should have beene a Sanctuary to him. And so without regard of King, or any duty, and without any further processe, without order, assise (or iurie) without law, no crime objected, he not being convicted at all; a young man of that age that was not liable to the law in regard of his youth, a Nobleman of that place, a worthy young Gentleman of such expectation, a guest of that acceptation, one who had reposed upon their credit, who had committed himselfe to them, a friend in mind, who looked for friendship, to whom all friendship was promised; against dutie, law, friendship, faith, honesty, humanitie, hospitalitie; against nature, against humane society, against Gods Law, against mans law, and the law of nature, is cruelly executed, and put to death: They, (in despight as it were) spitting in the face of all duty and honesty, proclaiming (as farre as lay in them) there was no dutie to God nor man to bee regarded. And that the measure of their wickednesse thus heaped and shaken, and prest downe might also runne over; all this was done (as it should seem) without the consent, nay, against the will of their King and Sovereigne, who wept at their execution, and forbad them to meddle with his Cousin: the shamelesse men chid him for weeping at the death of his enemy (as they call him) during whose life (say they) hee needed never to looke for peace, whereas they themselves were his chiefe enemies, and greatest traitours to him, and besides him to God and nature, and to the office of Justice which they bore; bringing a blot on the one, and the other, and bloud-guiltinesse upon his Crowne, so farre as lay in them.

This is that detestable fact never enough to be extracted, which I have laboured indeed to set forth in the owne simple colours, stripping it naked of all farding (though I confesse no words can equall the wickednesse of it) that men may learn to detest such things wherein may bee seen what respect they have carried either to justice, to equity, to common peace, or Common-wealth; that thought it better to root out such a plant, then to dresse and to cherish it; to ruine such a house rather then to gain it, which they never would have done, if their private pride and avarice had not had the greatest sway with them. I thinke all honest minds should disdain to reade what they gave out before of their love to the publike good, having here so terribly belied it: neither should any man speake of it indifferently without a note of detestation; neither extenuate it by the Earles simplicity, which seemes to diminish and lessen this execrable perfidie, and cruelty. If this were the wisdome, whereof they had purchased an opinion and name under the former King *James* the first, and if they had practised



practised such things as this, it hath been a bitter root, and hath brought forth a very bitter fruit, and hath, in all appearance been no small part of the cause of hastening his death, and the emboldning of his enemies unto it, as indeed I finde some of our Writers inclined to say, for such new men goe commonly about to perswade Princes, that ancient Noblemen are enemies to them, and barres to their absolutenesse, which is it that these men here mean, in saying that the Earle *Douglas* was an enemy to the King. Not that he bare any ill will to the Kings person (for that they could no wayes make appeare) but because he was so great a man: According to that generall rule, that greatnesse in the Nobility is dangerous for the Prince, and as if to be a great man were by infallible consequence to be an enemy to the King. Which maxime I feare they have beaten into his head afterwards, not so much to strengthen and provide for his security, as to draw him to their party for strengthening of themselves: for we see all their intentions aime but at their owne particulars; and so in this they intend nothing else; onely they colour their particulars with the Pretext of the Kings service, as they doe this wicked fact also.

*David Douglas* the younger brother was also put to death with him, and *Malcolme Fleming* of Cumbernald his speciall Counsellour. They were all three beheaded in the back Court of the Castle, that lieth to the West. This augments yet their wickednesse, that they execute his brother also, whose age behoved to be lesse then his owne, who was but very young too, as wee have said. These were good Tutors and bringers up of a young Prince, thus as it were to bait him with the blood of his Nobility, and to imprint such a lesson in his tender minde that they were his enemies. But for conclusion of this matter, concerning these young men, as there was no law laid against them, so is there no History that beareth witness that they were guilty of any capitall crime. And *Major* saith expressly, *Apud Annales legi, quod viri illi non erant rei mortis, sed consilio & dolo Gulielmi Crighton, Scotie Cancellarii hac perpetrata sunt*: That is, I reade in our Annales that these men were not guilty of death, but this matter was achieved by the counsell and fraud of *Crighton* Chancellour. It is sure the people did abhorre it, execrating the very place where it was done, in detestation of the fact: of which the memory remaineth yet to our dayes in these words.

*Edinburgh Castle, Towne and Tower,  
God grant thou sinke for sinne;  
And that even for the black dinner  
Earle Douglas got therein.*

Now sith these youths were not guiltie, whereof were they not guilty that put them to death? and with what note of infamy to bee branded? Though some seeme to blame this innocent young man (as they cannot deny him to have beene) with halfe words, as guided by flattery, given to insolency, presumptuous in his Port, yet is there no effect, or affection brought importing either his being addicted to flattery, or that hee was more insolent, presumptuous or arrogant, then became a man of his rank.

156 *Of VVilliam slain in Edinburgh Castle,*

ranke. But contrary, that he was of a gentle nature, a repulser of flatterie (now as hee grew in age) and of due magnificence, such as well became him. Let us therefore account of him so, as one that was singular in respect of his yeares. And let the blame lie fully on his enemies, who shall finde some meeting hereafter from their Cousin; that they may finde all the house perished not with him, though indeed the punishment was not proportionated to that which they deserved.

*In Gulielm. & David. fratres in Arce  
Edinburgena trucidatos.*

*Vestra Sophocleo cades est digna cothurno,  
Vestra Thyestea cœna cruenta magis;  
Vos scelere atque dolis, vos proditione necati,  
Insontes, puerique & patria procures:  
Regius & vestro est fœdatus funere vultus:  
Qui fertur siccas non tenuisse genas.  
Hæcine (Reitores) vestra est prudentia tanta?  
Hæcine laudatur justitia? hæcne fides?  
Exemplum æternis nunquam deletibile fastis  
Perstat fraudis atra, perfidiaque truci.*

*In English thus,*

Your murder may deserve a tragick Muse,  
Your horrid dinner justly might excuse  
Thyestes feast, by a more treacherous train  
Drawn to the axe, more barbarously slain  
Then was his sonne: your Princes guiltlesse eye  
Stain'd with the sight, wept at the cruelty.  
Is this these Rulers wisdom? this their love  
To Justice? this the prudence men approve  
So much? O! blacke example fit to be  
Mark't in eternall scroules of infamy.

*of*

Of James ( called Grosse James ) the third James, sixteenth Lord,  
and seventh Earle of Douglas, Lord of Bothwell, Aber-  
corne, and Annandale, the fourth Duke of  
Turraine, and Lord of  
Longeville.

**U**Nto William succeeded his fathers brother, James Lord of Aber-  
corne, in all the lands that were intailed, but *Beatrix*, sister to the  
said William, fell here to the rest that were not entailed, which  
were many (say our Writers) specially Galloway, Wigton, Balvein, Or-  
mund, Annandale. This James was called grosse James, because hee was  
a corpulent man of body : he had to wife *Beatrix Sinclair* daughter to the  
Earle of Orknay, but which Earle it is not expresse. To finde it, wee  
must consider, that from 1 *William Sinclair* ( the first that came out  
of France, and married *Agnes Dumbarre*, daughter to *Patrick* first Earle  
of March ) 2 the next was *Henry* his sonne, who was married to *Ka-  
therine* daughter to the Earle of Stratherne. 3 His sonne called *Henry*,  
also married *Margaret Gratenay*, daughter to the Earle of Marre. 4 This  
*Henries* sonne, Sir William passed into Spain, with good Sir James Dou-  
glas, who carried the Braces heart to Jerusalem ; hee was married to *Eli-  
zabeth Speire* daughter to the Earle of Orknay and Shetland, and so by her  
became the first Earle of Orknay of the *Sinclaires*. The second Earle was  
5 *William* also, who married *Florentina* daughter to the King of Denmark,  
the sixth person, and third Earle was (his son) *Henry* who married *Giles*  
(or *Egidia*) daughter to the Lord of Niddisdale. The seventh person and  
fourth Earle is Sir William, who married *Elizabeth Douglas* daughter to  
*Archbald Tine-man* (the first Duke of Turrain) and sister to this James the  
grosse. Now this James his wife cannot have been this last Sir Williams  
daughter, for then she should have been his owne sisters daughter. And  
therefore she hath been either *Henries* (that married *Giles Douglas*) or else  
Sir Williams, who married *Florentina* ; which of the two I leave it to con-  
jecture ; her great spirit, and high ambition would seem to argue that shee  
was come of Kings, and near to them : but the Monument in *Douglas* cal-  
leth her daughter to *Henry*.

She bare to this Earle James seven sonnes, and foure daughters. The  
name of the eldest was *William*, and the second James, who were Earles  
of Douglas, both of them by succession, as we shall heare. The third, was  
*Archbald*, who married the daughter of *John Dumbarre* Earle of Mur-  
ray, brother to *George* Earle of March, by which means he got the Earle-  
dome of Murray. The fourth, named *Hugh*, was made Earle of Ormond,  
and had sundry lands given him by the King in Tividale and Rosse. The  
fifth *John* was made Lord of Balvenie. The sixth *Henry* was Bishop of  
Duncalden. *George*, the seventh, died before he was fifteen yeares of age,  
as our Chronicles do witness, but there is no mention of him in the mo-  
numents at Douglas, where the rest are set downe by name. As for his  
foure daughters, 1 *Margaret* the eldest was married to the Lord *Dalkeith*.

Y

2 Bea-

## 158 Of James, called *Grosse James*, the third James,

2 *Beatrix* the second, to *John Stuart* Duke of Albanie, Constable of Scotland, and Captain of fifty men at armes in France. The third was named *Jennet*, and was married to the Lord *Fleming* of Cumbernauld. *Elizabeth* (who was the fourth) died unmarried. This *Grosse James* his eldest sonne *William*, partly to hold up the greatnesse of his house, partly by the Ladies owne desire, (who directly refused to marry any other of the name of *Douglas*) married *Beatrix Douglas* his Cousin : She was called the faire maiden of Galloway : and so by this match the estate of *Douglas* was preserved intire, and those lands which shee would have been heire to, and divided from it, were kept in their owne hands. This match was made farre against the opinion of the rest of the name of *Douglas*, who thought it better that she should have been married to some of the house of Angus or Dalkeith, alledging that the house of Douglas was too great already, and that their greatnesse would be the ruine of the house, which maxime although it proveth often true, that too great Dominions under Princes, as also Princes themselves having so large extent of territories, and other republicks, and Common-wealths, when they come to that hugeness that they cannot easily be governed, do fall, and are overthrown by their owne weight : and the conspiracies and combinations of neighbouring Princes, or States (who feare, and are jealous of their excessive greatnesse) or by their Subjects within, either through the Princes jealousy (who suspects them) or others envie, who stirre jealousy in the Prince, and draw him to suspect them. And therefore all, both Lordships and Empires, are to be restrained and kept within a mediocritie, and that as well Princes, and Common-wealths, as subjects ; which all men will confesse : but what this mediocritie is, they declare not, neither will they confesse, or doe they ever thinke that they are come to that fulnesse, that there is any danger of exceeding so farre, as to procure their overthrow, or breed any perill. It is said of *Augustus Cesar* that he intended some moderation of the Empire, and had resolved to have propagate it no further : yet it was doubted upon what ground it was that hee thus resolved ; whether out of prudence, or of envie toward his successours, that none might goe beyond him, or adde any more to it then he had. And it is indeed a hard matter to perswade men, and perhaps no lesse difficult to prove, for all agree that these inferiour things (even all of them) are in a perpetuall fluxe and motion, and that they cannot stand long at a stay, without going either forward or backward, increasing or decreasing. If therefore they goe not forward, they must goe backe ; if they doe not increase, they must decrease : which if it be true, it were better to seek to increase so long as men may, then to take them to a standing, from which they must decrease, if they doe not increase.

But whether out of that discourse of reason, his friends of the name of *Douglas* would thus have perswaded him not to become too great, for feare of falling, or for any particular of their owne, or whether he for this other reason, or rather for the common disposition of men to presse ever forward, I know not, but hee chose to bee great, and take his hazzard. And because the two parties were within the degrees prohibited by the Romane Church (Brothers children) he sent to Rome for a dispensation, which

*Sixteenth Lord, and 7. Earle of Douglas, &c. 159*

which being long in coming, and he fearing least the King, and the rest of the name of *Douglas* would cast all the impediments they could in the way to hinder the match ( which was also reported, and not without ground ) caused hasten the marriage before the dispensation came, and that in Lent too, a time forbidden also, and which is more, on the friday before Pasch, called commonly Good-friday. This was thought ominous, and the unhappy event confirmed this opinion. They were married in the Church of *Douglas*. Some write that this marriage was procured and made by the young man himselfe, after the decease of his father. However, this was a speciall cause of dissention, and division amongst those of the name of *Douglas*.

For the actions of this grosse *James*, wee have no particulars recorded in Histories, either in his brothers time, or his nephewes time, or now when he cometh to be Earle himselfe. There is no mention at all made of him, whether he did any thing for to revenge the murther of his nephewes by *Creighton* and *Levingston*: belike as he hath been corpulent, so hath his corpulencie caused a dulnesse of spirit, as commonly it doth. Some write that he was Warden of all the Marches, and his Monument at *Douglas* agreeth with them, and sayes that hee was a great justiciary. Others write that he was no ill man, that hee entertained no disordered wicked men, but yet he did not repress them sharply enough, and therefore was suspected by the King, and disliked by many: hee died in *Abercorne* within two yeares, or not three ( sayes the manuscript ) after the marriage of his sonne, which hath not been long in the making. Wee may ghesse it most probably to have beene not fully three yeares, and so that he died in the yeare 1443. Hee was buried in *Douglas*, where on his Tombe he is called (*Magnus Princeps*) and amongst other Titles, Lord of *Liddisdale*, and *Jedward Forrest*: his wife is styled *Domina Avenia*, Lady of *Avendale*. His Epitaph there is yet to be seen thus,

*Hic jacet magnus & potens Princeps, Dominus Jacobus de Douglas, Comes de Douglas, Dominus Annandia, & Gallovidia, Liddalia, & Fedb- burg-Forrestia, & Dominus de Balvenia, magnus Wardanus Regni Scotiae versus Angliam, &c. Qui obiit vicesimo quarto die mensis Martii, Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo. quadragesimo tertio. 1443.*

His Wives is thus :

*Hic jacet Domina Beatrix de Sinclaire, (filia Domini Henrici Comitis Orcadum, Domini de Sinclaire,) Comitissa de Douglas, & Avenia, Domina Gallovidia.*

His Childrens thus :

*Ha sunt proles inter predictos Dominum, & Dominam generatae. 1 Dominus Gulielmus primò genitus, & haes pradii Domini Jacobi, qui successit ad totam hereditatem predictam. 2 Jacobus secundo genitus, Magister de Douglas. 3 Archibaldus tertio genitus, Comes*

Y 2

## Of James, called Grosse James, &c.

*mos Murray.* 4 *Hugo quarto genitus, comes Ormundie.* 5 *Jo-*  
*hannes quinto genitus, Dominus Balvenia.* 6 *Henricus sexto ge-*  
*nitus.* *Margarita uxor Domini de Dalkeith: Beatrix uxor Domini*  
*de Aubignia.* *Joneta uxor Domini de Biggar, & Cumbermauld.*  
*Elizabetha de Douglas, quarta filia erat.*

In English thus,

Here lies a great and powerfull Prince, Lord *James Douglas*, Earle of Douglas, Lord of Annandale, and Galloway, Liddesdale and Jedbrough-Forrest, and Lord of Balveny, great Warden of the Kingdome of Scotland towards England, &c. Hee died the 24. day of March, in the yeare 1443.

His Wives is thus,

Here lies the Lady *Beatrix Sinclair*, daughter of *Henry* Lord of the Isles, Lord *Sinclair*, Countesse of Douglas and Evendale, Lady Galloway.

Their Children.

These are the children betwixt the said Lord and Lady: 1 Lord *William* his eldest sonne, and heire to the said Lord *James*, who succeeded to all the foresaids lands. 2 *James* the second sonne, Master of Douglas. 3 *Archbald*, the third sonne, Earle of Murray. 4 *Hugh*, the fourth sonne, Earle of Ormund. 5 *John* the fifth sonne, Lord of Balvenie. 6 *Henry*, the sixth sonne. *Margaret*, wife to the Lord of Dalkeith: *Beatrix*, wife to the Lord Aubignie: *Jenet*, wife to the Lord of Biggar and Cumbernald: *Elizabeth Douglas* was the fourth daughter.

*Jacobus Crassus,*

*Duglaffi crassique mihi cognomina soli,*  
*Conveniunt: O quam nomina juncta male.*

*James* the grosse.

To be a *Douglas*, and be grosse withall,  
 You shall not finde another 'mongst them all.

Of

*Of William slain in Stirling Castle, the seventh William, and eighth Earle of Douglas, the sixteenth Lord, and fifth Duke of Tarrain, &c.*

**U**Nto *James* succeeded his sonne *William*, a man of another mettall, and resembling more his Grandfather, and Cousin, (who was put to death in Edinburgh Castle) then his father, who did remember, and imitate more his Cousins diligence, then his fathers negligence, for hee endeavoured by all means to entertaine and augment the grandure of the house by bonds, friendship, and dependances; retaining, renewing, and increasing them: and therefore his marriage of his Cousin *Beatrix* is attributed to him, and is thought to be his owne doing, and not his fathers. Upon his first coming to be Earle, his first care was to establish some certain order for his affaires: for which purpose hee conveened his whole friends at Dumfries, made choice of his Counsellours, createth his Officers for his rents and casualties, and setteth a constant order in his house. Great was that house (as hath been said) and doubtlesse it was nothing diminished by him, but rather increased by the accession of his fathers estate (which he had ere he was Earle) and his wife: which being added unto the old Patrimony of the house, made it to surpasse all others that were but Subjects: for it had beene ever growing from hand to hand, since the time of Lord *James* slain in Spaine, continually, who had the Lordship of Douglas onely at the first. To it was added the Lordship of Galloway by *Archbald*, slain at Halidoun-hill. By *Archbald* the *Grimme*, the Lordship of Bothwell. By *Archbald* the third (called *Time-man*) the Dutchie of Turrain, and Lordship of Longe-ville. Annandale, and the Earledome of Wigton, by *Archbald* the fourth: and now the Lordship of Abercorn, by *Grosse James*. So that his revenue hath beene huge at this time, as appeares also by the ranke hee ever carried, as second in the Kingdome.

His dependance and following may hee judged by these his Lordships, and estate, and for his other friendship, there were divers houses of the *Douglases*; as Angus, Morton, Drumlanrigge. By his alliance he had Aubigny, and the Lord *Fleming* of Cumbernauld, who had married his sister. By his mother, the Earle of Orkney: by his wife, at (*Beatrix*) the house of Crawford, of which her mother was a daughter, beside the old friendship that was ever betwixt them. And this may be seen by History, who list to observe it, whereof more may be found by a more accurate disquisition. Thus enriched, thus waited on, thus followed, thus served, thus underpropped, and sustained by wealth, friendship, dependance, alliance, and kindred, his power and greatnesse was such, as was not matched under the Prince by any in this Kingdome.

But here is the maleheure, the Principalls of his owne name (Angus and Morton) assisted him not, but divided themselves from him; and either were not his friends, or even became enemies, as wee shall heare hereafter. What the occasion thereof was, is not directly mentioned: some thinke



thinke it was the discontentment they had conceived at his marriage, either because they accounted it unlawfull, or because some of them would have had her to themselves, which is the more likely, or in respect of their kindred with the King, who was indeed induced (though not yet) to think hardly of him; or out of emulation of his greatnesse, as an hinderance to their growth, which was Bishop *Kennedies* opinion to his brother, the Earle of Angus: and so it falleth out often, where a decay is to come upon a house, it first divides from, and within it selfe, yet that was but an insensible point at this time; his owne greatnesse being such as would scarce suffer him to finde the losse; standing as it were not by any friendship, but meerely of himselfe, and upon his bottome.

At the very first, when hee entred to the Earledome, he entred also (as hereditary) to the enmitie of the two grand guiders of the time *Levingston* and *Creighton*, with whom the hatred tooke beginning in his Uncles time, and was thereafter traiterously, and cruelly prosecuted by them, on his two Cousins: it continued, though coldly, in his fathers time, and was now quickned and revived by himselfe. They would needs lay the blame of whatsoever disorder happened in the Countrey upon him; not onely of what fell out in the borders (where hee commanded, and might command indeed) but even in the Highlands also, that which *John Gorme* of Athole did (who fought with the Laird of Ruthven, and would have rescued a thiefe out of his hands (being apprehended by him as Sheriffe) if hee had not beene defeated, and thirtie of his men slain by Ruthven) they would have it to bee thought that the Earle Douglas forsooth had an hand in it. But it is well that our Writers say, it was but thought so: and thought it had beene said so by his enemies, there is no necessity to beleieve it was so, for they had done him more wrong, and dealt more treacherously with him, then to make such a report for me, it soundeth not in my eares, that it had so long a foote, or that *John Gorme* could not doe such a thing without the Earle of Douglas, or that the Earle Douglas would meddle with such a matter. This I thinke, that in his owne bounds he would suffer none to acknowledge the Governours, which was his Uncles course, as we heard, seeing he was himselfe to bee answerable for them. It was his fathers way also (though more coldly according to his naturall disposition) as may bee gathered of that which is said, that he repressed not theeves, though he entertained them not: which is as much as to say, as he was not Authour, or occasion of their theft, yet, he being no Magistrate himselfe, and others having taken the government upon them, he would let them beare the weight of their owne charge in executing thereof, and would not help them therein by restraining any. And that so much the rather, because having murdered his Nephew, he could not with credit employ himselfe to ease them of their burthen by his assistance: he did them no hurt, he could not with honour do them any good. So hee lets them alone, doing to them neither ill nor good, then which I thinke he could not do lesse. And where just cause of enmity was, how could it be more modestly used? Except they would have had him (after such a vilanous fact) to go creeping under their feet (as we say) which the meanest man will not doe after the smallest injurie. And even where

where there is no injury, unlesse men reape some benefit, they will suffer others to do their owne part, and not help them, where they have no interest either as belonging to their charge, or from whence they may gather some profit.

It is true, he onely could doe that service, and there was no ability in them that had the charge, but he was not obliged to supply their inability: and why should they have taken on them? or why should the States (which I thinke did not, but that it was done by faction) have laid it upon them, that were not able to discharge it? This was not wisely done, and it is the very point of the errour in the Estates (so called) and the ground of all the inconveniences that fell out, for they chose men that had not power to discharge the Office, and such as had, did let them do it alone; and with-all (perhaps) disdained their preferment, as being without merit, for wee see no merit in them by true vertue: hereon arose discontents, then grudges, then crossings, then blamings, and reproaching in words and deeds, growing at last to an open enmitie. Of such great importance is it, to make right choice of men for employments. And such wisdom is requisite in the choosers (bee it Estates, be it Princes) not to follow affection, but to consider worth and ability rightly, and to employ accordingly: which if it be not done, it carrieth with it infinite inconveniences, & hath troubled many Estates, yea, ruined them; and it must needs be so. Happy State, happy Prince, yea, happy he whosoever, that having a necessity to imploy others (as who hath not) imployeth according to reason, and not affection, or hath his affections ruled by reason! which if hee doe not, it shall disgrace the employer, breed disdain to him that is imployed, and bring contempt upon both, which will burst out with occasion, and not long be curbed, and kept in, thought it lurke for a time.

It may bee this Earle of Douglas hath gone further then his father in showing his contempt of these justice-bearers. It may be hee hath borne with the Bordermen, and been more slack in repressing of them, (for his father repressed them, though not enough) because hee had intention to imploy them; being more sensible of the wrong done to his Cousins, & had a greater eye to revenge it, and therefore was loth to controule these men of service, further then the mere necessity of his place did require at his hands, whereof the rule (in the eyes of the people) was to save all men from that misery as farre as he could: in his owne eyes, the rule which he propounded to himselfe, it was to protect his friends and dependers; and for his adversaries, to rejoyce perhaps at their smart, if not to procure it: as for neutralls, to leave it to the Magistrate to redresse what is amisse, not perceiving by that mean, he doth more hurt the Countrey, then his enemies, and wounds his owne credit more then their reputation: and therefore he lost more by furnishing them with some ground of obloquie, offending the people and honest men, then he gained by the hurt of his adversaries, or favour of broken men. Nothing is more popular, yea nothing is more profitable then justice, (say all Writers) not to mean and private men onely, who incur the danger of law by injustice, but even to great men, even to Princes, who if they incur not the danger of lawes, being placed above the reach thereof, yet doe they lose the most profitable instrument

strument of all their actions, by which they must needs worke, and without which they cannot, the hearts of men: It feareth me, too many think it enough to have their hands, to have their bodies at command, but let no man thinke he can have their bodies, if hee have not their hearts: neither their heart, if hee have it not indeed, in a high measure of affection. Who hath no measure of affection, can have no action of the body to any purpose, and a slacke affection produceth but a slack action, as it hath ever proved. So that in effect, policy hath that chiefe object to worke on the affections of men, and that not to deceive, or force them (for neither of these can worke well and long.) Neither is it sufficient that a man see not a present evill, as a Prince a present insurrection, a great man a present losse of his followers, and favourers (which falleth out sometime, but not alwayes.) Oftentimes it is like a canker, working by peece-meale, insensibly, from degree to degree upon the affections, til it hath consummated the worke of disgrace of the party it seazeth on, and winded their favours out of the hearts of men. As commonly mens actions that procure it are of the same sort, not all in an instant, or at one time, but one ungratious fact cometh after another, and another again upon the necke of that, and so forth. This therefore is so much the more diligently to be taken heed of, and eschewed in the beginning; or if any error escape, to be taken up and recompensed by amendment, or some other gratefull action importing as much favour, as the error did disdain: neither must the affections of men be suffered to coole, languish, and to bee eaten up at unawares, till at last they utterly decay and perish.

Thus (we may see here) he hath not been well advertised by those of his house of Douglas, which before were the most esteemed, the best beloved, and favoured universally almost by the whole Countrey. But now, while as they would trouble the Governours, and let their inability bee seen, and for that end either beare with theeves, or suffer them, they are not aware, that by this mean they suffer an ill opinion of themselves to creep into mens minds, and that love of the people to diminish by peece-meal, for the space now of three or foure mens lives. And whereas they were wont with their heritage to succeed to a generall favour of the people, now on the contrary, they succeed to a grudge, and ill opinion, and so an universall dislike, which at last hath done away all that wonted love, and turned it into hatred; which did greatly advance and further the plots of their enemies against them, and made that their greatnesse odious, that was accustomed to be favoured. It is very true, that the men against whom he set himselfe, had used no good means, abused there Offices, abused their Countrey, and the name of the King, and Common-wealth for their owne particular; yet he should not have used ill means, no not against ill men; and the bare name of authority is of weight in the eyes of men, as the name of theft odious; from any countenancing whereof, Noblemen should be farre, as also from seeming to rise against any manner of Authority, though Authority bee put even in mean mens hands, as these were; chiefly when the opposers of Authority can make no other end appeare, but their own private, and that blotted with the enormities of broken men: yet what shall be given to a just anger? what unto the time? what unto youth?

*seventh William, and 8. Earle of Douglas, &c. 165*

youth ? all these plead pardon, if not approbation; The rather for that he taketh up himself from that sort of doing, so soone as hee can get a right King, to whom he might have acceffe, and to whom he might yeeld with honour which was ere long.

The next yeare, 1444. the King taketh the government on himselfe directly. Thither immediately the Earle Douglas concludeth to addresse himselfe, and by all good means to obtain his favour ; to satisfie the people, to satisfie all men that were offended, and fully to change that course he had before followed. Certainly repentance is worth misdeed : and it may bee seen, that the force of enmity hath driven him into these faults, which as soone as he can, he layeth aside. So coming with a great company to Stirling, he deales with the King by the intercession of such as were about him ; and finding that he was appeased, goeth on, and puts himself and his estate in his Princes will, partly purging himselfe of the crimes past, partly confessing them ingeniously ; and telling him, that what ever estate he should have from that time forth, hee would owe it to the Kings clemency, and not ascribe it to his owne innocency : That if the King would be contented to be satisfied by good Offices, hee would endeavour not to be short of any in fidelitie, observance, diligence, and good will towards him : That in repressing and punishing of theeves (whose actions his enemies laid upon him) there should no man bee more severe, nor more carefull : That he was come of a house that was growne up, not by doing injuries to the weaker, but by defending the weaker and common people of Scotland by arms. Certainly a true conclusion, & undeniable by his greatest enemies. But I have thought good to set downe all as it was conceived: for whether there was any fault or not, his submission was great, and his repentance sufficient to purge it whatsoever it were. Such is his respect to his soveraigne Prince ; and such the force of authority rightly placed in the due owner thereof. And such was also the force of truth in his speech, that the King, understanding that it was true in his predecessour, and hoping it would be true in himselfe, moved also by the private commendation of his Courtiers, not onely passed by, and forgave what ever had been amisse in his life before, but also received him into his most inward familiarity, and did communicate unto him the secrets of his counsell : Neither was the Earle unworthy thereof for his part, but behaved himselfe so well, that within a short time hee acquired the favour of the King by obedience ; of his Courtiers, and servants, by liberalitie, and of all men by gentlenesse, courtesie, and modestie, and put the people in hope that he would prove a meeke and sober-minded man.

The wiser sort doubted (say our Writers) whither so sudden a change would turne. But why should wee thinke it a change ? or if it were a change, it was very casuall, very apparant, and nothing to be wondred at : for it is this in effect: he had been untoward to base men, why should he not yeeld to his King ? hee had slighted the shadow of authority in them, why should he not acknowledge and reverence the beames of it in his Prince ? he had beene froward to his enemies, why not gentle to his friends ? he had sought to make them smart that wronged him, why not cherish those that did him good offices ? he had warred on them, that had

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warred

warred against him : why should hee not keep friendship with those who kept friendship with him ? certainly, these are not changes, neither of nature, nor of manners, but are commonly ( wee see ) in one and the same nature, and proceed from one and the same cause, which is greatnesse of courage, and regard of due honour. The greater despiser of basenesse, the greater reverence of true greatnesse, the greater repiner against compulsion : the gentler and calmer being used courteously : the harder enemy, the faithfuller and sweeter friend : so that wee may suspect these mens wisdom, that did so farre mistake his true courage, and accounted that a change, which was but a continuation of his inbred disposition.

Two men are designed to have taken fray at the matter, whose consciences were guilty of what they had deserved : *Alexander Levingston*, and *William Creighton*, not for the change of his manners, but for the change of his credit. They had traiterously slain three innocent Noblemen, his two Cousins, and *Malcolme Fleming*. They had kept himself back from his Prince, and his Prince from him, and were sory that ever they should have met in a friendly sort. They would have been glad to have blowne the bellows of dissention, to have irritated the one, and misinformed the other, made their owne quarrell the Kings, and so have caused the King and Countrey to esteem of it. They were now disappointed of that, and the Earle had access to informe the King of their misdemeanour in their Office, and to move him to call them in question for it. They knew hee would remember the wrong done to his Cousins : they knew how unable they were to answer for many of their facts, and therefore they retire themselves from Court : *Levingston* to his owne house *Creighton* to the Castle of Edinburgh which hee had still in his keeping. Neither was the Earle Douglas negligent in this occasion, that was thus offered to seeke justice by law and by justice, to be avenged of his enemies for the wrong done by them against law. Wherefore he diligently informed the King from point to point, of their misbehaviour in their Office: how they had abused him, abused his rents to their owne private use, and moved him to call them to an account thereof, whereupon being summoned to a certain day, they durst not compeer; but to set a faire face on the matter, they answered by Procuratours, or by letters : “ That they were ready to give an account of  
“ their government, that they had beene very carefull of the King and  
“ Countrey, desired nothing so much as to give an account thereof before  
“ equall Judges. But for the present, when the minds of men were pre-  
“ occupied with the favour of their enemies, and all access closed with  
“ armed men, the King behoved to pardon, that they did eschew not to  
“ come to judgement, but to come in the danger of their deadly enemies,  
“ and keep their lives for better times : when the Captain of theeves, be-  
“ ing removed from the Kings side ( which they had of times done be-  
“ fore ) they would approve their innocency to the King and all honest  
“ men.

These reproaches, and brags touched, and were meant of the Earle Douglas. Him it was they called Captain of theeves, because of the border men, of whom many were his followers. That they removed him often before

*seventh William, and 8. Earle of Douglas, &c. 167*

before was idle boasting: for he had abstained to come to the King, so long as the King was in their custody, so long as he was in the Castle of Edinburgh, where they might have murdered him, as they did his Cousins: That he was their enemy, he denied not, and had just cause so to be: but to take that excuse from them, he gave them assurance he should not proceed against them any wayes, but by order of law; and offered for that purpose to goe from Court, till they should come to it in safetie. And to meet their reproach (of captain of theeves) and their boasting of the just administration of their Offices, hee was ready to prove that they themselves were theeves, that they had stolen the Kings revenues, and distributed to their friends, and converted them to their owne particular use, and that they had traiterously against justice murdered his Cousins, whereof he besought the King to grant him justice; and so a new charge was given out, and another day appointed for them to compeir. Which being come, and they not compeiring, they were denounced rebels, in a Convention kept at Stirling the fourth of November, and their goods and moveables confiscated.

Thereafter *John Forrester* of Corstorphin (a depender of the Earle Douglas) is sent with a power of men, to intromet with their goods; who having received their houses, some he razed, some he manned with new forces, and provision: and so without resistance he returned, laden with great spoil. Hee was scarce retired, when *Creighton* assembled his friends and followers so suddenly as none could imagine, furrowed the lands of Corstorphin, together with the lands of Strabrock, Abercorn, and Black-ness, and amongst other goods, he drave away a race of mares, that the Earle Douglas had brought from Flanders, and were kept in Abercorn, doing more harme then he had received. This may seem strange to any man; neither do our Histories sufficiently cleare it, either where he got these forces, or whither he carried the goods. They insinuate, that he was aided and assisted under-hand by Bishop *Kennedie*, and the Earle of Angus and Morton. Angus was the Kings Cousin germain, sonne to his fathers sister, and by her, brother to the Bishop: Morton had married the Kings owne sister. But of these, the Bishops power lay beyond Forth; (for he was Archbishop of Saint Andrewes) and the Earle of Angus further (beyond Tay): so it is hard to conceive, either how they could suddenly assemble to their folks, or that they could conveene many (except such as *Angus* had on the South side of Forth in Liddisdale, Jedward Forrest, and Bonkle; likewise *Mortons* lands and friends were (most part) on the same side of Forth) to make assistance against the Earle Douglas. But how ever apparantly, they did it not openly; and this, it was against order, against authority, and against Law: and if the Earle Douglas had done it, it would assuredly have been called an open Rebellion against the King, theft, oppression, presumption, arrogancie, insolencie, and faction, as we heard it was before, when he contemned the Governours onely, and as it will be called (perhaps) hereafter. If men alledge, that the King was guided with the Earle Douglas counsell, and his name used to a particular onely: tell me (I pray you) was there ever any thing more formally than this against Creighton? And if the

168      *Of William slain in Stirling Castle,*

Earle *Douglas* his particular was in it, what then? how many actions of justice are otherwise done without instigations of private men? without the mixture of their cause? without their particular suiting? and particular insisting? and if it be lawfull to any to seek justice for his own particular, the Earle *Douglas* his particular was such, as very well became him to insist in: the wrong so manifest, the murder so vile and traitorous. And if that which is done against the lawes shall not be accounted wrong, nor esteemed to touch the King, because parties have their particular in that law, none or few things shall be accounted to be done against the king, or against law; for there is almost ever some particular joyned: and the same hath been and wil be the Earle *Douglas* his case. This therefore cannot be accounted innocencie; yea no lesse then open violence, and plaine rebellion, and presumption against the Earle, chad now with justice and lawes, and against the king as protector, and Patron of justice. No marvell then if the Earle *Douglas* was offended herewith; both for his own cause; whom the losse touched so neere, and for such manifest contempt of the King, and if therefore he seeke to be avenged thereof.

But there was a different forme to be used, according to the different actours; of which we see there are two sorts, Creighton and Levingston were open enemies, open actours, they themselves obnoxious to the law; against them the law will strike, and so he proceeded with them: He besieges openly Creighton in the Castle of Edinburgh, and no question he had taken from him before whatsoever was without it. The others, not open enemies, and actours themselves, they were but secret stirrers up, abettors, and assisters of his enemies; and among them Bishop *Kernedie* was the chiefe plotter and deviser; the law could not well be had against him; he must be met with in his owne way, he had done besides the law, he must be met with besides the law: he had done disavowedly, he must be met with disavowedly. Therefore he writes to the Earle of *Crawford*, who with *Alexander Oglebee* of Innerwharitie gathered a great hoast, entred, life, and without resistance spoiled the Bishops lands, either because they could not get himself, or because they had a greater minde to the bootie, then to the quarrell. The Bishop using his own weapons, curseth them; but they made small reckoning of his curses. Nevertheless shortly after there fell variance between *Crawfords* eldest sonne (the master of *Crawford*) and the *Oglebees* about the Bailliarie of Arbroth: for the Monks had given it from the Master to Innerwharitie, and hereupon having assembled their forces on both sides, they were readie to fight it out. But the Earle of *Crawford* (having gotten advertisement) came into the field to have composed the busines, and trusted they would have respected him, and not have offered him any violence, he entred in between the two parties; where having stayed his sonnes companie; he was going over to speak with the *Oglebees* to have brought matters to a parlee, and treatie. In the meane time one that neither knew what he was, nor what his intent was, runnes at him with a spear and slayes him: hereupon the battells joyning the victorie fell to the Master of *Crawford*, there being 500. slaine of the *Oglebees* side, *Alexander Oglebee* taken, and the Earle of *Humly* escaping on horsback. This victorie was obtained chiefly



*Seventh William, and 8. Earle of Douglas, &c. 169*

chiefly by the valour of the Cliddisdale men, of whom the Earle *Douglas* had sent about 100 to assist the Master of Crawford. This Master of Crawford was now Earle (his father being slaine) and was called Earle *Beaumont*, of whom there will be mention made hereafter, he being that Earle with whom *Douglas* is said to have entred into league; though we see there was friendship betwixt them now, the Earles Ladie *Beatrix* being a sister daughter of the house of *Crawford*, besides the old friendship that had been (ever since the first Earles time) betwixt the two houses.

In the mean time the siege of the Castle of Edinburgh (where *Creighton* was shut up) had now continued some six or seven moneths, from the midst of July (as appeareth) unto the beginning of February in the next year: for there being a Parliament called, to be held at Perth; it was removed to Edinburgh, that the siege might not be interrupted, and sate down in the beginning of February 1445. The siege lasted two or three moneths after, which makes in all some nine moneths, or thereby: at last both parties (the besieger and the besieged) being wearied, the Castle was surrendred to the King, on condition that *Creighton* should be pardoned for all his offences which he had committed against the King, and should be suffered to depart life safe, which was granted unto him: Our Writers term them the offences which he was said to have committed against the King: As if they should say, There was no offence indeed done to the King: And more plainly a little after, as in all contention, he who is most strong would seem to be most innocent: which sayings are to be judiciously considered, and accurately weighed, whereof we have spoken before: But if they will needs have it so, we will not be contentious. Thus *Creighton*, not so much hurt, as terrified, escaped due punishment by meanes of the Castle, which could not easily be taken, but by composition. Whether this was through the impatience of the Earle *Douglas*, that would not take leasure to wait on the siege, untill they should have been forced to yeeld for want of victuals; Or whether *Creighton* hath had some secret friends at Court, who did make use of this occasion to work his safetie, there is no mention. But *Levingstone* leape not so dry-shod, being no lesse guilty of his Cousins murder. The Earle had bent his just indignation against him also, and caused summon him to the Parliament of Edinburgh, together with his sons, *James* and *Robert Levingstons* (this *Robert* had been Thesaurer) and *David Levingston* his Cousin: His friends also, *Robert Bruce* of Atth, with *James* and *Robert Dundasses*. The Lord *Levingston* himself, with the two *Dundasses*, were convict, forfeited, and condemned to perpetuall prison in the Castle of Dumbarton. The other three, *James*, and *Robert* his sons, and *David* his Cousin, and *Bruce* also, were execute: What the crimes were that were laid to their charge, whereof this difference of punishment did arise; it is not written, either by the old or late Historians. This appears, that it hath been no particular of the Earle *Douglas* (of which the father was most guiltie) and that their Proesse hath not been guided and ruled by him, nor framed according to his spleen, which would have aimed most at the old man, as accessory to the death of his Cousins, whereas we see he escapes with imprisonment onely: His sons are hardlier used, being

being put to death : So that it must needs have been for some other crime, whereof the acts of Parliament that are extant in print makes no mention, or particular relation, as the forme is; and *James Levingston* in his speech at his death purgeth himself, as free of all true crime, what by being innocent of some, & having obtained a remission of others; yet he mentions now what was alledged against him; wherefore we must leave it as uncertaine. Some conjecture, that it was for keeping of some castles, and strong houses, and not rendring them to the King being summoned, against an act of Parliament made by *Creighton* before, by which act *Creighton* also himselfe was forfeited afterward; but we know no ground for that opinion. They alledged also another act (which only is extant) the other not being extant (and may seeme to sound something that way) made in the second Parliament, in the yeare 1488. against the re-setting of rebells in castles; which imports no keeping of houses after they be charged, or summoned to render by the Kings officers; but only commands to arrest their persons, or to take surety, and baile for them that they do no harme: Neither is there any penaltie (much lesse forfeiture) annexed thereto; only it sayes, they shall be forced and constrained to do it. This execution of the Levingstons is cast into the yeare 1447. (after that Queen *Marie*, the Duke of *Ghelders* Daughter was married to the king) at which time it is said, that *Creighton* was also forfeited, notwithstanding he had been Embassadour in procuring and making that marriage. The cause of his forfeiture is given out to be the keeping of the castle of *Creighton* when it was summoned and charged by an Herauld of armes, according to, & by vertue of the same act forsaide: But we have already spoken of that act, and we finde no mention of any Parliament that year. Neither from the year 1443. until the year 1449. wherein he should have been forfeited. And this we observe, that judgment may be adhibited in the reading of those, and such like things, however *Creighton* thus dashed, the Levingstons some executed, some imprisoned, forfeited, and condemned, there seemed to be some compensation of the murder of his Cosins, also their assister Bishop *Kennedie* received his part, so it is said that he had much ado to save himself, by leaving his goods a prey to them that pleased to take them.

These things are imputed to the Earle *Douglas* as faults: why I cannot tell, unlesse we require of him that exact philosophicall disposition, to be free from all humour of revenging, which few have brought with them that have been conversant in the affaires of State, or common wealth. No not these who have been accounted as Philosophers, and that very precise ones, such were both the *Catoes*, whose common ordinary course was to be avenged of their enemies by publick accusations, and pursuit of law: wherein if there be a fault, let there be no law, that permitts it, yea that allowes it, and exhorts unto it; it is recorded of *Cato* called *Censorius*, that having met a young man in the street, who had accused his fathers enemy, and gotten him condemned, he cherished him and embraced him, saying, *It was farre better so to celebrate the funerall of his father with the teares and condemnation of his adversaries, than to sacrifice with kids and Lambes.* It is naturall to men to resent injuries; and as naturall to seek the repairing of them; and he is excused who recompenses

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penes a wrong received; and he is accounted also just who does it by order and modestie, that hath patience to sute it, and abide the delayes of a Court-sute, it being a mean to purge blood out of the land. Neither does either Philosophie, or Religion forbid it but; by the contrary, commands & allowes it. Only the caution is, that the minde of the pursuer be voide of malice, and his eye set upon justice: of which intention the searcher of hearts can only be the competent judge. If some Imperfections, and weaknesse of nature do mingle with the action, we must not alwayes for that either utterly reject the action, or condemne the authour. But we must acknowledge that as right, which is right, and pardon the imperfection, which none wantes. We must not exclaime against it as if it were nothing but partialitie: Nor against the doer, as meerly vindictive, cheifely in a fact so very enormous, as the murthering of his Cousins was, wherefore if we shall without partialitie in our selves consider this whole pursuit, and give it the right name, we shall call it kindnesse to his kinsmen: equitie, justice, modestie, and patience, rather than wrong and malice: and praise him for his kindnesse, and faithfulness in friendship in revenging their quarrells, which hath been his very inclination, as will appeare hereafter yet not only this his just pursuite, but every thing that fell out in the countrie is laid upon him to brand him: as the slaughter of *James Stuart* by the *Boydes*, and the like: the taking of the castle of *Hales* by *Patrick Dumbarre*, which he is said to have taken, and killed the keeper thereof because the Lord *Hales* had then received the *Queen mother* into the castle of *Dumbarre*: who had fled hither to eschew the troubles of the times. The Earle *Douglas* within a few dayes after got the castle of *Hales* againe, on condition to suffer the said *Patrick Dumbar* and his men to depart with their lives safe. Likewise he is said to have constrained Sir *James Stuart* (the blacke knight of Lorne) who had married the *Queen mother*, to goe out of the countrie, upon some speeches uttered by the said Sir *James* against the ill government of the affairs of the kingdom: But neither is it set down what the words were, neither what sort of constraint was used towards him. This Sir *James* as he was sailing into France, his ship was taken by the Flemings, and he himself died soone after.

The next year ( which was 1448 ) there fell out warre with England, and incursions made on both sides by the Borderers: where the Earle *Douglas* began again after so long an intermission (to wit from the entrie of King *James* the first in the yeare 1423. the space of twenty five years) to take upon him the managing of the warre, which his house had ever done, and he now also dischatging with honour, and following the footsteps of his predecesours, for *Dumfreis* being burnt by the Earle of *Shreilburie* ( or *Salisburie* ) *Dumbar* spoiled by the Earle of *Northumberland*, *James Douglas* (the Earles brother) burnt *Anwick* in England, where having gotten great store of bootie, and many prisoners, as the others had done in Scotland, being almost equall, the & prisoners goods, & were changed by consent & agreement of the captains. But this was only a small assay before a greater matter, which followed this same year, as should seem, yet there was some cessation for a while, and truce taken for seven years. In which time the Earle who ( as we see ) was so zealous in prosecuting the revenge

revenge of the wrong done to his Cofins, shoves another propertie no lesse commendable, which is to be as kind and forward to advance his friends as he had been to quell his enemies.

For the same year *James Dumbbar* (*Hollinshed* calles him *John*) Earle of *Murray* being dead, first he obtaines the foresaid Earles daughter (who was Neece to King *Robert* the second by his daughter) for his third Brother *Archbald*, then the title of Earl of *Murray* from the King; notwithstanding that she whom his brother had married was but the youngest sister, the elder being married before her fathers death unto *James Creighton*, of whom the house of Fenderet is descended; how it came that he was preferred before *Creighton*, who married the elder sister; whether because the titles of Earles do not go by succession unto the heirs of Line, but by the pleasure of the Prince, and that he had more court then *Creighton*, or whether there was some respect also had to the kinred, or what ever cause there were of it, it gave matter of speech to his enviers, and to our histories it hath furnished matter of Censure, as a wrong done to the elder sister, to whom they think it belonged: he obtained also his fourth brother *Hugh* to be made Earle of *Ormond*, and his fifth brother *John* to be Lord of *Balvenie*, and Baron thereof, with many rich, and fruitfull lands. In which actions of his, when men can finde no ground of alledging that he did any wrong, they blame him as immoderate in augmenting too much the greatnesse of his house.

Wherein I cannot but praise his kindnesse and carefulnesse, in preferring of his friends by all lawfull meanes, which is a dutie standeth with wisdom, and a right wisdom: neither was it ever, or can it be ever justly discommended, where there is no injurie committed. Whereas, not to do it (if a man be able) and not to seem to do so, proceeds either of carelesnes, or that which is worse, wickednesse, selfe love, and in some, envifulnesse, and malignity, even to their owne friends. Which kind of doing, deserves no commendation, when it is but carelesnesse, farre lesse when it is done of malice: last of all, when men doe not onely not labour to advance their friends, but even endeavour to keep them under, by a point of wisdom which they thinke very deep, that they may remain servants to them; fearing that if they come to any preferment, they would not be so ready to serve them, and might perhaps grow up above them. This humour, as it is malignant, and an ill disposition, so it is no great good wisdom, whatsoever subtilty it may seem to have in it: for they advert not, that they hinder them, who would stand them in stead, and cut them short in power to be steadable to them, and so cut down the props of their owne standing, and such as would support them in their need & necessity. And while they feare that their friends out-strip them, they give place and matter to their enemies to overtop them both. Now the feare which they apprehend of their friends neglecting their dutie to them, is very farre off, and if ever it come to passe, it should not be envied, providing that kindnesse remain among them, though they should grow greater then they; and howbeit they answered not our expectation in kindnesse (except it were joyned with extremitie of wickednesse, and perhaps not then neither) ought we to repent, or repine: it, being

ing much more tolerable then to bee overmatched by an enemy, as it often falleth out, and can hardly choose but fall out, when a house standeth alone by it selfe, having no honest member thereof to underprop and uphold it. Besides, while men thus seeke to make their friends altogether servile to them, their friends perceiving it ( as it can hardly but bee perceived, what ever cunning bee used to cover it ) are the lother to serve; as mens nature is, in whom love-service ( questionlesse ) is the best: yea, onely fruitfull service. And therefore they will either repine the more, or withdraw themselves altogether, if they bee of any spirit; and if they bee not, their service is not worth having. So that men lose even their service ( which they so effect ) and sometimes turn it by unkindnesse, into unkindlineffe and enmitie, which hath ever been found by experience: neither did ever any house flourish so well, or any man in any house, as when they concurred with one minde to a mutuall helpe one of another: and none ever prospered so well as hee, who used and shewed his care ( not to keepe backe his friends, or to neglect them ) but to advance them, and take their businesse to heart as his owne.

This is a true patterne of kindnesse, and no lesse of true wisedome, howsoever men may subtile as they please, which is seriously, and sincerely followed by our Earle *Douglas*, and deserveth both commendation and imitation. Neither will it bee found that this is it which did him hurt, but (questionlesse) made him strong, and not easie to bee medled with, and so difficult that they could get no other mean to overthrow him, but that which they used, unto which they were forced, and of which, constraint is the onely excuse, as we shall see where hee is slain. Therefore, to say his greatnesse was the cause of his wrack, is more subtile, then solid; even as it may be said ( in some sort ) that a mans riches are the cause of his throat being cut by robbers, and that a mans vertues and good qualities are oft times the cause of his overthrow, which should not (for all that) bee eschewed. But shall there then bee no moderation! (will some say) and is it not fit, that Subjects should keepe themselves within some certain bounds, that are not envious, or suspect to Princes? Moderation is good both in Prince and Subject, and it were to bee wished that all would moderate their greatnesse, at least their appetite and desire of greatnesse: or if not that, yet so that they would limit the meanes of attaining it, and the end for which they desire it; and that they would have that wise conference of *Cyncas* with *Pyrrhus* before their eyes, that they might lesse affect it, or lesse erre in affecting of it: But where the end is good, and the mean right and lawfull, who craves further moderation, and limitation, whether in Princes, or Subjects, of their Empire ( as *Augustus* ) or of their greatnesse ( as this Earle here and many others ) whatsoever shew it carry, and however Histories speake thereof, ( besides their moderation that duty and religion requires ) in so farre as touches Policy, will be found but Sophistry, and no good Policy, when it is well examined. In all this therefore wee can acknowledge no fault; but on the contrary, kindenesse, effectuall freindship, and a due and provident wisedome in strengthening himselfe

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against

against his enemies, and underpropping his house most wisely, and most circumspectly.

Where is then his fault? ye will say, and what was the cause of his ruine? for we finde he did ruine in the end. Truly we must not account of all that have fallen, that they have faulted; that is a great error in our judgements, and too common; that by finding faults in others, we may be thought the wisest: yet it is not hard to finde his fault if wee will believe his enemies speeches set downe by our Historians; for though his friends feare nothing, and see nothing but his greatnesse (which is but a vain feare) his enemies see further (as enemies are quicker sighted) in faults, or would seeme to espy further: in their speech ye shall finde these grosse and lewd faults. 1. An insatiable cupiditie (and then they explain in what) in avarice: 2. Then an impotent Tyranny, two great faults (Tyranny and Avarice) sufficient to bring downe, and such as oft brought down Kings let be Subjects. And that we may not thinke that there was but an idle disposition in him, and but a naturall inclination, which he bridled, and suffered not to debord, they tell us the effects of them. Of his 1. avarice (and that unjust, as all avarice is, if it bee properly avarice) *He seized on Noblemens Patrimones, hee himselfe by law, and without law:* 2. Of his tyranny and oppression, *He gave the Patrimony of mean men as a prey to his dependers; and yet further, Them that withstood his pleasure, hee harted or caused make them away by thieves and brigbands: he advanced new men to the highest honours, placing them in the roomes of ancient Families.* If any man spake a free word, casting of liberty it cost him no lesse then his life: These faults indeed are great ones, if they were true, and such as merited that their end should have been as it was: These are indeed errors both in policie and humaneitie, in private men or in Princes, in small or great, in what ever person; and they were worthy to be detested, and abominated by all men, if they were true, for our Authours say not that they were true. I say again, if they were true expressly; for they doe but report them as the voyce of his enemies, who did exaggerate things as enviously as they could (as that amongst other speeches of theirs) doth witnesse, where they say, *That all the riches of the Countrey were heaped upon one Family: that there were so many great Earles and Barons of them, that they had so much power and potencie, that the King reigned but by their license, and courtesie as it were.* As for the Authours owne judgement hereof, (besides what he said before, that they were amplified in the most odious manner) hee subjoynes these, and such like speeches as those; *Many of them were true many besides the trath, and augmented above it, to procure hatred unto them.* So he leaves the judgement uncertaين, and tells not what things were true, and what false and augmented, which we ought to discern and separate (if it be possible) to make a right judgement: for this is indeed the craft of Calumny, to mingle truth with falsehood, that something being knowne to be true, the rest may passe for such also. But Prudencie will sift, and separate them, and winnow them in a right judgement, both that which is true, from that which is false, and in every point laid against him so much as it hath of truth, from that falsehood is mingled with

it for Calumniators are excellent in their mixtures, and compositions of truth and falsehood, so that there is great attentivenesse required to distinguish betwixt them, yet if we will attend to them, it may be they be discerned. Let us then consider the particulars, and what particulars we find in any of those to be true, let us acknowledge it ; what is not so, let us reject as false, and reckon amongst those that are but amplified, and augmented for envie : After which rule we shall finde in effect the last three to be those which are most true. 1. The riches : 2. The number : 3. The puissance of the house and name of *Douglas*. And yet not simple true as they set them downe, for they amplifie them also to stirre envie, unlesse we interpret it favourably : for not all the riches of the Countrey, nor all the honour was in their hands, though there were more in theirs, then in any others at that time : yet there hath been more (both riches and honours) in the hands of some other before ; for the *Cummines* are accounted to have been greater, and that their power was beyond the Kings power : it was false, their power being but a dependant, and subordinate, and could not be supposed to have been so great, so united (though they were of one name) as was seen afterward. And however we find it was thought so of before in the first Earles time, yet he never used it to the Kings prejudice after that he was informed of his right, which was now out of question : but these carry no fault in them. The rest which carry fault in them, the first two (avarice and tyranny) are to be tried by the effects : the third (taking to himselfe the Noblemens Patrimony) by law and besides law : what he did by law take from them, was not theirs ; what besides law we heare of no instance given : There is a fact may seem so in the Earledome of Murray, which he tooke not to himselfe, but to his brother. Neither was that the Patrimony, but the Title and Dignity, of which we have spoken already, and it was but a small peece of matter. The fourth and fifth (his killing and robbing by theeves, and his dependers invading of other mens Patrimonies) are of the same quality, for we heare of no instance bearing any wrong, Neither of the sixth, and seventh, advancing of new men wrongfully, or killing of men for free speeches. And truly raising of new men, and mean men was the thing that he and all his house did ever dislike very much, and was the ground of their discord, with the *Levingstons* and with *Creighton*. And I hope no man will call his brother a new man. So that to be short, when we have sifted them all, we see nothing but falsehood, and calumnies, and aggravations to move envie, which makes it no truth : for a truth augmented or diminished, is no longer truth, though otherwise it were true in substance.

Wherefore leaving these speeches as the speeches of his enemies, that is to say, for Calumnies (as they are called, and as they are indeed) wee will come to that which is of greater weight, and followes in the Authors owne name, *Animus per se insolens*, hee was of an insolent minde of himselfe saith one, which being the judgement of one of the most learned and judicious Writers, I will not contest, but leave it in the middle, and soberly crave to have it weighed, that wee may see whether there bee any necessitie to make us thinke so or not, for



it is Historicall onely, which I must thinke hee hath found in fact as he hath had leifure, and perused his Histories, of which we are scarce; to wit, that he grew by successe to that impotency of commanding his affections, that he had his eares closed from the free admonitions of his friends. Nothing is more pernicious, nor is there a more certain prognostick of ruine to follow, then when men are so puffed up with the opinion of their owne wisdom, that they disdain and contemne to heare, and to weigh the judgement of others. Yet this that followes is an extreame high degree of it, that men might not dissemble their minds in silence, to hold their peace at those things which they could not approve, was not sure nor safe for them, which ought to be safe for all men, to say nothing, and keep their minds to themselves and God, which no other man, nor not a mans selfe can command altogether. He is obedient that obeyes in the rest: The minde is his that made it, and can search it, over which no man should usurp. The cause of all this ill followes; the abundance of flatterers, and giving eare to them: a naturall, but a pestiferous fault, naturall to all great men, and small in their owne kinde: men are given to delight in what they beleeve, and to beleeve easily most good of themselves, whom they love most of any, and for abundance of flatterers, who wants them? *Diogenes* said he had his owne Parasites, the mouse was if men failed! yea, men never fail, and perhaps failed not him; hee whom all the world flattered. King *Alexander*, did he not flatter *Diogenes*? what was his speech to him but a flattery both of himself and *Diogenes*? or else an error concerning them both, when he said, If I were not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*. So common is it, so naturall is it, but notwithstanding, it is hurtfull, and to be avoyded, and the more carefully to be taken heed of, the more common and the more naturall it is: he hath the fairest of the play, that is most wary of it, and accounts it his greatest perfection, to know his imperfection; and he is most accomplished that best knowes his defects, and wishes for helps, and knowes he hath need of them. Out of doubt these were enough to bring down more then one Earle of Douglas; as for that which is further said of him. His old enemies were drawne to law to plead their cause before the same man, both judge and party, of whom many were spoyled of their goods, some of their lives; some to eschew the unjust judgement, tooke voluntary exile unto them; and that which is said of their dependers, they overshot themselves, carelesse of all judgements (because none could contend with them in judgement) To all sort of licentiousnesse, robbing, and stealing holy things, profane things, and slaying them they could get their hands over: neither kept they any bridle (or measure) in their wickednesse. Of all this concerning his dependers, being so generally and almost hyperbolically conceived: I could wish among so many, that there had been some instance set downe, that we might the better have knowne it, and discerned it. This (I am sure) cannot be without hyperbole: that they did commit some gratuit wickednesse (that is, such as was for no good to them nor profit) and without gain, pleasure or profit, having no cause in the world for them, but onely to keep their hands in ure of wickednesse, lest being disaccustomed from ill, some honest thought might come into  
their

*seventh VVilliam, and 8. Earle of Douglas, &c. 177*

their minde, that might tame them from their wickednesse and vile-nesse. So strange a conclusion would have had cleare and plaine antecedents, and not a few of those. It is hard to beleieve this upon any mans word, chiefly such a one as lived not in those times, nor was an eyewitnesse (as we say) of things, who by such speeches would have us to conceive more then he could, or by any could be expressed in words. But what one man could only gather out of Histories, we might also have gathered by the same Historie, if he had named his Authors, or shewn the way of his collecting of it from thence. But there being no footsteps of such enormities in the Histories which we have, that can lead us to this, I know not if we be bound so to reverence any mans person, as to receive it absolutely. That which followes, is of the same kinde, wherein the evils of those times are amplified, That it fell out well for Scotland that England had their owne civill warres in those dayes, otherwise Scotland had sunke under the burden. For first their civill warres from this time (which was from 1444. untill 1448.) were not great, and but secret grudgings onely. The commotion of *Blue-beard* was not untill 1449. and in Kent by *John Cade* in 1450. Then the forraigne warres with England might have moved the discord at home, as they have done often, and men fit for warlike employment, and given to arms, should have had matter to exercise themselves upon the common enemy, who in time of peace, for want of such employment as they are inclined to, are the cause of much evil at home. Last of all, we finde the contrarie by experience: for notwithstanding of these dissensions and disorders, yet they obtained a notable victorie of the English by the same *Douglasses* who are accounted so disorderly in time of peace, but have ever proved in the eyes of all men honourable, and dutifull in warre, their enemies not being able to detract from their manifest and evident worth.

The occasion of this victorie fell out thus. Wee heard how after the burning of Anwicke by *James Douglas*, younger brother to the Earle, a Truce was taken for seven yeares: notwithstanding of which, in this yeare (as would seeme) or in the next at farthest, the English (without any regard of the Truce) made inroades upon Scotland, spoyled, forrowed, and burnt the Villages farre and wide where they went, which the Scots would not suffer to passe unrevenge. Wherefore to cry quit with them, they entered England, and returned unto them as much hurt as they had received; and the storme fell chiefly upon Cumberland, from whence the beginning of the troubles had arisen, which was by this incursion almost redacted to a wilderness. When newes hereof were brought to London, they gave order for levying of an Army of 40000. men (as some write) intending to bring Scotland under their subjection, which they thought would not be hard to doe, in respect the Countrey had beene so lately wasted and impoverished, as also for that they knew their divisions at home. Therefore having made a levie of the best and choice souldiers, the Earle of Northumberland is made Generall, and there was joyned with him a certaine man called *Magnus* (onely a Gentleman borne) who had given good prooffe of his valour many times in France, where he had beene brought up, and trained in the warres from his youth. This man bearing great  
hatred

hatred to the Scots, and being too confident of his owne sufficiency, is said to have obtained of the King of England, for the reward of his service, whatever lands he could winne from them, for himselfe and his heires in perpetuall inheritance. He was remarkable by his long and red Beard, and was therefore called by the English *Magnus Red-beard*, and by the Scots, in derision, *Magnus with the red Maine*, as though his beard had beene an horse Maine, becaule of the length and thickeffe thereof. The Manuscript calleth him *Magnus with the red hand*, taking the word (Maine) for the French word, which signifieth an hand: but the attentive Reader may perceiue the errour, and how it was a word meerely Scottish, and used by the Scots in derision.

The King of Scots hearing of this preparation in England, caused also levie an Army, wherein he made the Earle of Ormond (*George*, or rather *Hugh Douglas*) Generall, who immediately went into Annandale, through which the English Army was to come. Both sides being thus prepared, the English having passed the Rivers of Solway and Annand, pitch their Camp upon the brinke of the water of Sarke. The Scots marched towards them, and they hearing of their approach, made themselves ready, so that being come within sight one of another, they ranged their men in order of battell. In the right wing of the English Army was this *Magnus with the red Maine*. In the left Sir *John Pennington* with the Welsh men. The middle battle was led by the Earle of Northumberland himselfe. On the Scots side was the Earle of Ormond in the middle battell over against Northumberland, and *William Wallace* of Craiggie opposed *Magnus*, and against Sir *John Pennington* was placed the Knight of Carlarverocke, called *Maxwell*, and *Johnston* of Johnston, with many inland Gentlemen, (saith the Manuscript) because they had no great confidence in their owne Annandale men, who were more set upon spoile then victorie. Ormond exhorted the Armie in few words, telling them, *That they had great reason to hope for the victorie, because they had taken armes, being provoked thereto, and that it could not be, but that so just a cause should have a happy event. Onely be- have your selves valiantly, abate the pride of the enemy with a notable defeat, and so you shall reape a long lasting fruit of a short travell.* When the English Archers did annoy the Scots with their arrowes from afarre, *William Wallace* cried out with a loud voice, so as he was heard by his followers, *Why should we stand still thus to be wounded afarre off? Follow me* (sayes he) *and let us joyne in hand stroakes, where true valour is to be seene:* and so marching forward, and the rest following his example, they made so fierce an onset, that they quite overthrew the right wing thereof. *Magnus* perceiving that, being more mindfull of his honour acquired in time past, then of the present danger, resolved either to restore the battell, or lose his life with credit, pressed forward against *Craiggie Wallace* to have encountered him, and ere he could come at him, he was encompassed about by the Scottishmen, and slaine: his death put the English in such a feare (for they had great confidence in his valour and conduct) that they without any further resistance turned their backs, and fled in great disorder. The Scots pursued so fiercely and eagerly, that there was more of the enemies slaine in the chase, than in the battell, chiefly upon the brinke of the River of Solway,

*Seventh VVilliam, and S. Earle of Douglas, &c. 179*

Solway, where the tide being come in, the river was not passable, and such as adventured to take it were drowned. There were slaine in this battell 3000. English, and amongst those their great *Magnus*, and the Scots deadly enemy, who had presumed so of victory. A notable example to teach men not to be over confident in things of such uncertaine event, as are the warres; and (as our proverb is) *Not to sell the Beanes skin before he be slaine*. There were slaine besides him eleven Knights of good account and note. Of the Scots were lost but 600. There were taken prisoners a great number, amongst whom were Sir *John Pennington*, and Sir *Robert Haxington*, Knights, and the Lord *Percie* sonne to the Earle of Northumberland, whilest he helped his father to his horse, who thereby escaped taking. There was also so great store of spoile gotten, as no man remembered so much to have beene gotten at any battell before. For the English trusting to their number, and the strength of their Armie, together with the opinion of their enemies weaknesse, through dissention and variance (as they supposed) had brought with them their best furniture, and richest stuffe, in full assurance of victorie, *Wallace* of Craiggie being sore wounded in the fight, was carried home, and died within three moneths after. The Earle of Ormond having gotten this honourable victorie, conveyed the chiefest of the prisoners to Lochmabane, and then repaired to Court, where he was joyfully met, and received of all, with all sort of honour that could be, envie it selfe not daring to open her mouth against him.

The King did highly commend him for this exploit, and exhorted him and the Earle *Douglas* his brother, “ That as their foregoers had often, as  
“ they also had done, defended the Estate of Scotland with their labours,  
“ and vertue, in most perillous times, and had given large prooffe of their  
“ valour and courage: That so they would at home accustome themselves  
“ to modestie: That they themselves would abstain, and that they would  
“ containe their friends from injuries toward the weaker sort: Their power  
“ and puissance, which they had acquired by so many their great deserts,  
“ towards their Kings, his Predecessours, and the Countrey, that they  
“ would employ it rather in suppressing of robbers and disorderly men,  
“ then to make new of giving way to it by connivence: That this only was  
“ lacking to their full praise, which if they would adde, they should finde  
“ by experience there was nothing more deare unto him then the advancement  
“ of the House and Name of *Douglas*. To this the Earle *Douglas* replied (he being the elder brother, and finding that this speech was chiefly directed to him) with great submission, and promised to doe as his Majesty had exhorted them: and so they were dismissed, and returned home to their owne houses with great honour and applause both of Prince and people, to whom they had by this victorie purchased great quietnesse. For neither were the English Borderers able to invade them any more, nor the King of England to send downe a new Army (which faine he would have done) by reason of the civill warre which ensued shortly after at home. So that he chose rather to have peace with Scotland, in regard of the case he was then in, then warre. Wherefore he sent Ambassadors, and obtained a Truce for three yeares, the Scots thinking it no lesse expedient for them

them in a case not unlike to his, through intestine dissention, though not open insurrection against the King. For notwithstanding all this service done to the King and Countrey, the malice of such as were the enemies of the *Douglases* was no whit abated: nay, their worth the more it was showne, and the more brightly that it did shine, it did so much the more stirre envie in their ill-willers, whose secret practises still continued, and whose credit in Court seemed still to increase against them. *Creighton*, who before had beene sent Ambassadour to *Charles* the seventh of France, for procuring a wife to the King, had concluded a match for him with *Mary* daughter to *Arnold* Duke of Gelders, who by her mother (the Duke of Burgundies sister) was come of the Bloud Royall of France, was now returned into Scotland with her in this yeare 1448. This service and her favour increased his credit greatly with the King; which the Earle *Douglas* perceiving, was nothing pleased with it, but being discontented, obtaining leave of the King, he withdrew himselfe from Court, seeing his error of having beene contented that *Creighton* should be employed in that honourable message, thinking himselfe well rid of him by this his absence; which practice of Court succeedeth sometimes happily (as it did against the *Boys* in King *James* the thirds time, in the very like case) yet it did not so now, but turned to the greater advantage and advancement of his enemy. *Creighton* was well contented with his retiring, esteeming it his gaine to be so rid of him from the Kings eare and presence.

Whilest they concorded thus in their discord, both willing one thing in so contrary mindes (to wit, the Earle *Douglas* absence) there fell out an accident that occasioned his longer absence, not from the Court onely, but out of the Countrey also. *Richard Colville* of Ochiltree was an enemy and bare deadly feud to *John Auchenlech* of Auchenlech, a friend and dependor of the Earle *Douglas*, whom the Earle having sent for to come to him to Douglas Castle for such businesse as he had to do with him, the said *Richard* having notice of the said *Auchenlechs* journey, notwithstanding he knew he went toward the Earle, whether stirred up by the Earles enemies at Court, so to put an affront upon him, or leaning to their credit for impunitie, or out of impatience, or presumption, or contempt of the Earle in respect of his withdrawing from Court, not regarding him, or fearing his displeasure or anger, he lay in wait for him by the way, and set upon him with a number of armed men, where, after some small conflict, *Auchenlech* was slaine, and divers of his friends and servants with him. The Earle *Douglas* having notice hereof, the fact touching him so neerely in the person of his friend and follower, in his service, comming toward him, and sent for by him, he was so incensed therewith, that whether distrusting the ordinary course of justice (as wherein he might be eluded by his enemies then guiders of Court) or impatient of delay, or not accounting it so honourable for him, nor so awefull in example to others, concluding immediately to revenge it, and vowing solemnly he should be avenged before he either eat or dranke, he tooke horse immediately, and with the readiest of his friends rode to the Castle of Ochiltree, forced it, and slew the said *Richard Colwill*, and all the males within the Castle that were come to the age of men. This opened the mouths of men diversly, according

cording to their diverse humours, some condemning his cruelty, some commending his courage, some saying that he had gone too farre, and done too much; others that he could doe no lesse, that he had just cause, and that he had been ill used, his friend slain, his honour interested, that such kinde of justice best became him; his enemies at Court tooke hold of it, aggravating it to the King, an insolent fact against law and custome, and however *Colvill* had deserved it (which they could not deny) yet it was a perillous example, prejudiciall to all order, and to the King, to whom the punishing of such things belonged; So that the King became highly offended therewith.

Hereupon the Earle *Douglas*, partly to give place to his Princes anger, partly upon some remorse (as all bloud hath ever some touch and sting of Conscience with it:) the next yeare beeing the yeare of Jubilee, hee purchased a license from the King to goe to Rome, pretending he would doe pennance for the said slaughter, (but as his enemies did interpret it) to shew his greatnesse to forraigne Princes and Nations. Before hee tooke his journey, having a care of his house, and being out of hope to have children of his owne (as having been seaven or eight yeare married without children) he procured his second brother *James* to be received by the King, and confirmed in the Earledome after himselfe. There went with him in company a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, such as the Lord *Hamiltoun*, *Gray*, *Salton*, *Seaton*, *Oliphant* and *Forbesse*; also *Caldar*, *Urwhart*, *Cambell*, *Fraiser*, *Lawders* of *Crumartie*, *Philorth* and *Basse*, Knights, with many other Gentlemen of great account. Hee went first to Flanders, and from thence by land to Paris, where he was honourably received by the King of France, whom some call *Lewis* the eleventh, but it must needs be *Charles* the seaventh, who lived till the yeare 1460. some tenne yeares after this Jubilee, which behoved to bee in the yeare 1450. The remembrance of the good service done by his Uncle at Bauge, and his Grandfather at divers times, and at last, for spending his life for him at Vernoile, was not yet worne out of *Charles* his memory, in regard whereof, and for the place he carried, and the publick League between the Countreyes, he omitted no kind of honour undone to him that was fit for his qualitie and ranke: from thence he tooke his journey towards Rome, which was filled with the expectation of his coming. He had taken from Paris with him his youngest brother *George*, a young man who was there at Schooles, and of whom there was great expectation; but he died by the way, to his great grieve, he is said by the manuscript, to have been nominated Bishop of Dunkell, and that he was to be inaugurated at Rome; *Buchannan* also saith it, perhaps following the manuscript: but they both forget that his eldest brother *Henry* is said by the same manuscript, in the life of their father, to have beene Bishop of Dunkell: and this *George* died before he was fiftene yeares of age. I take it also to be an oversight in this same *Buchannan*, that hee saith that this *George* was destinated to be Earle by the Kings permission, after his brother, who had no children. For it is against reason that hee being youngest of many brethren (worthy men) should have been preferred before them, while he was but yet a childe at school.

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While the Earle was thus in his pilgrimage, his enemies slept not at home, but taking the opportunitie of his absence, did both blame him at the Kings hand by all invention they could devise, and stirred up such of the common people as had received any wrong of any man, to complaine to the King, alledging they had received it by the Earle *Douglas* friends or servants, and by such wayes moved the King to cause seeke *Siminton*, then Bailiffe to the Earle in Doughaldale, and to cite and summon him to answer to such crimes as were laid to the Easles charge, for the actions (perhaps) of his dependers and clients, or (at least) for such things as his Lord had neither commanded, neither (happely) heard of. *Siminton* looking for no equitie at their hands, who moved such a citation, choosed not to come into judgement, suffering things to passe rather for non-compeirance, than to compeire, not knowing the state of things, nor how to answer, having neither knowledge of them by himselte, nor direction, nor information from his Lord. Upon this occasion his enemies laid hold, interpreted this his non-compeirance in the most odious sort, and called it contumacie, and what grievous name they could devise. So they moved the King to send his servants and apprehend him, and would gladly have proceeded with all extremity against him, exclaiming against his presumptuous contempt of the King, and telling the King, that his royall authoritie was become a mockerie, and despised by every base fellow: That by his lenitie he did but foster the makpernesse of the wicked sort: That by impunitie new doores were opened to new misdoers: with such other speeches, in the most vehement manner they could, to have dipped the King in bloud, and cut off all hope (as farre as in them lay) of reconcilment betwixt them. But he, not being so farre alienated as yet from *Douglas*, howbeit the complaints of so many had stirred up some dislike, and taken impression in his minde, was not moved with their speeches in that high nature, but persisted in his opinion to recompence the Complainers in their losses of goods by goods, but not to meddle with any mans bloud: wherefore he caused *Siminton* to be set at libertie, and commanded him onely to satisfie the Complainers. But hee who could neither answer without information, nor satisfie without direction, humbly besought his Majestie, that since he had not information, and could not answer, being but a servant, and unacquainted with businesse, seeing also he was not Collector of his masters rents, but onely commander of his servants, it would please him to delay the matter till his Lord returned, (whom he expected within few moneths) who (he doubted not) both could and would answer to whatsoever complaint, and satisfie sufficiently at his Princes pleasure whatsoever damage he should have bene found to doe to any man. This seemed most reasonable, that the Earle himselfe should be heard first, and not condemned unheard, and in his absence; and there could bee no great prejudice in a short delay. Wherefore the King condescended to it, and yet notwithstanding being importuned by the multitude of new complaints, he sent *William Sinclair* Earle of Orkney (a near Cousin to the Earle *Douglas*) being Chancellor for the time, to intromet with his goods and rents in Galloway and Douglas, to satisfie Complainers therewith: but it was to no purpose, for hee was eluded,



cluded; and almost mocked by the tenants. He alledged, and reported to the King, that was done by the instigation of the Earle of Ormond; that he was so frustrate; for the Earle *Douglas* had committed to him the manning of his estate in his absence, and he greatly disdained that Orkney, being so neare of blood and alliance to them, should have undertaken that charge. The King irritated herewith, as a contempt of his authoritie, caused Heralds to be directed ( or Pursevants ) to summon all of the name of *Douglas*, and their favourers, to compeire upon a certaine day, and the Earle himselfe within threescore dayes; which being expired, and none compeiring, they were denounced Rebels. Then the King himselfe went with an Army into Galloway, where at his first entrie, having forced their Captaines to retire to their strengths, a small number of his hoast, whilest they followed the Rebels uncircumspectly through strait places, were beaten backe upon the King, not without some disgrace. The king moved with great indignation hereat, went and assaulted their chiefe fortes: And first he tooke the Castle of Lochmabane without great trouble or travell; thereafter with great toile and wearying of his men, the Castle of Douglas, which he razed to the ground. He commanded the Farmers, Tenants, and Labourers of the ground, to pay their Meales to his Collectours, untill such time as the complainers were satisfied with their Lords goods.

These things being reported ( thus as they were done ) to the Earle *Douglas* while hee was yet at Rome, moved him greatly, and greatly astonished them that were in his company; so that many witndrew themselves, fearing what it might turne to; and he, with the few that remained with him, made what haste they could homeward.

As hee came through England, hee was honourably entertained by the King and Queene there: but when hee approached neere to the borders of Scotland, hee stayed a little time, and sent his brother *James* before to trie the Kings minde toward him; which when hee found to be placable, hee returned home, was kindly received, and lovingly admonished to put away from him disorderly persons; especially the men of Annandale, who had in his absence committed many outrages and cruelties. This when hee had faithfully promised to performe, hee was not onely received into his former place of favour, but was made also Lieutenant Generall of the whole Kingdome of Scotland. And this was the bitter fruit of his perillous Pilgrimage, that hereby hee loosed the reines to his enemies, and gave them power so farre to prevaile, as to embarke the King in open quarrell against him, even to the casting downe of his Houses, and intrometting with his Revenues. This notwithstanding was either his wisdom, or the account and respect of his place and person, that the King, who had done him such harme and disgrace, could bee contented so to forget it, receiving him so farre into favour, and advancing him, whatever blame or imputation may bee laid upon him for his journey, which was so rashly taken on, and which had so dangerous a sequell; yet this retreat from that storme cannot but bee commended, and his dexteritie ( whatever it were ) acknowledged to have beene great,

which guided him through such billowes and surges to so peaceable a Port and Haven. And it were to be wished that Writers had set downe by what means this was brought to passe, for the more perfect understanding of the History; but we must beare with this, amongst many more defects that are to be found in them.

Now what ever wisdom (though undescribed in the particulars) may appeare to bee in this; as much unadvisednesse is evident in that which hee did immediately after, in his journey to England. For without acquainting the King, hee went to the Court of England, and had privie conference with that King and Queene, hee pretended that it was for restitution of some goods taken out of Scotland, and not restored by the Wardens of England: but this cause, the lighter it was, the greater suspicion did it move in his owne King, who could not thinke it probable, that hee being of that place, of that courage, of that nature, would upon such an occasion onely, take such a journey: The true cause is thought to be, that he went to treat of certaine conditions for his assistance to be given to the King of England against his Nobilitie, with whom he was then in hard termes, the warres of the house of Yorke beginning to spring up, which increased afterward so mightily, and prevailed, to the ejecting him out of the Kingdome.

This the Queene of England either foreseeing, or fearing some other such like enterprize against her husband had dealt with the Earle *Douglas* when he came home through England from Rome the yeare before, to strengthen them by his help, and appointed him to return for performance, and perfecting of all conditions of agreement. But we finde no effect of this agreement and conditions, whether because that conspiracie of the Duke of York was not yet come to maturitie, and so *Douglas* was not employed, being prevented by death (which fell out shortly after this) or because they were not fully agreed, is uncertaine. Neither is it specified what the conditions were: onely it is conjectured, that they were the same, or such like, as the same King (*Henry the sixth*) granted afterward to the Earle of Angus in the time of King *JAMES* the third, which if they were, they were no wayes prejudiciall to the King of Scotland (as shall appeare there) yet being done without his knowledge, it gave occasion either to the naturall jealousie of Princes to think hardly of it, by his owne meere motion, or to his enemies, so to construct it to the King, and stirre him up by their speeches to that suspicion which he inclined to. Of both which he ought to have beene warie, and not to have given such ground to the one, or to the other, by such a journey undertaken without the Kings allowance.

Whether at his returne he acquainted the King with what had past betwixt him and the Kings of England, it is not certaine, and our Writers seeme to say the contrary, yet in that hee brought letters from the Queene of England to the Queene of Scotland, and shee thereupon interceded for him, it is not improbable that he hath acquainted her (and so the King also) with the truth of the whole businesse: which whether the King did not believe, or if his jealousie remained not the lesse, and that hee was not willing there should bee such an accession and increase

of

*seventh William, and 8. Earle of Douglas, &c.* 185

of the Earles greatnesse, who (he thought) was greater already then was safe for a King; hee pardoned him the fault at the intercession of the Queene and some Nobles, but he tooke from him the Office of Lieutenant, and all other publicke charge, that so he might be made unusefull and unsteadable to the King of England, or at least not so able to aid him, and so he might be frustrate of the conditions so liberally promised unto him from thence. Hee restored also his old enemy *Creighton* to the Office of Chancellour, and the Earle of Orkney was made Lieutenant. Thus not onely disappointed of his hopes, but disgraced at his Princes hands, both by being himselfe depressed, and his enemies advanced, he was incensed against all the Courtiers, taking all to proceed from their instigation. But more especially his anger was bent against *Creighton*, both as the ancient enemy of his House, and also as the chief Authour of all this present dis-favour by his surmisings, transported herewith, hee gave way to his passion to carry him to a course somewhat more then civill, which untill that time hee had tempered, retaining it with the bridle of equitie, and himselfe within the compasse of the lawes. Now whether altogether, and onely for these causes foresaid, or if irritated by a new occasion of malicious speeches uttered by *Creighton* (*That the Kingdome of Scotland would never be at rest so long as the house of Douglas was on foot: That in the ruine thereof stood the good of the Realme, and peace of all Estates: That it was necessary a man of so turbulent a nature, so puissant and powerfull by his Kindred and Alliance, whom no benefits could appease, nor honours satiate, should bee cut off, and the publicke peace established by his death,*) or if *Creighton* contrived this speech to make *Douglas* the more odious, and his owne quarrell seeme the juster against him (for both are written) so it is, that the Earle caused certaine of his friends and servants lie in wait for him as hee was riding from Edinburgh toward *Creighton*: but he escaped, being acquainted with the plot (as some write) well accompanied, and excellently well mounted, but not without being wounded himselfe, and having slaine some of his adversaries in his escape. Others, attribute his escaping not to any foresight or fore-knowledge, but sayeth that hee was assailed in the night at unawares, and being astonished at the first, yet afterward recollecting himselfe (for he was a man of good courage) hee slew the formost he met with, and having received some wounds, brake through them, and saved himselfe in *Creighton* Castle, where he remained not long; but his wounds being scarce well cured, he conveyed his friends, and coming on the sudden to Edinburgh, had almost surprised the Earle *Douglas*, who was there in quiet manner, and looked for no such thing, but he getting advertisement hereof, did advertise the King that he could no longer endure *Creightons* hidden malice and practises against his life, and estate, and his now open attempts also: wherefore hee desired to bee excused, that hee could no more repair to Court, so long as *Creighton* was there, and so retired himselfe to his house to remain as a male-content for a season.

In the meane time finding his enemies thus to increase in credit at Court, and with their credit (as commonly it cometh to passe) in number

berand power, hee, to strengthen himselfe also on the other side against them, entered into a new confederacy with the Earles of Crawford, and Rosse, men of greatest puissance and force next the *Douglases*, that were in Scotland in their times; or rather he renewed the old friendship that had been betwixt them. For their houses were in old time in great friendship with the houses of Douglas (as hath beene shewed) and the house of Crawford was particularly obliged unto them by divers good Offices, from the dayes of *Robert* the second: and in this same manstime had been helped against the *Ogelbees* at Arbroth: as his father also had at the Earle *Douglas* desire spoyled the Bishop of Saint Andrewes (*Kennedies*) lands: And besides, this *Beatrix Douglas* (the Earle *Douglas* Lady) was daughter to one of the Earles of Crawford, and could not but bee of kinne to this Earle. The summe of their band was, That they should every one assist and defend another, together with their friends and dependers, against all men: That they should have the same friends, and the same enemies, with reservation alwayes, and exception of their duety to their Prince. But whether this band was made of new (as some write) or if it were of old continued from hand to hand, and then renewed as though it were intended in speciall against *Creighton* and his partakers, and due exception of the King expressely contained in it, is uncertain: however, they so possessed the King, that hee interpreted all as done against himselfe. And therefore matters being come to publick Hostilitie betwixt *Douglas* and *Creighton*, and the Countrey divided into factions, when the Earle of Crawford and Rosse had sent to *Creighton*, and given up all friendship with him as an enemy to their dearest friend, by vertue of the foresaid League; hee acquainted the King therewith, and with all vehemencie exaggerated the League, as a conspiracy against him and his royall Authority, and that it was very dangerous for him when such great houses, and powerfull men had combined together. The King apprehending it to bee so, having once settled that opinion in his minde, did upon that ground build all his interpretations of the Earle *Douglas* actions, and framed his owne actions accordingly against him; Neither was *Douglas* so fortunate, or circumspect, as to avoid the occasions of fostering that opinion in the King: but (as commonly happeneth) when ruine is to come on men, all things worke that way, so fared it with him in two facts. The first was on the person of the Lord *Harris*, who was too hardly used of him, as appeares: The other on the Tutor of Bombee, more justly, yet so, that his carriage in it seemed to confirme that which his enemies alledge against him, that he exercised his authority, and used his priviledges more absolutely then the King had reason to be contented with. The occasion of the first, and the forme thereof was, Sir *William Harris* of Terreglis having been the Earle *Douglas* ancient dependar, had now in this frowne of Court, and diversity of factions (whether to please the Court, and because he accounted it justest to follow it, or because indeed he misliked things done by the borderers who followed *Douglas*) withdrawn himselfe from his dependance, and if he sided, not openly with the other party (which hee could nor durst hardly doe, lying so neare to *Douglas*) yet did hee not follow him as hee was

*seventh VVilliam, and 8. Earle of Douglas, &c. 187*

was wont, and so either by a real enmitie in private, or a kinde of neutrality in publick. had procured the like behaviour of the Earle to him, to behave himselfe as neutrall in his affaires: and as hee had abstracted his dependance and attendance from him, so the other abttracted his Protection from him. This when the Annandians perceived, they (ready upon all such occasions) made a rode, and furrowed his lands: hereof when he complained to the Earle, and had received answer according to the foresaid coldnes betwixt them, he would needs attempt some redresse by his own power, and hereupon assembling a number of his friends, he rode into Annandale to have rendered them the like, and either to recover his owne, or repaire his losses out of their goods. But he was overthrowne by them, and taken prisoner, and so brought to the Earle *Douglas*, hee esteeming him as his owne servant, and taken within his bounds where his jurisdiction (by regallity or otherwayes) was extended, put him to assise. They of the Jury found him guilty, being taken after hee had feized the goods, (with red hand as they term it) and so being convicted of theft, he was condemned, executed, and hanged as a thiefe, and that notwithstanding the Kings earnest request for his life by letter. A pitifull matter, and greatly to be lamented! and though he had some colour of justice, yet it tasted not so much of justice as of malice; no not of indifferency (which would be injustice, having eye to the due circumstances) so much as of partiality, joyned with contempt of the King, and his equall request; and so it was constructed, and gave more just occasions to his enemies surmising, and the increasing of the Kings indignation, which by yeelding, and remitting a litle of his priviledges, and showing respect to the Kings entreaty, he might have mitigated in some measure; and that without any danger he could have incurred by the said Lord *Harries* enmitie (although he should have been his enemy, and perhaps he might have regained him to his friendship by remitting the offence.) The other fact which ensued upon this, not so unjust, but made as odious (as carrying the odiousnesse of the other with it) was, *Macklallane* Tutor of Bombee, the chiefe of that name, and one of the principall houses in Galloway, falling at odds with a servant of the Earle *Douglas* had slain him, and was (therefore with his brother who was partaker of the slaughter) apprehended and put in prison in the Trevie, a strong house belonging to the Earle. His friends made means to the Courtiers, and by them to the King; informing him that *Douglas* carried a spleene against the man, more for being a friend, a favourer and follower of the best side (so they called their owne; then for killing of the man: wherefore they besought him that he would not suffer a Gentleman of his rank, who was also a good man otherwise (however that had fallen out in his hands) to bee drawne (not to judgement, but) to certain and destinate death, before one, who was both judge and party. By this and such like information (whereby the eares of Princes are deceived, while men go about to withdraw their friends from due punishment) they perswade the King to send for Bombee, and take the triall and judgement of him in his own hands, desiring the Earle *Douglas*, that if he had any thing against him, he should come and pursue him before the King. Amongst the fur-  
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therers of this fute *Patrick Gray* of Fowls (uncle to the Tutor) was chiefe: he was directed with the Commission, as one that both would be earnest therein, being so neare to the party, and would also bee respected, being some way in kinne to the Earle; *Douglas* having notice of his Commission, and perceiving thereby they meant no other thing, but to defraud him of justice for killing of his servant (which he thought he could not suffer with his honour) that he might doe what hee had determined the more calmely, and with the lesse offence (as hee thought) he courteously received the said *Patrick Gray*, and intertained him with diverse purposes, and caused the Tutor in the meane time to be tried by an Assise, and being condemned, to bee quickly conveyed a mile from thence to a place called Carling-work, and there executed. Afterward when *Patrick Gray* (ignorant of what was done) had delivered his Commission from the King; he answered, he was fory he was come too late, and then told him what was done, and desired him to excuse him to the King. When he heard that, and saw himselfe so deluded, he presently (in a great chafe and rage) renounced all kindred and friendship, and whatsoever band besides might seeme to tie him to the Earle; vowing that from that time forth he should be his deadly enemy in all sort, and by all means he could, which the other little regarding, dismissed him: But however he little regarded it, the French Proverb proveth true, and is worthy to be regarded of all men, *That there is no little enemy*: for he had the power to be his death afterward with his owne hands, and plotted it by his Counsell, or set it forward, being plotted and devised by others: for being come to the King, and relating the issue and effect of his message, all was by him and the other Courtiers of the faction aggravated in the most haynous sort: That the Kings commandments were contemned, eluded and mocked: That it was likely that the Earle *Douglas* was King: That doubtlesse he aimed to be so, yea, hee behaved himselfe already as such: That that was the meaning of his private conference with the King of England, on that ground he gave licence to slay so many honest men, to spoil and robbe: That innocency now was contemned for brutishnesse, faithfulnessse to the King punished for unfaithfulnessse: That by the Kings indulgencie the common enemy was become insolent: That it became him once to take upon him his place as King, and do things by authority, and by his power, that then it would appeare who were friends, who were foes. These, and such as these, were the speeches of the Courtiers and interpretations of his actions: such as it pleased them to make, following their humour of faction or judgement.

But they neither considered the equitie that was done in punishing bloud by bloud, nor the authority by which it was done, for hee had authority and sufficient jurisdiction of old granted to him, and given by former Kings to his Predecessours and their Heires for his service. Neither did they observe what order and formality hee kept in his proceedings, nor his honour interested in the revenging his servants death: Neither what scorne to him it was on the other part, if he had sent the party: having thereby his priviledges, infringed, his servant slain, and no satisfaction

faction for it; but to bee eluded by a Commission, purchased by his enemies, justice defrauded, and the guiltie pulled out of his hands: and by their credit with the King, procuring him to hinder justice, who should have beene the furtherer of it, onely upon their particular private motion, and by their factions, inclining of his Majesty that way. Upon these considerations, what had beene more extraordinarily done, would have beene excused by the same men, in another then *Douglas*. Now in him (though done orderly) it is thus traduced, aggravated, exaggerated, amplified, and named contempt of the King, and affecting the Crowne.

Such is the misery, when Princes are moved by parties, to command or request things that are unjust, there being perill and inconvenients, either in obeying or refusing their requests, receiving hurt and prejudice in their rights, scorne of their adverse party, or denying to offend whom they would fain serve: and happy is that man that can steere a-right betwixt these rocks! Happy hee who falleth into the hands of such a Prince, as measureth and moderateth his commands according to equitie; or if they bee inique, when it falleth out so (for what Prince may not fall into such weaknesse) who tempereth his passion, and moderateth his minde, in the just refusall thereof, taking it in good part, and accounteth not his authority contemned, when an unjust command is refused by his Subjects.

Whether it were on the displeasure of this fact, or jealousie conceived of this and other actions of the *Douglasses*, it is hard to discern: but so it was, that his enemies making use for their owne ends of the Kings credulous suspicion, prevailed so farre, that they perswaded the King to resolve to make him away (and seeing it could not bee done by open force) in any sort it could bee done; whereof when they had advised of all the meanes they could, this they found to bee the most expedient way, that hee should bee sent for to Court, by faire promises, and being come, the King should enter into termes of quarrelling: And thereupon they that were appointed for the purpose, should dispatch him. So they caused a certain Courtier of their faction, but such an one as was free from all suspicion of bearing enmity to the Earle, to adresse himselfe to a Gentleman, who was *Douglasses* friend, and to shew him how *Creighton* was retired to his owne house, and that in his absence it were fit the Earle should take that good occasion, to come and see the King, with whom hee might bee assured to finde favour, if hee would crave it humbly: and this hee told as a great secret, not to bee revealed, but to his Lord, and dealt earnestly with him to follow this advice.

The Gentleman beleeving, went and dealt very earnestly with his Lord, but hee suspecting *Creightons* craft, and having the murder of his Cousins before his eyes, flatly refused to goe thither, where he had so many enemies, so potent and of so great credit, and some of which (had not long agoe) lien in wait for his life, unlesse hee saw assurance of his life and liberty. Hereupon he was directly sent for to come to Court, with promise of all freedome, and with assurance under the broad Seal: and to

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remove all feare & doubt that he could conceive, the Noblemen that were present at Court were moved to send a warrant to him, subscribed with all their hands, and sealed with all their seals, with the greatest oathes and protestations interposed therein that could be; and not onely so, but every man wrote his owne particular letter apart, assuring him of the Kings good will; and further promising him, that if it should so fall out, that the King would be so disposed as to breake his faith and promise, and to interprise any thing against his person, life, lands or liberty, they should send him home safe neverthelesse: What could hee seeke more at their hands? Or what could hee devise more? And who would have doubted after such assurances? Yet, that hee might not onely repose upon his enemies credit all his safety, hee accompanieth himselfe for his honour and suretie with as many as might secure him, and keepe him free from being in danger of any private mans forces. So relying (for the Kings part) upon his safe Conduct, and the Nobilities credit interposed therewith, hee cometh to Stirling, where the King was well attended and followed by his friends and servants, but in a peaceable manner; being come into the Kings presence, after some sort of admonition to lead a more peaceable and orderly life, hee seemed to pardon him what ever was past, and kindly invited him to supper in the Castle: After they had supped cheerfully and merrily together, the King taketh him aside, and leadeth him into an inner roome, where there was none present besides them two and *Patrick Gray*, of whom wee spake before, how of his friend and Cousin hee was become his enemy, for the execution of the Tutour of Bombee. There the King beginning his speech from the valour and loyall fidelity of his Predecessours, came shortly to his owne indulgencie towards the whole Familie, and towards himselfe in particular. Then sharply upbraiding him how oft hee had pardoned him, and what insolencies hee had committed: *Douglas* answered submissively, and craved pardon for what hee had offended against himself in any sort; saying, his intention was not against him, but against his enemies: That as for others that would complaine, hee was ready to satisfie them according to justice, and at the Kings owne pleasure: There rests yet one thing (saith the King) the League betwixt you, and the Earle of Crawford and Rosse, I will have you presently to quite it. At that word the Earle was somewhat astonished at the first, yet gathering his spirits again, hee answered, that for him, hee knew nothing wherein that League could bee offensive to his Majesty, seeing that all duetie to him was especially reserved. The King replied, I will have you presently to breake the same. *Douglas* answered, that if hee would have him to doe so, hee would bee pleased to give him leave to advertise the said Noblemen, and then hee would doe it, otherwise, hee would bee accounted a faith breaker, if having entered into friendship with them, hee should forsake them, not giving a reason why: And therefore besought him to have patience. The King replied in an angry manner, speaking aloud; If you will not breake it, I will: And with those words, hee stabbed him  
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in the breast with a dagger. At the same instant *Patrick Gray* struck him on the head with a Pole-axe. The rest that were attending at the doore, hearing the noise, entered, and fell also upon him; and, to shew their affection to the King, gave him every man his blow after hee was dead.

Thus died he by the hand of the King, but by the practices of his enemies, they being the choise movers, and the king yeelding to their motions; as if it had been his quarrell, (for so they made it seeme to him) whereas indeed it was but their owne particular; or if his, it was but thus farre his, that he tooke it on him as his, espoused theirs as his owne, and imbarke himselfe therein. A common practice of Courtiers, who have Princes eares; what ever is contrary to their will, is all against the King, is all presumption, is all high treason; whereas indeed they are oft times themselves his greatest enemies, what ever shew of service and affection they make; and they whom they call his enemies farre more heartily affected to him. They make the King alwayes wed their quarrells, beare their errours, and the whole hatred and envie of their enemies; and oft times drawes him into great absurdities, besides and contrary his owne naturall disposition, to his great disgrace, or diminishing his grace, in the eyes of his Subjects, not without great perill of his life and estate. Happy the Prince that can rightly take up, and rightly discern the quarrells which are indeed his owne, from those which others would have him thinke to bee his owne, and so understandeth the disposition of his Subjects, that hee account not all that is against his Courtiers, is against him, or all that is done by his Courtiers, is done for him.

These Courtiers had gained this point of the King, and by that mean had brought him to doe that hard fact against this man as his owne enemy, as one aspiring to his Crowne; where indeed never any such thing appeared to have been intended by him, or aimed at, but onely revenge against his private enemies. And for the other crimes that his enemies alledged against him; small presumptions, cold conjectures, and no appearance there was of them. But above all this, the greatest pitie is; that they had power to bring such a King to commit such a fact, contrary to his faith and promise, solemnely sworne and sealed by himselfe, and by his nobility, to breake the bonds of all humane society. It is worthy the considering, to see their pretences and arguments set downe by Writers, which they used to move and induce him to consent and yeeld to this strange, and unnaturall fact. A Paradox in truth, though a Maxime in Matchivellisme: one of them is, Necessitie; for they make him beleieve, first that the Earle *Douglas* did aspire; then, that hee was so powerfull, that there was no other remedy for his aspiring; all they bring, is but weake presumptions: and for his strength and power, hee was strong enough indeed to defend himselfe against his enemies, or an unjust force and violence; but it had beene another matter unjustly to have invaded the Kingdome, for which hee was not so strong, as justice and a just title to a Crowne, which are of great force: and against which, that force, which otherwise and in another case may bee great,

will prove nothing, for God hath given his image of authority with it, which so affects the hearts of men, that they cannot but regard it, and this image being imprinted in their hearts is not easily abolished but by very enormous faults, and even scarce by any faults though never so extraordinary. So that it was error in them to thinke, or craftinesse to perswade that there was no remedy in a just authority to defend it selfe by it selfe, and without forgoing it selfe and becoming injustice, and that in such a hatefull manner. Whereas by the contrary, this their way was not so safe and so certain a mean to defend himselfe, but had almost been the meane to deprive him of what hee would have had men thinke hee preserved by it; that is, his Crowne, for the fact being so vile and base, it not onely moved the friends and followers of the Earle *Douglas* his house to rebellion, but also incensed the whole common people: for that if his brother who succeeded, had beene as politicke as hee was powerfull, the King might have beene set beside his Throne. And as it was, he was once in a great brangling, and had resolved to quit the Countrey, had it not beene for *James Kennedies* counsell, who was Bishop of S. Andrewes; so farre was this fact from establishing his Throne, as they made him beleieve it would doe.

Then for the honesty and lawfulness of it, it is to be diligently weighed. It is lawfull (say they) to catch fraud in the owne craftinesse. And indeed that saying is most true, good and conforme to all wisdom, being rightly understood, thus: Let fraud worke on fraudfully, untill hee be intangled and intrapped in his owne fraud, and so become guiltie and obnoxious to a lawfull and orderly avengement by justice: but that men to meet fraud, may justly use fraud, and that against all promises, seales, subscriptions, or oathes, to the extremitie of murthering, changing justice into injustice, in the very seat of justice, is not, nor ever was, nor ever can be justified under any pretext whatsoever; as being that which breaketh the bands of humane society. It is an unworthy Kingdome, which cannot otherwise defend it selfe, and it is unworthy of a King to stoupe to such unworthy and base wayes: It hath also beene by some pretended elsewhere to cover the foulness hereof, that hereby much bloudshed is eschewed, which would have beene, before such a man could have beene cut off, which I marvell is not alledged here also.

But that is frivolous amongst the rest, for it is the cause of much more bloud shedding, because it takes away all trust, and so peace, untill the warres end by the destruction of one party, which without trust cannot end by reconcilment, besides this, they insinuated it unto the King, as a point of want of courage in him, and cowardise, if hee durst not so much as deceive his enemy; whereby they would meane, that it was courage to deceive him: An unhappy daring to dare to doe wrong, and very far mistaken, and misnamed!

And last of all, they halfe menace to abandon him, and provide for themselves and their own safety, by taking part with *Douglas* as the stronger partie; whom if the King did not make away, they would follow him; and that there was no other remedy left to them.

Such

*Seventh VVilliam, and 8. Earle of Douglas, &c. 193*

Such boldnesse were they come to, thus to threaten their master, and Sovereign ! And such is the weaknesse of that place, where it submitteth it selfe to servants ! By these meanes was this good King (farre contrary to his owne nature) drawne on by them who had his eare to this unnaturall fact, as to that which was most lawfull and flat necessary, yet was neither this pretended necessitie, nor alledged lawfulnessse sufficient to defend it even in the judgement of the doers themselves. And therefore the Courtiers found out another mean to put some faire face, at least some colourable excuse upon it as they thought, for being ashamed of those allegiances, or distrusting that they would bee accepted for just causes of breach of faith, and fearing they should be detested of all men : they gave it out that the slaughter was not committed of set-purpose, but that it fell out onely by chance, and that the King had no intention to kill him, till he himselfe by his indiscretion procured it, having irritated the King by his presumptuous answers.

But this is a weake excuse, to commit murther contrary to promise, although hee had answered so : but there is no appearance of it, that it was but a sudden passion, neither was it beleevied in those dayes, as may be seen by the perswasions given him by the Courtiers : which while Writers set downe, they witness it was a set draught and fore plotted. For they say plainly also that the Courtiers would have had it appearing that it came by his arrogancy in his carriage and answers, but not that it was so indeed : besides there is a received tradition, that *James Hamilton* of Cadzow pressing in to follow the *Douglas*, *Liviston* being Uncle to *James*, and knowing the Earle was to die, gave him a blow on the face, and thrust him backe from the gate. *James Hamilton* drew his sword, which the other little regarding, held him off with a long halbert, and made the guard shut the gate against him, was exceeding angry at this affront in the time, but after when hee heard the Earle was killed, hee knew it was done for his safety. Hee had given too much matter for his enemies to worke on by his rash journey into England, and private conference with the King and Queene there : but this had beene forgiven him, as an oversight onely, which the King had (apparently) tried, and found to bee nothing else ; hee had beene vehement in the revenge of the murther of his Cousins and servant *John Auchinleck*, but that (though vehement) was not unjust, and therefore wee finde him never charged with it as injustice : hee had against equitie executed the Lord *Harries*, yet hee had done it legally and by forme, and order of Law, whereof the particulars not being perfectly knowne, the judgement is difficult, yet is it not (for any thing wee see) any way to bee excused. The execution of the Tutor of Bombee was very good justice and irreproveable, though it bred him most hatred and ill will at Court. Other particulars are not mentioned. Onely they say that hee bore with theeves to have their assistance : An ill and unwise course, and ever pernicious to the users of it, for harming of such as they hate ! A farre worse, and unworthy fact, unfit for a generous minde to companion it selfe with them whom hee should punish, and to participate of the guiltinesse hee should correct !

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But how farre he went in this point is not certain, at least is not specially set downe: and as for the speeches of his enemies reproching thom unto him in the harshefullst sort, all must not bee taken for truth they say.

All agree that he was a man of great power, great policy, great performance and exécution, and greater expectation, in whom the name of *Douglas* rose to the greatest toppe of height, and with whom it began to fall, which was afterward accomplished in his successeur, as shall bee said; he was slain the 13. of February 1452. esteemed to have beene Fastings-Eve, (or Shrove-Tuesday.) after the Romane supputation, or in the year 1451. as *Major* reckoneth it according to the account of Scotland. He was Earle the space of nine yeares or thereabout, but left no children behinde him. Where he was buried, or what was done with his body, there is no mention made in History.

*Me latho ante diem Chrichtonus Rexque dedere,  
Ille necis causam praeiit iste manum.*

By *Crichton* and my King too soon I die,  
He gave the blow, *Crichton* the plot did lay.

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*Of James the ninth and last Earle of Douglas, the eighteenth  
Lord, sixth Duke of Terraine, and fourth  
James, who died in  
Lindores.*

**W***illiam* being thus slain by the instigation of these Courtiers, his enemies, to the end that the King as they would have it thought might be established in his Crowne, by the making away of him whom they made the King to thinke so great an enemy to him: It was so farre from producing that effect, that by the contrary there was nothing nearer, then that it should have been the very occasion of spoyling him thereof; for the Earle *Douglasses* friends, who before tooke *Crichton*, and his faction onely for their enemies: Now they take the King for their enemy. They, who before thought not that what they had suffered proceeded from the King, or that it was his doing: now they impute them to him. They who before were onely male-contents, and within the bounds of obedience, and had a good opinion of the King: now they become enemies with an ill opinion of him as a wicked man. They who before contained themselves in civill termes, now become openly rebellious: & whereas they had good hope, and looked for reconciliation, now cast off all hope thereof, and (matters becoming irreconcilable) all love and regard, all reverence, their hearts being laden with the injury, with the dishonesty, with the horreur of it, they burst forth into all outrageous words, and deeds: things coming to that point, that they could not bee ended, but by the destruction of one of the parties. Either they behoved to ruine the King, or behoved to be ruined by him. And

And here the hardest lot at the first was the Kings ( by all appearance ) the power of the other party being so great, their minds so inflamed, their anger so incensed against him : neither the party onely, but the people in generall detested the fact and the horriblenesse of it, in such sort, that hee was put by all his shifts, and driven to such a point of despaire, as to thinke of leaving the countrey, and going by sea to France.

For though the Earle himselfe was dead, yet had he left behinde him in the towne of Stirling foure brethren, that were come thither to accompany him. The eldest of these, *James*, was provided to the estate three yeares before by the Kings consent ( upon the occasion of Earle *Williams* going to Rome in the yeare of Jubile ) to succeed to his brother after his decease. He therefore, with the rest of the Nobility who favoured them and their cause, having heard the report of Earle *Williams* being stabbed in that manner, being astonished with these sudden and unexpected newes, first ranne and tooke armes with great haste and tumult, but having contained themselves, and commanding their companies to be quiet, every man keeping within his owne lodging for that night, upon the morrow they assembled together in counsell, and according to the defuncts ordinance, and the Kings consent obtained thereto before, they acknowledged *James* lawfull heire and successour to his brother *William*. Then he with many vehement and bitter words, inveighing against the treasonable perjurie of the King and Countiers, exhorts them who were present to lay siege to the Castle. Send ( sayes he ) *for your friends and followers from all quarters, and let us withdraw out of their lurking holes those men who are onely valiant in perfidiousnesse, while as yet they waver, being uncertaine in their resolutions, and tremble with the guiltinesse of so horrible a fact.* They who were present praised his pietie towards his dead brother, and also his courage; but because they were come in a peaceable manner, and unprovided of things necessary for so great a worke, they abstained from the siege; which if they had ( as the Earle gave advice ) resolved upon, and fallen to presently, while the odiousnesse of the fact was yet greene and fresh before the eyes of men, the King and his partners being unprovided and unforeseene in any certaine course of their affaires, as neither able to consult, nor to meet for consultation, the Castle being inclosed, which being also ( as it is to be supposed ) not well victualled for a siege, the King could hardly have escaped their hands. Neither was the matter so difficult for them, to have remained, and sent for the rest of their freinds, and any provision which they needed; who might have come to them within five weekes, as they did themselves returne in that time, having given the King so much leasure to advise and prepare for them. Neither could the King ( for all that he had that space and time ) finde any meanes sufficient to match them. For having upon this their deliberation resolved upon the worst part, and departed to their houses, and taken full advice concerning all things; they returned the five and twentieth day of March, where all the way as they came along to Stirling, *James Hamilton* dragged the Kings safe conduct ( which had beene given to Earle *William*, having the broad Scale hanging thereat ) at the taile of an ill-favoured spittle jade, or mare, through the  
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the streets of all the towns and villages in their way, abstaining from no contumelious words, that they could devise against the King, his Counsellors and Courtiers.

Being come to Stirling, they went to the market Crosse, and there sounding with five hundred hornes and trumpets, they caused a Herauld to proclaim the King, and such as had been plotters and authours of *E. Williams* death, perjured traitors to God and man, and that they were to be abhorred, and detested by all men as such. Others write that they went to the Castle gate, and made that Proclamation in the Kings hearing, whiles he was looking on them, and that it was done the next day after the slaughter. Thereafter they pillaged the towne, and being angry even with the innocent and harmelesse place, they sent backe *James Hamilton* of Cadzow, and burnt it. Where this is to be considered, what could be the cause why these men (who before were upon advisement to have besieged the Castle of Stirling, and did not doe it then, onely because they were unprovided) why these men (I say) now being come again and provided, abstained notwithstanding from besieging of it, having nothing to let them; and which if they had obtained, they had withall obtained full victory, being masters of the field, the King inclosed and secluded from his favourers and partners, no others (in likelihood) could have made head against them; for neither could any have taken that upon them, neither would the people (as was thought) have followed them, at least not so freely; whether it was because they had no hope to force it (being a strong place) neither to famish it in haste (being well provided of victualls) or if they chose rather to deprive him of his partners abroad in the Countrey by forcing them to forsake him first, and then it would be easie to take the King who had nothing but the Castle walls to trust to, or whatever else were the occasion thereof, our Histories (very defective in this so speciall a point) tell not; But so it was, that they leaving the principall point unprosecute (the King himself wherein would have consisted the whole summe of a full victory, and to which they should chiefly have directed their courses) contented onely to have blazed his reproches, turned towards his friends, pilling and spoiling such as remained on his side, and even by this the King was so put to it, that he had determined to leave the Country and to fly into France, had not *Archbishop Kennedie* advised him to stay, and hope for better fortune, shewing him, that if he could keepe his person safe, and have patience to protract, and linger out the time a while, his adversaries faction would dissolve ere long, and fall asunder of it selfe.

Amongst those who tooke part with the King, there were diverse of the name of *Douglas*, and that of the principalls, as *Angus*, brother to *Archbishop Kennedie*, by the mother, who was daughter to *Robert* the third, and sister to *James* the first, by whom therefore they were Cousins german to the King, who was partly perswaded by his brother to take that course as fittest for him against the Earle *Douglas*, partly also accounted it right to follow him as his King, partly for kindred. There was also *John* (or rather *James*) Lord Dalkeith, who had married the Kings sister (as *Holinshed* writeth in the life of *Mackbeth*) as also the manuscript

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in this same place, and the contract with the Earle of Morton yet bearing: Also the manuscript in the life of *Grosle James* (this *E. James* father) saith, the Lord Dalkeith, (or *Henry* his sonne rather) married the said *Grosle James* eldest daughter; this *James* sister called *Margaret*: whether therefore having married the Kings sister, and so fracked on that side, or having married *E. James* sister, and being of the name, The Earle *Douglas* was so much the more incensed against him, that he should without regard of this tie have joyned with his enemies, and therefore besieged the Castle of Dalkeith, binding himselfe by an oath not to depart from thence, untill he had gotten it taken in. But it was valiantly defended by *Patrick Cockburne* and *Clarkington*, in such sort, that after he was constrained by great travell, and trouble of his men with watching, and many wounds to lift his siege and depart. The King had in the meantime convened a company of men to have releevd the besieged, but finding that his power was not sufficient for that purpose, he resolved to attend the coming of *Alexander Gordon*, Earle of Huntley, his brother in law (or sister sonne) whom he made Lieutenant, and who they said was come in with a great Army collected out of the furthest parts of the North. But as hee was marching through Angus (the twenty eight of May) he was encountred at Brichen, by the Earle of Crawford, who lay for him there to stoppe his passage. There was fought a great battell betwixt them in such sort, that *Huntleys* middle ward was almost defeated, and well nigh routed, not being able to sustain the impression of *Crawfords* army, which was so strong, that they failed but a little to overthrow the Kings Standard, brought thither and displayed by *Huntley*, had it not been for the cowardly and treacherous flight of *John Collesse* of Bonnie-Moone, to whom the left wing was committed by *Crawford*: He in the hottest of the conflict (offended with *Crawford*, because he had refused him that same morning the Barrony of Ferme, or a part thereof, which lay neare to his house) fled on set purpose out of the battell, and so left the middle ward naked on the one side of the speciall force, which the said Earle had, which was called the battell of axes, or billmen. By their flight, the rest (who were almost victours) were so terrified, that they turned their backs, and left the victory to *Huntley*, farre beyond his owne expectation; and yet, not without a great slaughter of his friends, servants and followers; and especially those of his name, amongst whom were two of his brethren. This battell was fought on the Ascension day, in the yeare 1453. hee had before the battell that same day given lands to the principall men of those surnames that were with him, as *Forbeses*, *Leslies*, *Wrvines*, *Ogilbies*, *Grannts*, and diverse others, which made them fight with greater courage. *Crawford* also lost many of his men, together with his brother *John Landesay*, so that the losse on both sides, was accounted almost equal.

*Huntley* had the name of the victory, yet could not march forward to the King, as hee intended, and that partly because of his great losse of men, partly for that he was advertised, that *Archbald Douglas* Earle of Murray had invaded his lands, and burnt the Piele of Strabogie. Wherefore hee returned speedily to his owne Countrey, which gave *Crawford* leasure

leasure and occasion to poure out his wrath against them, who had so traiterously forsaken him, by burning and waisting their lands, and casting downe their Houses and Castles. Huntley being returned to the North, not onely recompensed the dammage done to him by the Earle Murray, but also compelled him out of his whole bounds of Murray: yet it was not done without conflict and mutuall harme: for Huntley coming to Elgin in Murray, found it divided, the one halfe standing for him, the other halfe ( and almost the other side of the street ) standing for the Earle Murray: wherefore he burnt that halfe which was for Murray, and hereupon rose the Proverb, *Halfe done as Eglin was burnt*. While he is there, Murray assembled his power, which consisting most of footmen, he sate downe upon a hill some two or three miles off, called the Drum of Pluskardein, which was unaccessible to horsemen. Huntley forrowed his lands to draw him from the hill, or at least to bee revenged of him that way, thinking hee durst not come into the plain fields, and not thinking it safe to assault him in a place of such disadvantage. But Murray seeing Huntlies men so scattered, came out of his strength, and falling upon foure or five hundreth horsemen, drave them into a bogue called the bogue of Dunkintie, in the bounds of Pittendreich, full of quag-mires, so deep, that a speare may be thrust into them, and not finde the bottome. In this bogue many were drowned, the rest slaine, few or none escaping of that company. There are yet to be seene swords, steel-caps, and such other things which are found now and then by the Country people that live about it. They made this round ryme of it afterward,

Where left thou thy men thou *Gordon* so gay?  
In the Bogue of Dunkintie mowing the Hay.

These victories in the North, together with the repulse ( at least the retreat ) of the Earle *Douglas* from the Castle of Dalkeith did so encourage the King, that he began to conceive better hopes of his affaires, and by the counsell of Archbishop *Kennedie* he called a Parliament at Edinburgh, and summoned the Earle *Douglas* and his partners to compeir thereat. But the Earle was so farre from obeying, that he caused placards to be affixed upon the Church doores, and other publick places, sealed with his seale, containing in effect, that from thenceforth he would neither obey citation, nor other commandement of the Kings, nor in any sort commit his life to him, who having allured his Cousins to Edinburgh, and his brother to Stirling, under safe conduct, had traiterously murdered them without any order of law, and contrarie to his oath. Hereupon he and his three brethren, *Archbald*, *Hugh*, and *John*, together with *Beatrix*, Relict of Earle *William*, were declared Rebels, and forfeited, and with them *Alexander* Earle of Crawford, and *James* Lord *Hamilton*; and that the number of the Nobilitie might not seeme to be diminished by their forfeiture, there were divers new Lords created, and the goods and lands of the forfeited given to them.

Thereafter an Armie was levied to pursue them, their lands were waisted, their goods driven away, their cornes destroyed, and then (winter comming

comming on) because the Armie could not lie in the fields, they were dismissed, and appointed to meet againe in the spring. But the Earle Douglas seemed to make small account of all this, and that the grandour of his house (which was growne to that great height by that great marriage) might not be impaired, and that estate transferred to strangers, he takes to wife the foresaid *Beatrix*, and deales with the Pope for a dispensation, and confirmation of the marriage. But that sute was crost by the Kings Letters. I finde it in an ancient book written of the *Douglases* in meeter, that she her selfe alledged, that her first husband (Earle *William*) had never carnall copulation with her, and that she gave her oath thereupon: which giveth some colourable excuse to this fact, which otherwise is so enormous, and void of all appearance that he could have beene so shamelesse as to have gone about it without some such reason, or pretext, which therefore I would not omit to intimate, and I remember not that I have read it elsewhere. However it were, he kept her as his wife, and continued the waire that yeare, and the next two yeares, pillaging and wasting the Kings possessions, and the King doing the like to him, especially in Annandale, Galloway, and the Forrest. Hereupon ensued a Famine, and upon the Famine a Pestilence, Townes and Castles were destroyed on both sides, and no kinde of hostilitie pretermitted. The King notwithstanding caused trie indirectly whether the Earle could be perswaded to yeeld himselfe to him, and the wisest of his friends counselled him to doe it, alledging that his Predecessours had often done so; chiefly seeing he had a King of a gentle nature, and who would be entreated by friends, not to extinguish so noble a Familie, and undoe so many Noblemen as joyned with him, or to redact them to that necessitie; that they should be forced to take a course for themselves; that it would be easier for him to get some good quarters now, while matters were as yet not past reconciliation, and while his friends were about him, then afterward, when he should be deserted, and left alone: then there would be no hope of pardon. To this he answered, That he would never commit himselfe to the credit of those whom neither shame nor honestie could binde, who regarded neither the law of God, nor man: but having allured his Cousins and Brother with faire promises, had so traiterously and cruelly slain them, that hee would rather suffer all extremity, then come into their power. This speech was approved or reproved according to every mans disposition, some praising his magnanimitie and courage, some disliking his obstinacie, & exhorting him not to lose this good occasion of making his peace, which (if his friends wearie of troubles should abandon him) he would repent afterwards. He persisted in his opinion, and what for detestation of the fact, what for feare to be used after the same manner himselfe, if he should come into the Kings power (as it falls out, and must of necessity, where trust, which is the ground of all peace and reconciliation, is taken away) not suffering any thought of peace to come into his minde, resolved himselfe to trie the fortune of warre.

But the Earle Crawford being wearie of so long troubles, apprehending the iniquitie of the cause, and weighing with himselfe the common

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changeablenesse of all humane affaires, and knowing that pardon would be easily granted to him who should preoccupy the Kings favour, and uneasie and difficult to those that should continue in armes, being left by a part of his friends, and suspecting the fidelitie of the rest, as the King was journeying through Angus, he casts himselfe in his way with a habit most composed to move pitie, bare footed, and bare headed; he plainly confessed his offences in times past, put himselfe absolutely in the Kings will, commemorating the good offices done by his Predecessours; that he acknowledged that whatever had happened to him, had happened by his owne default; whatever life or fortune he should have thereafter, he would owe it to the Kings clemencie. These and such like speeches moved the Noblemen that were present, especially the Gentlemen of Angus, who although they had always followed the King, yet were loath that so ancient and noble an house should perish: chiefly Archbishop *Kennedie*, howbeit he had received many injuries of *Crawford* (or his father) yet considering of what importance it was to the King to have his owne forces increased by this accession, and his enemies diminished and weakened by want of so great a man, dealt earnestly with the King to receive him into his wonted place of honour and favour. Neither was the King difficult to be entreated, but graciously pardoned him, and restored him to his former condition both of goods and honour, onely admonishing him to doe his dutie in time to come. It is reported that the King being desirous to performe his promise (which was to raze the house of *Phineavin*, the chiefe Mannour of the Earle *Crawfords*) and to make the highest stone the lowest, he went up to the top of the house, and (according to this promise) threw down a little stone, which was lying loose above the built worke, to the ground, which is to this day kept in an iron chaine for a Monument and memoriall of this action. Some also write that the King tooke from him the lands of *Badenoch* and *Loquhabre*, and gave them to *Huntley* for the lands which he had distributed at the field of *Brighen*, as also the second place in Parliament, and honour of bearing the Scepter. *Crawford* died within six moneths of a burning feavour at *Phineavin*, and was buried in the Gray Friars at *Dundee*, in the Sepulchre of his Progenitors.

The Earle *Douglas* informed hereof, and seeing his forces decay daily, and the Kings daily growing greater, he thought he would goe trie what succour or support he could have out of England, and for that effect he sent *James Hammiltoun* of *Cadyou* to *K. Henry* to desire his help in this estate. King *Henry* considering, and thinking the occasion fit for him to encroach upon Scotland, perswading himselfe that the Earle *Douglas* his passion of revenge on the one part, and the necessitie of his estate on the other (two powerfull perswaders to move men) should drive him to accept his help on whatever termes, was content to aide him upon this condition, that he should become his subject, sweare himselfe English, and so to continue for ever; and for better assurance hereof, should put into his hands such Strengths and Castles in Scotland as he had in his custodie. Unto this *Douglas* replied very generously and honestly, "That hee would never leave such a blot upon his house, and would rather choose

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to die by what ever hand, then commit such a crime against his Countrey, for a fault done by the Prince and some particular men onely, whereof he hoped to be avenged, without that shame. This being so honest a part, and testifying so honest a heart, as some of them have not had the like, even of those who pretended to be Kings themselves ( some of whom have not refused to render themselves and their Kingdomes to the English servitude, to be avenged of their enemies, and to obtaine the Crown for themselves ) is too lightly overpassed by our Writers, without the due testimony, approbation, and praise that it well deserveth. Besides, there can hardly be a clearer argument of his not affecting or aiming at the Crowne, which his brother and Predecessours were charged with, and traduced to the King: for had he beene that way set, he would have accepted of the proffer of England, and made use of their help, which ( questionlesse ) these Kings would not have denied him, according to their ordinary practice. And how many are there that would have forborne in such power, and upon such an occasion? for although he seems to have no colour of title to the Crowne, yet men that aspire to it, doe seldome want their pretences, when they have power to search it. So that the greater is the pitie in so moderate prosecution of such a quarrell, that the event should have beene so hard on his side, which appears yet better in that which followed.

So left thus to himselfe, by the instigation of his partners, and namely of *James Hammiltoun* of Cadyou, hee gathered together his friends and followers to raise the siege of Abercorne, which the King had beset, and lay before it in his owne person. And when hee was come within five miles, or ( as others say ) within sight of the besiegers, they looked assuredly that he would, and that hee had resolved to fight, because he put his Army in order of battell, and being very ready for their part, and forward, Cadyou also exhorting him thereto, that he would end these warres with a notable victorie, to his perpetuall praise, or with an honourable death, as became his house, that he would vindicate himselfe from those miseries and contumelies; he utterly refused to fight, though he were more in number, saying plainly, his heart would not suffer him, nor serve him to fight against his Sovereign. Whereby it may be conjectured (as saith the Manuscript) that his meaning was only to have terrified the King, and brought him to some reasonable conditions of peace. But there wanted intercessours to deale betwixt them, partly because all were engaged to the one or other side, partly for that they beleaved that he still persisted in his former opinion of distrust and indignation, and so nothing was done therein by any. Others interpret it to have bin cowardize, or faint heartednesse, and lack of courage (for their words import so much) a fault that was incident to few of that stock, and we never finde it imputed to any of them against England, or against any other private enemy, neither to this man elsewhere, but only at this time. And we heard how after the killing of his brother his courage is commended, together with his piety. The reason of it hath been this; then while his anger was recent, and green against the authors thereof, he could have done any thing to have been avenged; now time having taken away

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the edge of that disposition, when he considered it was his King he had to do with, whose hand the Courtiers, his enemies, had onely borrowed; his naturall affection, and regard of a subject toward his Prince, was returned, and by peece-meal had taken possession of his heart again, as the own proper lodging where it had been harboured ever before. Certainly this refusal to fight now, and his former rejecting the King of Englands disloyall conditions of help, have proceeded from one and the same disposition of minde. Wherefore seeing that ought highly to be praised, I see not how this can be condemned, at least how they can condemn it, that do so highly respect that high place of Kings. The word also will import, not altogether flat cowardise, but a natural sluggishnesse, & want of action, whereof cowardise is sometimes the cause, but not alway, though they concur often. But there is another affection that makes men slack in action, which proceeds not either of sluggishnesse, or cowardise, but of irresolution; when a man swimming betwixt two opinions, resolves not fully upon either, and this seemes to have beene his disposition. A great impediment in his actions, and at least in this last point of such importance, the cause of his ruine, while neither his heart could suffer him to betake himself against his Prince, whom naturally he affected, neither could he digest to forget the fact done, or (after it) to commit himself to the doer. Which disposition, though it have brought out the like effects as cowardlineesse and sluggishnesse are wont to do, to wit, lingring and eschewing of the battell, yet this did not proceed in him from either of these two, but had the originall from a very honest minde to his dutie. His love to his Prince strove and fought with another dutie, which was his love to his dead brother, or to his owne honour. Out of which, whileas he either cannot, or occasion is not offered to extricate himselfe, and winde out a full resolution, he suffered himselfe to be carried unto that which he was most inclined to, his love to his Prince, and thereby he slipt and let slide through his fingers (as it were) this faire occasion which was then offered unto him, of no lesse (in the judgement of his friends) then the casting the dice for the Crown. And so *James Hamilton* told him, that the occasion was such, that if he did not lay hold of it, he should never finde the like again: he told him withall, that his want of resolution would be his overthrow, as it was indeed.

For *James Hammiltoun* himselfe left him that same night, and went to the King, of whom hee was so honourably and well received, that others thereby were encouraged to come in also. Yet others write that he was committed to ward in Rosseline for a certaine season, and afterward releevd at the entreatie of *George Douglas* Earle of Angus. However, by his information to the King of the estate of the Earle *Douglas* his Armie, how forward they had beene to have fought, and how discontented and discouraged they were with his lingring, how the greatest motive that kept them with him was their doubting of pardon for their former offences, the King caused make a Proclamation, that whosoever would come unto him, and forsake the Earle *Douglas*, should have free remission for all that was past, providing they came within 48. houres.

This being published, the most part of the Earls Armie left him, so that there remained not (ere the next morning) with him above 2000. men, whereby

whereby he was constrained to leave the fields, and his friends and servants that were in Abercorne to be cruelly slaine, and executed; for the Castle was taken by force, and demolished, to his no small reproach, in that he was so irresolute, and had not by some meane or other procured at least some honest composition for himselfe and them, or else to have adventured all. Where if he would not have taken the Kingdome, in case of victorie, yet might he honourably have set downe conditions of peace; or if he had lost the field, he could not have lost more then he did; for by these meanes, abandoned of all, he was constrained to flee unto England.

In the yeare 1455. having gotten together a small company of men, he returned into Annandale, thinking to have found some friends in those quarters, which were his own lands before; but there he was encountred by the Kings followers, especially by his own kinsman (but the Kings Cousin) *George E. of Angus* (as some write) who defeated him. His brother the Earle of Murray was slain in the field, and his other brother the Earle of Ormond was hurt, and taken prisoner; after his wounds were cured, being brought to the King, he was executed, with greater regard to this last action, then respect to his victory obtained not far from the same place, at Sark, against the English, & *Magnus with the red main*, their insolent Champion, which was so greatly praised by the King before, and so acceptable to all Court and Countrey. Such is the course and vicissitude of all humane affaires. We heare of one onely sonne of Ormonds, named *Hugh*, Dean of Brichen, of whom we shall speake somewhat hereafter in the life of *Archbald* Earle of Angus, who was Chancellour of Scotland. His takers were the Lord Carlile, and *Johnston* of Johnston, to whom the King gave in recompence the 40.l. land in Pittinen upon Clide, to each of them a 20.l. land thereof. The third brother, *John* Lord of Balvenie, escaped in a wood, and the Earle himself by flight got him to Dunstaffage, where finding *Donald* Earle of Rossie, and Lord of the Isles, he incited him to make war against the King in his favours, and after he had ingaged him therein, he withdrew himselfe again into England. This is noted to have beene in the yeare 1455. after which there was a Parliament called (about the fifth of June, or August, as the Acts beare) wherein he, and his brother *John*, and his wife *Beatrix*, were againe forfeited, and their lands of Galloway annexed to the Crowne. This *Beatrix* (who had beene his Brothers wife, and whom he had used and kept for his owne wife for certaine yeares) came to the King, and excused her selfe, as being a woman, and compelled to doe what she had done. The King received her into favour, and married her to *John Stuart* his halfe brother (by the mother) and gave her the lands of Balvenie. This *John* was afterward made Earle of Athole in King *James* the thirds time: he had by *Beatrix* two daughters onely, the eldest of which was married to the Earle of Errole. This is cast in by some in the next yeare following.

The Earl *Douglas* abandoned on all hands, travelled with *Donald* of the Isles, Earle of Rossie, conforme to their old band made with Earle *William* to assist him, and renew his claim to the Isles. Hereupon *Donald* wasted Argyle, Arran, Loquhaber, and Murray, took the Castle of Inner-Nesse,

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burnt the towne, and proclaimed himselfe King of the Isles : but his wife (who was daughter to *James Levingston*, and had beene given to him in marriage at the Kings desire, of purpose to retain him the better in duty) when she saw she could neither prevaile with him in that point, and that besides she was but contemned by him, and the barbarous people that were with him, she left him, and came to the King, who received her very gladly. About this same time *Patrick Thomson*, a secret favourer of the Earle *Douglas* his faction, though he had followed the Court a long time, slew *John Sandilands* of Calder the Kings Cousin, and *Alane Stuart* also, upon occasion at Dumbartan. These two were of the Kings side, wherefore the said *Thomson* was taken by the Kings Officers, and executed. These things being not yet fully settled, did greatly perplex the King, between domestick and forraign enemies. In the year 1457. the Earl *Douglas* came in with *Henry Percie* Earle of Northumberland to the Merse, which as they were in waiking & pillaging, they were encountred by *George* Earle of Angus, and put backe to their Camp. Being irritated with this indignitie, they put themselves in order of battell, without staying for their full companies; many of which were gone abroad into the Countrey and Villages for spoile and bootie, and so entred into conflict: When the noise hereof was carried to the eares of the forrowers, they for feare of losing what they had gotten, which was a very rich and great prey, past directly into England, without regarding what became of the two Earles. Hereby the battell was lost by the English, but the losse of men was almost equall on both sides. This victorie did not a little recreate the King, and so affrighted *Donald* and his Islanders, that he sent and submitted himselfe to the King, and was received by him. Neither was there any farther insurrection within the Countrey. Neither did the Earle *Douglas* without the Countrey enterprife any thing by the aid of England (they being distracted at home by the dissension of Lancaster and Yorke) during the dayes of this King, which were not many: for about two or three years after this, the King alone was slain by the wedge of a peece of Ordnance of his own, and with him *George* Earle of Angus hurt amongst 30000. of his Armie (of whom none else was either slaine or hurt) at the siege of the Castle of Roxburgh in the 29. yeare of his age in September 1460, some 8. yeares after the killing of Earle *William* in Stirling Castle, at which time he was about the age of twenty one or twenty two yeares.

Neither hear we any mention of the Earle *Douglas* his stirring in the next Kings (*James* the thirds) time, either in his minoritie (being but a childe of seven or eight yeares of age at his coronation) or in his majoritie; either in the dissensions betwixt the *Kennedies* and the *Boyd*s, or the dissension betwixt the King and the Nobilitie. Whether it bee the negligence and sloth of Writers that have not recorded things, or whether hee did nothing indeed, through want of power, his friends, and dependers, and vassals being left by him, and despairing of him, having taken another course, and his lands being disposed of to others; so it is, that for the space of twenty yeares, or three and twenty, untill the year 1483. there is nothing but deepe silence

silence with him in all Histories. Onely wee finde that hee was made Knight of the noble Order of the Garter by King *Edward* the fourth, and is placed first in order of all the Earles, and next to him the Earle of *Arundell* ( who is the first Earle of England ) in the booke, intituled, *Nobilitas Politica*; and the English Heralds say of him, that he was a very valiant noble Gentleman, well beloved of the King and Nobility, and very steadable to King *Edward* in all his troubles. These troubles ( perhaps ) have beene the cause that they could enterprize nothing in Scotland untill the foresaid yeare 1483. However it be, he hath the honour to be the first of his Nation admitted into that Order.

At last then in the yeare 1483. *Alexander* Duke of Albanie, and brother to King *James* the third ( who was also banished in England ) and the Earle *Douglas*, desirous to know what was the affection of their Countrey-men toward them, vowed that they would offer their offering on the high Altar of Loch-mabane upon the Magdalen day, and to that effect got together some five hundred horse ( what Scottish what English ) and a certaine number of English foot-men, that remained with *Musgrave* at Burneswark hill to assist them in case they needed. So they rode toward Loch-mabane, and at their coming the fray was raised through Niddisdale, Annandale, and Galloway, who assembling to the Laird of Moushill ( then Warden ) encountered them with great courage. The English who were on the hill ( Burneswark ) fled at the first sight of the enemy, so that the rest behoved either to doe or die. And therefore they fought it out manfully from noone till twilight, with skirmishes, after the border fashion, sometimes the one, sometimes the other having the advantage. At last the victorie fell to the Scots, though it cost them much blood. The Duke of Albanie escaped by flight, but the Earle of Douglas being now an aged man, was stricken from his horse, and taken prisoner with his owne consent, by a brother of the Laird of Closeburnes, in this manner: The King (*James* 3.) had made a proclamation, that whosoever should take the E. *Douglas* should have 100. l. land: the E. being then thus on foot in the field, wearied of so long exile, and thinking that he might ( perhaps ) be knowne by some other, seeing in the field *Alexander Kilpatrick* ( a son of Closeburnes, and one that had beene his owne servant before ) he calls on him by his name, and when he came to him, he said, *I have foughten long enough against my fortune, and since I must die, I will rather that ye ( who have beene my owne servant, and whom I knew to be faithfull to me as long as I did any thing that was likely for my selfe ) have the benefit thereby then any other. Wherefore take me, and deliver me to the King according to his Proclamation, but see thou beest sure hee keepe his word before thou deliver me.* The young man, who loved the Earle entirely in his heart, wept ( as is reported ) for sorrow, to see him thus aged, and altered in disguised apparell, and offered to goe with him into England. But hee would not, being wearied of such endlesse troubles; onely hee desired the young man to get his life safe, if hee could obtaine so much at the Kings hands, if not, to bee sure of his owne reward at least. Hereupon *Kilpatrick* conveyed him secretly out of the field, and kept him in a poore cottage some few dayes,

untill hee had spoken with the King, who granted him the Earles life, and gave unto himselfe the fiftie pound land of Kirk Michaell, which is posselt by his heires, unto this day. Some give the honour of this victory to *Cockpool* and *Johnston*, and make the number of those that came with *Douglas* and *Albany* greater, and say that King *Richard* of England blamed the Duke of Albanie for the losse thereof, and that hee discontented and taking it ill to bee so blamed, withdrew himselfe secretly into France.

The Earle *Douglas* being brought to the King, hee ordained him to be put into the Abbacie of Lindores; which sentence when hee heard, hee said no more but this: *Hee that may no better bee, must bee a Monk*, which is past in a Proverbe to this day. Hee remained there till the day of his death (which was after the death of King *James* the third) which fell out 1488. he being of a good age, and having beene a man in action from the beginning of his brother *William* now foure and forty yeares.

Some write that while he was in Lindores, the faction of the Nobility (that had put *Coghran* to death, and punished some others of the Courtiers supported by the Kings favour) especially *Archbald* Earle of Angus, (called *Bell-the-Cat*) desired him to come out of his Cloyster, and be head of their faction; promising he should be restored to all his lands, which seemeth not very probable: But that which others write, hath more appearance, that the King desired him to be his Lievetenant against the Rebels; but hee laden with yeares and old age, and weary of troubles, refused, saying; *Sir, you have kept mee, and your black coffer in Stirling too long, neither of us can doe you any good*: I, because my friends have forsaken me, and my followers and dependers are fallen from mee, betake themselves to other masters; and *your blasse trunk is too farre from you, and your enemies are between you and it*: or (as others say) because there was in it a sort of black coyne, that the King had caused to bee coyned, by the advise of his Courtiers; which *moneyes* (saith he) *Sir, if you had put out at the first, the people would have taken it, and if you had employed mee in due time, I might have done you service*. But now there is none that will take notice of me, nor meddle with your money. So he remained still in the Abbacy of Lindores, where hee died, anno 1488. and was buried there.

**T**HUS began and grew, thus stood and flourished; thus decayed and ended the Noble House of Douglas, whose love to their Countrey, fidelity to their King, and disdain of English slavery was so naturall, and of such force and vigour, that it had power to propagate it selfe from age to age, and from branch to branch, being not onely in the stocke, but in the collaterall, and by branches also, so many as have beene spoken of here. They have continually retained that naturall sap and juice which was first in *Sholto*, then in *William* the *Hardie*, who died in Berwick (who was in a manner a second founder) in such a measure, that amongst them all it is uncertain which of them have beene most that way affected. This vertue joyned with valour (which was no lesse naturall, and hereditary from

from man to man) caused their increase and greatnesse: their Princes favouring them for these vertues, and they by these serving their Princes in defence of their Countrey: Their affection pressing them thereto, their worth and valour sufficing them, the hearts of the people affecting and following them: Their enemies regarding and respecting them, all men admiring them: so that in effect, the weight of warlike affaires was wholly laid on them. The Kings needed onely to give themselves to administer justice, consult, and direct, living at peace and ease, and in great quietnesse to use their honest recreations, from the latter dayes of King *Robert Bruce*, wherein there was a pleasant harmony, and happy concurrence; the Kings (as the great wheel and first mover) carrying the first place in honour and motion, and commanding: and they in the next roome, serving and obeying, and executing their commandements (as under wheels, turned about by them) courageously, honourably, faithfully and happily, to the great honour and good of their Prince and Countrey.

This behoved to be accompanied with greatnesse: for neither could service (to any purpose) bee done without respected greatnesse, neither had greatnesse bene worthily placed without service. Their power is said by some to have been such, that (if they had not divided amongst themselves) no Subject in this Island could have compared with them in puissance. But that which diminished their power, and ruined the Earle *Douglas*, was the falling of the houses of Angus and Morton, from them to the King: for the last battell the Earle *Douglas* was at, the Earle of Angus discomfited him, so that it became a Proverbe, *The Red Douglas put downe the Black*: Those of the house of Angus, being of the fairer complexion. They might have raised (thirty or forty thousand men) under their owne command, and of their owne dependers onely, and these most valiant: for their command was over the most expert, and most exercised in warre, by reason of their vicinitie, and nearnesse to England, which was their onely matter and whetstone of valour. They who give them least, give them 15000. men, who upon all occasions were ready with them to have ridden into England, at their pleasure, and backe even for their private quarrells, and have stayed there twenty dayes, and wasted all from Durham Northward, which no other private Subject could ever doe, upon their owne particular, without the Kings Army: this power (as hath been said) they used ever well, without giving of offence to their Prince in any sort, that we can reade of clearly and expressly set downe.

Yet our Writers say, it was too great for Scotland. But how could it be too great, that was thus for the good of it? for the Kings service? for their ease? making no rebellion, no resistance, no contradiction? which (we see) they came never to, untill the killing of *E. William* at Stirling. Truly if we shall speake without partiality, their greatnesse was so usefull to their King and Countrey, that *Hector Boetius* stickes not to say, the *Douglasses* were ever the sure buckler, and warre wall of Scotland, and wonne many lands by their singular man-hood and vassalages: for they decorated this Realme with many noble Acts, and by the glory of their

their Martiall deeds. And though their puissance was suspected to some of their Kings, and was now the cause of their declining, yet since that house was put downe, Scotland hath done but few memorable deeds of Armes : And we cannot say justly, that they gave any cause of jealousie. Princes were moved to conceive it without just occasion given by them, unlesse it were a fault to be great : whether they were jealous of their owne naturall inclination (as jealousie is esteemed ordinarily to the highest places) or by the suggestion of others, that were mean men, and so envious of great men : the one inclining to jealousie, the other working on that inclination, however notwithstanding of all this, they still behaved themselves towards their Princes moderately, obeying them to warding, and after relieving to warding again, at their Kings pleasure, without any resistance whatsoever, as may be seene in the Earle of Wigton, which being well considered, the cause of their stirring, or commotion against their Prince ( which was never till this last man ) will appeare not to have proceeded from their greatnesse, enterprising against their Prince, or aspiring to his Throne, (although the meane men, and new start-up Courtiers perswaded the King so, for their owne advantage and ends) but the cause was indeed the aspiring and ambition of these mean men, who laboured to climbe up into their roomes by their decay, neither was this their aspiring by vertue, but by calumnies, and flattering, fostering the foresaid jealousie.

I know it is a maxime in Policie, and that plausible to many; *That Princes should not suffer too great Subjects in their Dominions*; yet it is certain, that without great Subjects there can be no great service. Things may be shuffed at home, but abroad there can never any thing bee done to the purpose, or of note. But now the question is where great men are already; whether it bee best thus to undoe them, and make up new men by their ruine, or not : a thing worthy to bee considered : and also, whether or not there be a possibilitie to use great men to good uses; and (if possible) whether it were not better to doe so, then to goe about to undoe them : whether also there be not in undoing of them such great hazard ( as we see ) that though it may succeed at last ( as it did here ) yet it is not so good wisdome to adventure upon it with such trouble and uncertaintie.

Truely, that which made it to succeed, was the very honest heart of this last Earle *James*; who, if either hee would have turned English, and cast off all respect to his native Prince, or entered into battell against him at Abercorne, it had proved an unwise course so to have affected the advancement of these mean men; and not rather to have used them well, that were become already great. And therefore the Writers finde no other cause of this successe on the Kings side, but the onely providence of God, who had not determined to give the Crowne to the *Douglas*, but to continue it in the right line; which though the *Douglas* did not aime at, yet being driven to this necessity, either to lose his owne estate, or to take the Crowne in case of victory, hee could hardly have refused it, if it should have come to that, but hee chose rather to lose his owne; and lost it indeed by a rare modesty, which is even

even disallowed by Writers, who interpret it to have beene fearefulnesse, or lazinesse; so hard is it to know the right, and not to incurre some censure in our actions: how ever it bee, this appeares most certain, that their meaning to their Prince and Countrey hath ever beene good, and that even in this man. Their errours and faults whatsoever they fell into, they were drawne to them by the malice of their particular enemies, and the Princes assisting, fostering and maintaining them in their wayes, thereby to undoe that Barledome, jealous of their Crowne, and that they might roigne (perhaps) with greater libertie, and fuller absolutenesse, which their Courtiers perswaded them they could not doe, so long as they stood. But it comes not ever so to passe; and though it came here so to passe in this Kings dayes (which were not many) yet in his sonnes dayes, wee shall see it fell out otherwayes: for out of these mean men (at least in respect of the house of Douglas) there arose some who proved as great, and greater restrainers of that liberty, then ever the Earles of Douglas were. So that if that bee the end of cutting off great men (to obtain greater liberty) wee see it is not alwayes attained, and doth not ever follow upon it; yea, wee shall see, that

almost it never (or but for a very short while) produceth that effect. It is therefore worthy to be examined, whether it be to be sought, or to be bought at so deare a rate, such hazard and trouble. But this is the vicissitude of this rolling world; let men consider it, and reverence the Ruler.

*Jacobus Comes Lindorensi cano-  
bio inclusus.*

*Quid rides rasumque caput, cellaque recessum?  
Quodque cucullatis fratribus annueror?  
Si fortuna volente vices sict modo Princeps,  
Plebeius: Monachus saepe Monarcha fuit.*

Why doe you laugh to see my shaven Crowne?  
My Cell, my Cloyster, and my hooded Gowne?  
This is the power of that Sovereign Queen,  
By whom Monkes, Monarches, Monarches Monkes have been.

*Another,*

Both Fortunes long I tri'd, and found at last,  
No State so happy as an humble rest.

Georgius

Georgius *Angusia comes.*

*Anvici Gallos obsessos undique latho,  
 Scotorum, eripuit te duce parva manus,  
 Te duce Duglalius, victus quoq; Percius heros  
 Militia statuunt clara trophea tua :  
 Sed consanguinei, sed quid meruere propinqui?  
 O furor, O rabies, perdere velle suos ?  
 Matrem ingrata necat crudeli vipera, morsu  
 Stirpem, quâ genita est noxia vermis edit  
 His non absimilis fueras: per te domus illa  
 Eversa est ortum ducis & unde genus,  
 Non me ventosa ambitio, non dira cupido  
 Egit opum me non impulit invidia  
 Ferre parem poteram, poteram vel ferre priorem,  
 Contentusque mea sorte beatus eram :  
 Ast Regi parere & iussa facesser fixum,  
 Fas quoque semper eras, fas mihi semper erit*

George Earle of Angus.

Thou ledst a handfull, who from death did free  
 The French besieg'd at Anwick : victory,  
 Though bloody from the Noble *Piercy* gaind,  
 Increast thy honour : but against thy friend  
 And kinsman, what strange fury turn'd thy force ?  
 What madnesse to destroy thy owne, 'twas worse  
 Then Vipers cruelty, compell'd to eat  
 Their way or die ; thine was a needlesse hate :  
 No vain ambition overfway'd my heart,  
 No love of wealth, no envie had a part  
 In what I did, I could an equall beare :  
 Nay, did not grudge though *Douglas* greater were,  
 Content with what I had, I happy liv'd,  
 But 'twas my Prince his will and 'tis beleev'd  
 Lawfull, and Justice hath pronounc't it good  
 To serve our King, without respect of blood.

*Alind*



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*Aliud.*

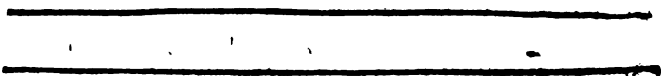
*A solo potuit Pompeius Cæfare vinci,  
Non nisi Romano milite Roma cadit,  
Duglafios nemo cum posset vincere, solus  
Duglafium potuit vincere Duglafius.*

Another on the same.

*Pompey by Cæsar onely was o'recome,  
None but a Romane Souldier conquered Rome:  
A Douglas could not have been brought so low,  
Had not a Douglas wrought his overthrow.*



*Here endeth the first Part, containing  
the History of the House of  
Douglas:*



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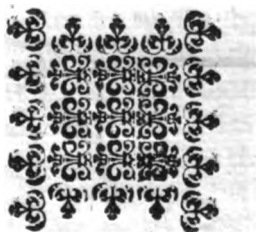
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THE  
SECOND PART  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF THE  
DOUGLASSES,  
*CONTAINING*  
THE HOUSE OF  
ANGUS.

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By Master DAVID HUME of Godscroft.

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EDINBURGH;

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Kings most Excellent Majestie. 1643.*

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TO THE PUBLIC

# THE

Number 77, April 1964

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At the same time, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* has been publishing a series of articles on the subject of "The Medical Profession and the Public." These articles, which are written by leading medical authorities, discuss the various ways in which the medical profession can better serve the public. They cover topics such as the importance of continuing education, the need for better communication between doctors and patients, and the role of the medical profession in public health.

SECRET



*Of the House of ANGUS, before it came to  
the name of DOUGLAS.*



He great and potent House of *Douglas* ( of which we may say, the best subjects that ever served Prince, the worthiest seconds that ever seconded any, worthie for their modestie to be seconded by others, second to none in all vertue, and true worth of valour, magnanimitie, kindenesse, courtesie, faithfulnessse to King, Countrey, and kinred, serving their Prince, and served by the rest, worthily served, worthy to be served, as knowers of service, and recompencers thereof in due proportion, and degree, as Charters of Lands liberally given do testifie ) being thus brought to this pitifull end, there arose in place thereof the House of Angus; of which we come now to speak, and to view in the descent of it. If we shall consider it in our best discourse, with all circumstances due to it, and compare it with the former, to which it succeeded, ballancing all things aright, we shall finde it, as not fully so great in that huge puissance and large extent of lands and rents that the house of *Douglas* had ( which did surpasse all others that were before, or have been since amongst subjects, ) so shall it be seen otherwise nothing inferiour. In antiquitie Angus is thus far beyond it, that there have been diverse Hanes of Angus ( which was a degree of honour in thole dayes equall to that of Earles now ) as also that the Earles of Angus were created amongst the first that carried the title of Earles in the year 1057. or 1061. at the Parliament of Forfaire in the dayes of King *Malcolme Kenmore*; whereas the house of *Douglas* was honoured onely with the title of Barons, or Lords. This is much preferment, yet it is more, that in our Chronicles the name of the house of *Douglas* is there first found, whereas Angus is found 200. years before that time in the 839. year, howbeit we have already showne that there were *Douglasse*s in the year 767. though not mentioned by our Writers. In blood they are equall on the fathers side, as being descended of the same progenitours; so that what ever belongs to the house of *Douglas* before *James* slain at Otterburn, belongs also to the house of Angus; the first Earle of Angus of that surname being brother to him, and both of them sonnes to *William* the first Earle of Douglas, or rather the first Earle of Douglas, being also Earle of Angus in effect; seeing his wife was Countesse of Angus, howbeit he used not the stile. By the mothers side, the house of Angus

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hath the preeminence, being descended of the greatest in the Kingdome, and even of the Royall stock, having been divers wayes mingled therewith. In vertue, valour, and love of their Countrey, it resembleth the spring from whence it flowes, and comes nothing short of it. In credit, authority, place, and action, account, favour, and affection of men, we shall finde it no lesse beloved and popular, and no lesse respected and honoured. So that with all this (both likenesse, and no great inequality) bearing the name of *Douglas*, together with the armes, and title of Lords of Douglas, the fall of this former house was the lesse felt, it seeming not so much cut off, as transplanted; nor destroyed, as transferred; some comfort it is, when it comes so to passe, as may be seen in many others.

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To deduce then the house of Angus from the first originall thereof, it is declared by our Writers, that *Kenneth* the second son to *Alpine*, the 69. King, having expelled the Picts out of his Kingdome, did dispose of their Lands to his Noblemen, and such as had done him good service in the warres. In which distribution he gave the Province (of old called *Orestia*) to two brothers, the elder of which was named *Angus*, or (as *Buchanan*) *Aeneas*, and the younger *Merns*. These two brothers dividing that Province betwixt them, gave each of them his name to that halt he possessed, and so of one they made two, calling the one *Angus*, and the other the *Merns*, as these Countreyes are so called at this present. This is the first Thane of Angus, from whom that Countrey took the name. 2. After him we read of other Thanes, as of *Rohardus*, *Radardus*, or *Cadhardus*, who slew *Culenus* (the 79. King) for ravishing his daughter. 3. Also there was one *Cruthnetus* (in the reigne of *Kenneth*, brother to *Duffe*, in the year 961.) who was slain by *Crathelint*, who was his own grand-childe by his daughter *Fenella*, or *Finabella*, married to the Thane of the *Merns*. 4. Then we have one *Sinel*, (in the reigne of *Malcolme* the second son to this *Kenneth*, who began his reigne 1104. and reigned 30. years) who married *Doaca* or *Doda*, younger daughter to King *Malcolme*, whose elder sister *Beatrix*, was married to *Crinen*, Thane of the Isles, and principall of the Thanes, whom that age called *Abthane*. 5. Of this marriage was procreat *Mackbeth*, or *Mackbed*, or *Mackabee*, Thane of Angus, and afterward King of Scotland, of whom the History is sufficiently knowne. 6. The last Thane was *Luthlack*, son to *Mackbeth*, who was installed King at Scone after his fathers death, but within three moneths he was encountered by King *Malcolme*, and slain at Strabogie. This was about the year 1056, or 57. And so much of the first period of the house of Angus, under the title of Thanes.

The second period of the house of Angus, is under the title of Earles, before it come to the name of *Stuart*. The first is, one made Earle by King *Malcolme*, at the Parliament of Forfaire, where *Boetius* telleth expressly, that the Thane of Angus was made Earle of Angus. The next is in the dayes of King *David* (called *Saint David*) in the warres with *Stephen* King of England, in the battell at Alerton, where the Generall the Earle of Gloucester was taken prisoner; the Scottish Army is said to have been conducted by the Earles of March, Stratherne, and Angus, in the year 1136, or 37, but he is not named. The third is *Gilchrist* (in the year 1153.)

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in the reigne of *Malcolme* the maiden , who did good service against *Sumerledus*, Thane of Argyle, and being married to the Kings sister, having found her false, put her to death; and fearing the King , fled into England, and afterward was pardoned. Then we have *John Cumin* in the dayes of *Alexander* the second, in the year 1239. of whom wee read nothing, but that he was sent Ambassadour into France to *Lewis* then King , and that he died by the way before he had delivered his Ambassage: *Boetius, Hollinshed.* This was about 1330.

The third period is in the surname of *Stuarts* ; of whom the first is one *John Stuart* entituled Earle of Angus, Lord of Boncle, and Abernethie, in a Charter given by him to *Gilbert Lumsden* of Blainerne , yet extant in the hands of the house of Blainerne. It is not dated , but the witnesses show the time , for *Randolphus custos regni Scotia* is one. What this *John* was is uncertain, but in likelihood he hath been brother to *Walter* (the seventh from the first *Walter*) and sonne to *John*, and so also uncle to *Robert* the first King of that Name , for so the time doth bear , and his father *John* ( or himself ) married the heir of Boncle , and was slain at the battell of Falkirk in the year 1299. This *John* was slain at Halidoun hill, together with his brother *James*, and *Alane*. (*Buch. lib. 9.* ) 2. The second is, *Thomas* ( apparantly sonne to *John* ) who assisted the Earle of Douglas, and the Earle of March in their taking of Berwick , in the year 1357. or 58. he died in the Castle of Dumbartan , having bin imprisoned there, but for what, is not known. 3. Then *Thomas* again, father to *Margaret Stuart* Countesse of Marre and Angus. 4. Last of all *Margaret Stuart*, daughter to this *Thomas*, married first to *Thomas Marre* Earle of Marre in her fathers lifetime apparantly. And after her fathers death ( who died without heirs male ) she was heir to her father by the renunciation of her sister *Elizabeth* ( who was married afterward to *Alexander Hamilton* of Cadyowe ) and so she was Countesse of Marre and Angus , Dowager ( or Lady tencer ) of Marre , and inheritrix of the Earldome of Angus. Her first husband dying without issue , she was married after his death to *William* the first Earle of Douglas, she being his third wife ( as hath bin shewed ) in the year 1381. She was a kinde Lady to her friends , loving to her sister *Elizabeth*, and a carefull mother to her sonne *George* Earle of Angus. She is never designed Countesse of Douglas , either for distinction, being better known by her titles of Marre and Angus , or because these were more ancient , and no lesse hononorable. She is the twelfth from *Bancho*, and tenth from *Walter* the first *Stuart*, and she is the last of that Name in the house of Angus. And thus much of the house of Angus in generall before it came to the Douglasses , of whom now it is time to speak.

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*Of the first Earle of Angus of the Name of Douglas. Of William the first Earle of Douglas and Angus.*

**W**E shall do no wrong to reckon *William* ( the first Earle of Douglas ) as the first Earle of Angus , also of the Name of *Douglas* , seeing he married the inheritrix of Angus. Nay we should



## 268      *Of George Douglas, the second Earle,*

should do him wrong to omit him, being the root from which all the rest are sprung. He was the first Earle of Douglas, and first Earle of Angus of the Name of *Douglas*, though it be true that he was 23. or 24. years Earle of Douglas before he came to be Earle of Angus, and that is all the difference betwixt the antiquitie of these two houses in the possession of that Name. Now that it was Earle *William* himself, and none else, it is evident by a bond made by the said Earle *William* to his sister *Marjorie* (Countesse of Marre) for the due payment of the said *Marjorie's* third, let to him and *Margaret Stuart* (Countesse of Marre and Angus) where he calls her his wife. Also that the same Earle *William* was father to *George*, it is clear by a Charter of Tutorie, and entaile made by Sir *James Sandilands* of West-Calder to *George*, in which Sir *James* speaking sayes thus, *The Land of Calder were given to my father and mother of good memorie by my Lord Sir William Earle of Douglas and Marre his father: that is, father to George.* Of the life of this *William* we have spoken in the house of Douglas, whither we referre the Reader.

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*Of George Douglas, (second Earle of that Name, and sonne to Margaret Stuart Countesse of Marre and Angus.*

1389.

**G** *George* his sonne entreth to the Earledome in the year 1389. the 9. of Aprile, a boy of seven or eight years old at most, for he was born but in 1381. which is the first year that we finde his father and his mother married. His mother resigned the Earledome of Angus in his favour at a Parliament in the aforesaid year 1389, the 9. of April, so that he hath the title of Earle of Angus, from that time forth, notwithstanding his mother was alive.

His wife  
King Robert  
the third his  
daughter.

He had to wife *Mary Stuart* daughter to King *Robert* the third, being then about 16. or 17. years of age. All that we hear of him in our Histories is, that he was taken prisoner with the Earle of Douglas, at the batel of Homeldown in the year 1402. When he died is uncertain, onely thus much we know, that his sonne *William* kept Courts as Earle in the year 1430. So he hath lived 42. or 43. years. And certainly he hath not lived long; for after his death *Mary Stuart* his wife was twice married, first to the Lord *Kennedie*, and bare to him *John* Lord *Kennedie*, and *James* Arch-bishop of Saint Andrews, who are called brothers to his sonne *George* Earle of Angus. Then she was married to the Lord *John Grahame* of Dindaffe-moore, and bare to him *Patrick Grahame* Bishop also of Saint Andrews, and *James Grahame* first Laird of Fintrie.

First Laird  
of Fintrie.

His children were *William* and *George*, both Earles of Angus after him.

of

of William the third Earle of Angus, and second of that  
Name ( of William )

**T**O George succeeded William his sonne by Mary Stuart, as all our writers do testifie, and all men acknowledge, He was amongst those that were committed to prison by King James the first, in the year 1424. After this he was employed to receive the Castle of Dumbarre, when the Earle of March was imprisoned, in the year 1435. the 29. of King James the first his Raigne, he was made warden of the middle March.

Warden of  
the middle  
marches.  
1436.

In the year 1436. he was sent against Percie, who, either by private authority, or publick allowance, had entred Scotland with 4000. he was about the same number: and had with him in company men of note, Adam Hepburne of Hales, Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, Sir Gilbert Johnston of Elphinston. They fought at Piperdain or Piperdean (as Iay Boetius and Holinshed) perhaps Harpardean by Haddington: for we see that most of them are Lowthian-men that are remarked to be in his company, yet it is hard to think that Percie could come so farre in with so few. The Earle of Angus was there victor, beginning his first Warres upon Percie, fatall to the Name belike. There were slain of the English 400. together with Sir Henry Cliddisdale, Sir John Ogle, Sir Richard Percie Knights; taken prisoners 1500. Of the Scots one onely of note was slaine, Sir Gilbert Johnston of Elphinston (Buchanan calls him Alexander, but amisse) a gentleman of singular approved vertue. (sayes Buchanan) and Boetius tells the manner, while he pursues the enemy too eagerly.

The battel at  
Piperdean.  
1436.

He over-  
threw Percie.

Sir Gilbert  
Johnston of  
Elphinston  
slain.

Before this, Archbald Earle of Douglas, and Wigton was gone into France male-contented with the government; having been twice committed prisoner, to receive his Dukedome of Turaine. Every mishap is good for some body: that gave occasion and way to this employment, for while the house of Douglas was present, who but they for service against England: who but they were able to do it? Now they being absent, who but a Douglas? A branch of that tree, and not long since come of it, especially being the Kings Cousin so near. So they begin; and so they shall continue with the like vertue.

We hear not whom he married; nor any thing of his children, save of his sonne James who did succeed to him. Neither is it known when he died precisely: onely we finde that he was dead before the 1437. the 27. of Februarie. So that reckoning from the first year of his fathers marriage ( in the 1398. ) he hath lived some 41. years in all, and 130. years Earle, from the 1424.

of

*of James the fourth Earle of Angus of the surname of Douglas.*

Dieth  
1452.

**A**fter *William*, his sonne *James* was Earle. Our warrand is a writ, where he is served heir to *William* his father in Killiemoore, of the date 1437. Febr. 27. some 6. or 7. years after the death of King *James* the first. There are also diverse other writs of this kinde extant, which do witness that he hath been, but of no use in publick, or for historie. Whither ever he was married, or had any children we hear nothing. He dieth before the year 1452.

There is one thing not to be omitted, which is a bond of *Robert Fleming* of Cummernald, to him (where he is entitled *James* Earle of Angus Lord of Liddisdale, and Jedward Forrest) to enter within the iron gate of the Castle of Tantallon or Hermitage, under the pain of 2000. marks upon eight dayes warning. The cause is subjoyned, because he had burnt the Earles Corne within the Baronie of North-Berwick, and taken away his Cattell there on Fasting-even, or Shrove-tuesday. It is dated in the year 1444. the 24. of September. This burning is a token of no good will even then betwixt the house of Angus, and the house of Douglas, whereof the Lord Fleming was a follower. Even then, I say, before the time of *William* slain at Stirling. For this seemes to have fallen out about the time of *Grosse James*, or (it may be) in the beginning of Earle *William*. But it is hard to conceive how this man (a dependet of the Earles of Douglas) should thus farre have bowed himself, and it is a token, that the Earle of Angus authority hath not been small. Howsoever, on these grounds we restored him to his own place, being left out altogether by all other that I have seen.

*of George Douglas, the second George and fifth Earle of Angus.*

**T**O *James* succeeded his uncle *George*, by the consent of our whole writers, who (all) speaking of King *James* the second, call this *George* the Kings fathers sisters sonne. So the King and he, are brother and sisters children. We need not to impugn the received opinion; The time and computation of years will admit it sufficiently, for though he were born two years after his fathers marriage 1406. yet shall he not passe 63. at his death. Neither doth any other thing that I know of, hinder us from beleaving this deduction. Wherefore we will follow them, though we have no other monument to testifie so much expressly, or to hinder him from being sonne to *James*. There is this scruple in it, that *Buchanan* calls *James Kennedy* (Arch-bishop of Saint Andrews) of greater age then *George Douglas*. Which if it be true, then *George* could not be his brother, for their mother was first married to Angus. We have monuments of him as Earle in the year 1452. May 24. and in the 1461. the last of September, and of his sonne returned heir to him in the 1463. So that he hath been Earle about 10. or 11 years;

years. But our histories say it was he that assisted Creightoun to spoile the Earle Douglas Lands of Strabroke, &c. from about 1445. or 46. years, and so his time shall be 17. years.

He married *Elizabeth Sibauld* daughter to *Sibauld* of Balgonie Treasurer of Scotland for the time, profitably, and not dishonourably. For his place of Treasurer was a place of credit and honour, and himself descended of honourable race, viz. the Earles of Northumberland; who were of that name in the dayes of *Malcolme Kenmore*, and Grandfather to the said *Malcolme* by his mother, and had the leading of the English Army that was sent in for his aide against *Mackbeth*, to the number of 10000. men. We finde also the name of *Sibards* in the dayes of King *Alexander* the second to have been in good account, of whom *Buchanan* writes that they entertained feed against the Earle of Athol, as also that the said Earle of Athol being burnt in his lodging in Hadinton, the chief of the *Sibards* whom he calleth *William*, without any further designation (*Boetius* calleth him *John*) being suspected thereof because of their known enmity, was called in question for it, and arraigned. And although he proved by the testimonie of the Queen, that he was in Forfaire at that time (some 60. miles from Hadinton) yet the Judge thought not this sufficient to absolve him, because the other party alledged that his servants and followers had been seen very many of them in the Town. And although he offered to purge himself by combat, it could not be accepted: Whereupon he fearing the power of his adverse party (which were the *Cumins*) fled into Ireland with a number of his name. By which relation it appears that this name hath been in good account, and this marriage no way disparageable. It was also profitable in effect, but more in hope, which was to have succeeded heir to the estate of Balgonie, both Lands and Moveables, she being his onely daughter, and he himself and his Lady of good age, the Contract also being made so that he should be heir, failing heirs male of his own body, whereof there was small appearance; Yet (as it often falls out in such cases, the Divine providence eluding humane wisdom, that they may know that there is a directing and over-ruling wisdom and power above theirs) that hope was disappointed. His mother in law dieth, his father in law marieth a second wife, and by her hath heirs male to inherite his Lands. I think if he had known what was to come, he would not have done it. And yet is Balgonie disappointed also, for his sonne had but one daughter who was married to *Lundie*, and so transferred it from the name, where he thought to have settled it. Angus gets with his Lady 3000. Marks of portion, no small summe in those dayes when portions were little and the terms of payment long.

His children were *Archbald*, and another son, whose name we have not. Some tell us of *James* Earle of Angus, and Lord Warden of the borders. But when should he have been Earl of Angus? for *Archbald* succeeded to *George*, and to *Archbald* his grand-childe *Archbald*. The truth is this *James* was before son to *William*, as hath been said; yet it may be that he hath had a son named *James* also, though Writers do not name him. He had foure daughters; first *Elizabeth*, married to *Robert Graham*.

*Sibard* his wife.

Original of the house of Balgonie, *Sibard*. Buch. lib. 7.

*Sibaulds*.

*Sibaulds*.

His children.

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The original  
of the house  
of Bonjed-  
ward.

hame of Fintrie; second *Margaret*, to *Duncan Campbell*; third *Giles*; and fourth *Alison*, of whose marriage there is no mention. He had also a son naturall, of whom are descended the house of Bonjedward. His daughters were not married in his owntime (belike they have been young) but their brother in the year 1476. contracts with *Robert Grahame* of Fintrie, to marry his sister *Elizabeth*, failing her, *Margaret*; and failing *Margaret*, *Giles*; and failing *Giles*, *Alison*; so soon as a dispensation can be obtained, for they were within the degrees then forbidden, she being the third from *Mary Stuart* the Kings Daughter, and *Robert Grahame* in the same degree (belike) son to *James Grahame*. The portion is 400. Marks. *Margaret* was married to *Duncan Campbell* (we know not of what house) in the year 1479. Her brother contracts for 600. Marks, and findes *Robert Douglas* of Loghleven, and *Alexander Ramsay* of Dalhousie suretie for it. Her mother gives her bond for their relief.

His person.

To return to Earle *George*, we finde that he was a man very well accomplished, of personage tall, strong, and comely: Of great wisdom, and judgement. He is also said to have been eloquent. He was valiant and hardie in a high degree. His father (carrying the name of *George* also) we saw how by his mothers help he raised and advanced the house many wayes, almost doubling the estate of it, as it was before him, this man reares it up a great deal higher upon the ruines of the house of Douglas: yet doth he also diminish his own patrimonie and revenues of Angus, whiles to gain service and dependencie, he bestowes liberally, chiefly his lands of Angus, for he redacted the greatest part thereof from propriety, to superiority onely, there being above 24. Barons, and Lords in Angus, that hold their lands of the Earles of Angus. His determination

He followeth  
the King a-  
gainst the  
Earle Douglas  
his Chief.

was fully to follow the King, though against his Chief and Cousin. But the King who had espoused the quarrell, and made the Earle *Douglas* party, was nearer to him in blood, and therefore reason inclined his minde more to him. Besides he was a King, duty required his assistance. Hope also swayed the ballance greatly: There is hope of a Kings liberality, chiefly when Lands come in dealing and parting. And he being a *Douglas*, and the Lands having belonged to a *Douglas*, he had great probability to expect a large share in them. For to whom could they be given so justly and pertinently? His brother Bishop *Kennedie* could well egge him on. There was no hope of rising for him, that huge tree of Douglas standing which over-topt all others, and over-shadowed the whole borders, and almost the whole Kingdome. He was younger (this Bishop) than Angus, but wise, vertuous, learned, and of authority: Experience also had given occasion of late to think that the house of *Douglas* drew all to themselves. The maiden of Galloway (the Earle of Wigtons daughter) was thought fittest to have been matched to some other *Douglas* being near to the Earle (as was thought then) and the house too great already in the Kings eyes, not to be augmented. But he would none of such wisdom, he marieth her himself, and disappoints them all, who could look for any rising by these means: Or in their standing in such greatness: yet the cause seems to go higher than the Kings cause. For even when the Earle of Douglas had the Kings authority

thority on his side , and *Creighton* was denounced Rebell , *Angus* assists *Creighton* against the Kings authority. Wherefore in all likelihood the courle hath begun in King *JAMES* the firsts time. Then hath the house of *Angus* entred into friendship with *Creighton* in the dayes of *William* Earle of *Angus* , which hath continued in the time of Earle *JAMES* his sonne, whose Lands *Robert Fleming* therefore did burn and spoile in the Baronie of North-Berwick. And now that course begun then, is here prosecuted by Earle *George* to the utmost point. A pitie of such dissention in these houses , or one house rather , against which if it had not been thus divided in it self, their enemies could hardly have prevailed. For it cannot be denyed but the houle of *Douglas* had great wrong , and was treacherously dealt with by *Creighton*, neither did it ever intend any thing against the King ; but the King was drawn to the partie against it : though in the good cause of it, it committed errorrs , it is to be pitied, and lamented ; for who doth not. Also *George* Earle of *Angus* declares not himself openly against the house of *Douglas* for a time. The support that he is said to have given to *William Creighton* is said to have been done covertly at the spoiling of Strabroke and Abercorne. Neither after that, untill such time as the King declared himself openly , slew *William* Earle *Douglas* at Stirling , and made open Warre against *JAMES* who succeeded to him. Then he also declared for the King , and bent his whole force and power to aide him. He had that same year before 1452. the 24. of May, taken a course for keeping good order in his Countrey of Liddesdale , and to keep his Castle of the Hermitage safe for him , and that his folks should do no hurt to others , nor receive any of the enemies. He had for that purpose made Sir *Archbald Douglas* of Cavers ( Sheriffe of Roxbrough ) and *William* his sonne, Bailiffs of Liddesdale , and keepers of the Castle, who undertook , and bound themselves to do what we have said , for which he allowed them a large recompence and reward , as the Indenture thereof ( yet extant ) doth testifie. He is stiled in it Warden of the east marches , *William* Earle of *Douglas* being then alive. Some give unto him the honour of the battell in which the Earle *Douglas* was defeated in Annandale , where the Earle *Murray* was slain , and *Ormond* taken in the year 1455. Others attribute all to the Lord Carlile, and Johnston.

But however that was , in the year 1457. he defeated the said Earle, and *Henrie Percie* Earle of Northumberland on the east border ( which was his wardenrie ) in a bloody battell. For the Earle of *Douglas* , and Northumberland ( a fatall Warriour to the *Douglasse* ) having conveened an Army , and come to the Merse , began to spoile and burn the Countrey. But the Earle of *Angus* set upon the Forragers and drave them to the hoast. The Earles moved with this indignitie ( though many that were gone out to forrage were not yet come in ) advanced and presented him battell , which he also accepted. After a sharp conflict on both sides with a greater courage and spite than strength, the victorie, which a long time was doubtfull which way to incline , at last fell to the Earle of *Angus* , not without some losse. The number of the slain was equall , but the English were put to flight , and many of them made prisoners. A

1457.  
He over-  
throws the  
Earle *Douglas*  
& *Percie* in a  
blondie battel  
in the Merse.

chief cause of this defeat was the suddennesse of the enemy in giving battell, and his not staying for the rest that were abroad, and had been sent out to forrage the Countrey. For they being laden with bootie, when they heard the noise of the fight, were so farre from coming to succour their fellows, that for fear of loosing what they had gotten, they took their way directly home into England. This victorie did not a little recreate the King, being wearied both with civill and forraine Warre. For this service, which was exceeding pleasing and acceptable, the King gives him a new Charter of the Lordship of Douglas, upon a resignation, which he had gotten before when the Earle *Douglas* was forfeited. What other Lands he got we have no speciall mention.

So the Earle *Douglas* being now forfeited, his brother slain, himself banished, and with small either effect, or effort, entertaining hostility by small incursions, rather than doing any thing for the advancing of his main businesse, the face of the world was quite changed. The Earle of Angus was now made Lord of Douglas; and howbeit he came somewhat short of that huge greatnesse and puissance of the former, yet was he nothing inferiour in place of authority, in credit and account, in action and employment, as we said in the beginning. Nothing was done but by him, and under his shadow. Bishop *Kennedie* had the greatest vogue; he upheld the Bishop by his power, and by him men did come to finde favour, and did seek to have credit. We will set down two examples for all the rest, but those remarkeable, and sufficient to show of what great account and authority he hath been. The one is of our own Nation, the other of a Forrainer.

The first is in the same year 1457. the 13. of May. We heard of *James* Lord *Hamilton* a faithfull, franke, and forward friend for the Earle *Douglas*, so long as he was a friend to himself by any action. He leaving himself, *Hamilton* also left him: I mean, seeing the Earle had lost that so fair occasion (if not to cast the Dice for the Crown, as the Lord *Hamilton* said to him) yet to cast the Dice for the victory, and to give or take conditions of peace, which he had at Abercorne, being moe in number than the King; the Lord *Hamilton* was come in to the King upon this, that same night. He was received by the King, but not greatly credited, for he was committed to Rosselin (a Castle then of the Earle of Orkneyes) and afterwards (say our writers) freinds interceding for him, he was released out of prison, and received into most inward friendship. Thus farre they go, but what friends these were, or how the friendship was made they do not tell. The Earle of Angus evidents tell us; and show that it hath been he that did him this friendly office. For whether before to move him to intercede for him, or after in token of thankfulness (though it be most likely it was after, because it is done at Tantallon, which must be after his releasement out of Rosselin) he giveth to this Earle *George* a memorable remembrance. He, I say, being a noble man, and a notable active man besides, gives him his bond of service (or Man-reid) and that in ample forme, and submisive terms, excepting none but the King and Queen. And that I may not seeme to speak without a warrant in so great a matter, scarce to be beleaved of some, and that I do rather



ther amplifie things than set down the naked truth , I will set down the very words of the band, as it is extant in the hands of the Earle of Angus, which now is copied word by word, that every man may judge of it, as he thinks good.

Bond of Man-  
reid and ser-  
vice by the  
Lord Hamil-  
ton to him,

*Be it knowne to all men by this present Letters , me James Lord Hamilton, &c. to be comen, and by these presents to become Man of speciall service and retinue, for all the dayes of my life-time, to an high and mighty Lord George Earle of Angus, Lord Douglas, and Warden of the East and middle marches of Scotland, foregainst England. Before, and against all them that live, or die may; mine allegiance to our soveraigne Lord the King, and my band of service to our soveraigne Lady the Queen Mary now present, allanerly out-tane. Promising all and sundry dutifull points in bands of retinue contained, to observe and keep to my Lord foresaid, as effeirs, for all the said time. In witnesse of the which thing I have gard set my seale. At Tantallon the 13. day of the moneth of May, the year of our Lord 1457, &c.*

It hath been no small matter, nor small authoritie of him to whom it is given , that hath moved such a man to give such a Band. His credit hath been great , and *Hamilton* hath either received great benefit at his hand, or expected to receive some. I take it, that he hath procured his libertie, and obtained to him that favour in Court that our Writers speak of, to be of the Kings inward friends. I suppose also that kinned hath been of some moment to move him to it. The reason of my conjecture is, because we have heard before , that *Elizabeth* , sister to *Margaret* ( Countesse of Marre and Angus, and Grandmother to this Earle *George* ) was married to Sir *Alexander Hamilton* of Cadyow ( as some call him ) by which mean this *James* Lord Hamilton might be third from her, and the Earle of Angus and he Cousins twice removed, or fourths in kin , as we speak. But this I referre to them that have the monuments of that House. However, what more honour could have been done to the great House of Douglas in the greatest grandour thereof, than what is here done to the House of Angus ? Neither is it any dishonour to him that doth it. It is but folly to think so : Houses have their beginning and growth : Mine to day, thine to morrow. This same Lord Hamilton by these beginnings, within a few years ( 17. or 18. at most ) shall lay such grounds of greatnesse, as shall lift his House above any subjects, to the very top of all, so as to have the Crown entailed to his Posteritie, and to enjoy it for a while as Regent and Governour. Let us remember the changes of the world, and the vicissitudes of Fortune, and let every man bear with patience, and hear with calmnesse, either what he is now, or what he was before. And this for the first domestick witnesse of honour and authoritie, credit and greatnesse of the House of Angus in this mans person.

The other amongst Forrainers was greater ; which is this : The King of England, *Henry* the sixth, being overthrowne, and put out of his Kingdom and Countrey of England by the Duke of York , *Edward* the fourth ; he, and his son, and his Queen being come into Scotland for refuge, he indents with *George* Earle of Angus for his assistance, to help to restore

Indenture  
betwixt King  
*Henry* the  
sixth and  
him.

restore him to his Kingdome , and bindes himself to give unto *George* Earle of Angus, and his heires, Lands lying betwixt Trent and Humber, worth 2000. Marks sterling of yearly rent. 2. That he should erect it in a Dutchie, and infest the said Earle therein , in as free Knight-service as any Land in England; and that the Earle, and his heires, should be Dukes thereof. 3. That in time of peace between Scotland and England , it should be lawfull for the said Earle, to repaire to England to his Dutchie, or to Court, or where he pleased, with an hundred horse in train. 4. And that if there happened to be warre betwixt the Countreyes , it should be lawfull for him to send 24. armed men, who should be under the King of England his protection, to gather and up-lift for his use, the rents and revenues of the said Dutchie. 5. That it should be lawfull for him, during the warres between the two Countreyes, to serve the King of Scotland ; which should no wayes prejudice him in the enjoying of his Lands ; neither should it be a cause of forfeiture or unlaw. 6. That he should not be bound to answer in person to the Parliaments of England , or any other Court of Justice; and that neither he, nor his Tenants, should be fined for his non-compearance. 7. That this Indenture should be showne to the Pope, and ratified by him. And so it was ; sealed and subscribed with a (*Henry*) as long as the whole sheet of Parchment, the worst shapen letters, and the worst put together that I ever saw. And ( as I beleve ) it hath a particular Letter of confirmation of the Pope in the hands of the Earle of Angus. It is thought that when *William* Earle of Douglas went secretly into England, that his errand was to this, or some such purpose, to have made a proffer of his service to King *Henry* , on these or the like conditions. For even then the seeds of civill discord were sowne, and began to bud forth. But either because things were not as yet come to any ripenesse , or for that the Earle of Douglas was fallen into disgrace with his Prince, nothing was done. Now about the year 1460. ( in the minority of King *James* the third ) King *Henry* came into Scotland , and did thus transact with the Earle of Angus ; A rare thing, and whereof the like example is hard to be found in any subject, except it be the Earle of Douglas, concerning the Dutchie of Turaine with the King of France, which is not unlike in many things. Howsoever , this shews how little inferiour the house of Angus hath been to the house of Douglas in credit and authority at home and abroad.

This Indenture took no effect, it being now too late, and King *Henries* estate brought to so low an ebbe, that both his friends and his fortune having forsaken , and turned their backs upon him, his aide could not suffice against the whole power of England to make head against King *Edward*, and to stoppe the current of his victories. Notwithstanding Angus gave him a taste of what he could have done for him , and shewed him in a notable exploite , how available his service would have been, if his case had not been desparatè , and past recovery. Which though it were not rewarded with a Dutchie, yet doth it not want, nor ever shall want the due reward of high praise and honour as one of the hardiest , and greatest interprises, that hath been atcheived by any subject.

The Queen ( King *Henries* wife ) had obtained of her friends in France  
a few

## Of George Douglas, the second George, 217

a few souldiers, 300. of which were in the Castle of Anwick with Monsieur *Brissac* their commander. King *Edward* following his victories, and that he might prevent or suppress any commotion that might arise in the North parts, or out of Scotland was come to Durhame with a great Army. He himself remaining in the Town, sent abroad his Commanders to take in all such Castles as stood good for King *Henry*. Amongst others he sent the Earle of Warwick to besiege Anwick with 20000. men. He had another Army lying about Bambrough not far off from this, and a third besieging another Town. King *Henry* ( and more especially his Queen ) being very solicitous, for the French men dealt with the Earle of Angus very instantly to have them relieved. He promised to do his best, and performed no lesse than he promised. He assembled to the number of 10000. horse, amongst whom there were 500. empty horses or moe (for commonly the best appointed have ever two horses for service) upon which he might mount the French-men, and bring them away. So he marches toward Anwick, and when he came within a little space of the Castle, he ranged his men in order of battell in the sight of the English Army, making shew as if he would have invaded them, or at least that he meant to bide them battell if they should offer to set upon him, or hinder him in his purposed businesse. In the meantime he sent those 500. spare horse conducted by some choice troupes to a posterne of the Castle to receive the French, and so brought them away. Some of the the English esteeming it a great affront, to suffer them to be carried away in such sort from under their noses, advised the Earle of Warwick to stay them. But he was resolute in the contrary, and told them, that he had no commission to fight. And (sayes he) who knowes what more aide these may have near hand in the parke, or some other place. And suppose they have not, these are certainly all choice men able enough to sustaine our charge. They cannot take the Castle with them into Scotland; let them take the men, I shall get the Castle, which is all that my commission bears. And so he lets them go, who returned into Scotland with the French men, an acceptable present chiefly to the Queen of England. This was a fair assay and preamble of his ensuing services, which being prevented by King *Henries* destinie, and his death, were smothered in the cradle, and his Dutchie engrossed in parchment to have lien betwixt Trent and Humber, is confined to a narrower precinct within the compassse of a Coffer.

He brings the French out of Anwick Castle.

Notwithstanding of this greatnesse and power, to make him yet stronger, and more puissant on the borders, he did excambe his Lands in the Maines and Clarberon with *Robert Grabame* of old Monrosse, and got for them the Lands of Eskedale upon the border.

He contracted his sonne *Archbald*, and his heir apparant to *Catherine* daughter to *Alexander* Earle of Huntly, or to any other of his daughters which the said *George* should choose. The portion 2000. markes, the termes of payment 10. years; 100. markes every terme. That if *Archbald* should die, his brother ( whom the Indenture doth not name ) should marrie one of the said Earle of Huntly's daughters. That the Earle of Angus should give his sonne 100. mark Land in Angus. That *Archbald*

after

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after he be seven years old shall be given to the Earle of Huntly, and the Earle of Huntlies daughter to the Earle of Angus. The Indenture is dated at Saint Andrews 1461. the last of September. This marriage took no effect, what ever were the cause thereof.

Either before or after this there fell out a dissention amongst the Estates about the choosing of a governour and protectour for the young King *James* the third. In which he and his brother Bishop *Kennedie* with the greatest part of the Nobilitie, opposed themselves to the Queen, who pretended to be Tutrix, and had now usurped that place a year, while as the Nobilitie being busied in the Warres, had no leasure to look into these things. The Queene and such as followed her remained in the Castle, and the other party in the Abbey of Halyroodhouse. A Convention being appointed, the Queene and her faction came to the Parliament house, and declared her Tutrix, So soon as this was known, the Earle of Angus, and *James Kennedie* came up to the market place, where the said Bishop declares that their intention was nothing else but to maintain their old law, and the ancient practice of the Countrey, which was that in such cases the Nobilitie should choose one whom they thought most fit to undergo that charge of governing, which was for the good both of the King and Countrey, whereas they of the other party intended nothing but their own particular advantage, as he should show more evidently, in time and place convenient. After this speech, as they retired to their lodging, they were advertised that those who were in the Castle with the Queen, were coming down in armes to assault them, or to have hindered them from making this declaration. The Earle of Angus thiaking it a great indignitie, that they being more in number, and better in qualitie, should give place to the weaker, and the meaner and inferiour partie, and that in such sort as might seeme to be a direct flight, could scarce be retained, but that he would needs turne upon them and fight, though he were not armed, as they were. But the matter was composed by the mediation of the Bishops of Glasgow, Galloway, and Dumblane, and assurance given for a moneth. After the expiring whereof, having entred into a new consultation, with more peaceable and calme mindes, both parties agreed, that the King and Countrey should be governed by foure Noblemen, two of which should be chosen out of the Queenes partie, and two out of the other. For the Queen she chose *William* Lord *Grahame*, and *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, then Chancellour; for the other side they chose *Robert* Earle of Orkney, and *John* Lord *Kennedie*, all chief of their Name and Families. Here is no mention of the Earle of Angus, which makes me think he hath died in this mean time, during the Truce, otherwise being principall of this other side, they would not have neglected him. Sure he died much about this time, which seemes to have been in the year 1462. Neither did his brother Bishop *Kennedies* businesse go so well after this. He was buried in Abernethie amongst his Predecessours.

His death.  
1462.

His wife (after his death) is said to have married a younger brother of the Captain of Crawford, and that she got from her sonne *Archbald* the Lands of Balmoodie in Fife, and that the house of Balmoodie is descended

scended of her. Which notwithstanding, we finde her binde her self for relief of her sonne for the payment of her daughters portion, 1479. as a free person making no mention of a husband. It is true he might also have been dead; then the space being 17. or 18. years. But if her sonne were so liberall as to give her such Lands, he would never have troubled her to binde her self for his relief in the payment of his sisters portion in likelihood.

Of the first Archbald, sixth Earle of Angus, called commonly,  
Bell the Cat.

**T**O George succeeded Archbald his sonne and heir, a boy about 5. or 6. years of age at the most. For in the year 1461. the last of September, he is not 7. as appears by the Indenture made betwixt his father and the Earle of Huntly concerning his marriage. It took no effect: but in place thereof he marries Elizabeth Boyde, daughter to Robert Lord Boyde, then one of the Governours of Scotland, viz. in the year 1468. the fourth of May. Which makes it seem that the match hath not failed on the Earle of Huntlies part, but on his, or at least theirs to whose tuition he hath been committed. They, or hee preferring credit at Court before their keeping and fulfilling of the Contract made by his father. But it was little to their advantage, for the next year after that the Court was changed, the Boydes were discarded; his brother in law Thomas Boyde (sonne to Robert) banished, and his wife (the Kings sister) taken from him, and his brother Alexander Boyde execute. As for their father Lord Robert himself, he fled into England. And this is all the fruits he reaps by his marrying for Court. He was by this our calculation 14. years of age at the most; and yet his Lady gets seasing of Abernethie upon his resignation the same year the 1. of May. It is not unlikely that one William Douglas of Clunie hath had some hand in the guiding of his minoritie, for we finde that the wardship of the Lands of Tantalion, and Earledome of Douglas was given to him; and he having again resigned it into the Kings hands, the King makes a new disposition thereof to Archbald, non obstante non astate ejusdem, notwithstanding his nonage, which was then 16. years - 1470. the 26. of June. Six years after, he hath care of his sisters Contracts by himself with Fintrie for one of them; and three years after that he takes upon him the burden for his mother, and hath her bound for his relief 1479. as hath been said in his fathers life, being then about 25. years of age. This dutifullnesse towards his sisters, deserves that he should be blessed with children of his own, and that he should have good successe in his affairs who begins so well.

And so it was with him: for he had by his wife foure sonnes, and three daughters, all honourably provided. His sonnes were, first George called commonly Master of Angus, because he came never to be Earle, being slain at Flowdon before his father died. The second, Sir William of Glenbarvie, who married Elizabeth Authenleck, heir of Glenbarvie. Third Gawin, who was Bishop of Duncale, a man of singular wisdom.

G g

and

1468.

His marriage.

1470.

His children  
foure sonnes.

Glenbarvies  
originall.

220 *Of the first Archbald, the sixth Earle of Angus,*

and prudence, and well lettered according to the times. This *Gavin* had a base daughter, of whom the house of Foulwood (*Scempe*) is descended. We shall have occasion to speak something of him in the life of *Archbald* his brother's son, in whose time he lived. The Duke of Albanie being Governour, having conceived some jealousie against the Earle of Angus, and the *Douglasses*, whereupon Angus was sent to France, and his uncle this Bishop was sent for to Rome by letters from the Pope, at the Governours procuring, to answer to such accusations as were given in against him. As he was going thither, he was seized of the plague at London in the year 1522. and died there; leaving behinde him great approbation of his vertues, and love of his person, in the hearts of all good men. For besides the nobilitie of his birth, the dignitie and comelinesse of his personage, he was learned, temperate, and of singular moderation of minde; and in these so turbulent times, had alwayes carried himself amongst all the Factions of the Nobilitie equally, and with a minde to make peace, and not to stir up parties; which qualities were very rare in a Clergie-man of those dayes. He wrote in his native tongue diverse things. But his chiefe work is the translation of *Virgil*, yet extant in verse, in which he ties himself so strictly as is possible, and yet it is so well expressed, that whosoever shall assay to do the like, will finde it a hard piece of work to go through with. In his Prologues before every Book, where he hath his libertie, he sheweth a naturall, and ample vein of poe-sie, so pure, pleasant, and judicious, that I beleeve there is none that hath written before, or since, but cometh short of him. And in my opinion, there is not such a piece to be found, as is his Prologue to the 8. Book, beginning (of Dreams and of Drivelings &c.) at least in our language. The fourth son was *Archbald Douglas* of Kilspindie, who married a daughter of one *Little* in Edinburgh. He had by her *Archbald* of Kilspindie, who was Provest of Edinburgh in King *James* the fifth his minoritie, and was married to the Earle of Crawford his daughter, by whom he had first *Patrick*, secondly *Alexander*, and thirdly *James*. *Patrick* was married to one *Murray*, a daughter of the house of Balbaird, by whom he had *William*. After that he married *Agnes*, daughter to the Lord Gray, and had by her two sons, and two daughters. And thus much of his sons.

Kilspindie's  
originall.

Three daughters.

His daughters were first *Marjorie*, married to *Cudbert* Lord of Kilmaurs in the year 1491. Her portion was 1700. Marks. Secondly, *Elizabeth*, married to *Robert Lile* Lord Chief Justice. Her portion was 1000. Marks; whereof 100. pounds was to be payed at the first Terme, and then 50. pounds termely till all were payed. It is with dispensation, which is a signe that they have been in kin before the year 1493. Thirdly, *Jennet*; whom we finde contracted to *Robert* Lord Harris, in the year 1495. November 22. to be married, and that he shal divorce from the wife he had, so soon as can be. That she in the mean time shall not marry elsewhere. For which cause she is inest in his Lands of Tarrigla, with the Kings confirmation past thereupon, the same year and day. Her portion is, that the said Earle then Chancellour, shall procure his Lands to be new holden of the King. This fact, for a man to contract to part with the wife he hath, and marry another, as it is harsh to conceive, so being done  
so

so solemnly by such persons, we must suppose it had sufficient and honest grounds. For certainly the Earle of Angus, being withall Chancelour for the time, needed not to hunt after unlawfull or unseemly marriages for his daughters. Some reckon a fourth daughter, whom they name not, but say she was eldest, and married to the Earle of Montrose, this Earles great Grandfathers father: but because I have not seen any monument of her, I reserved her to the last place.

He had also sundry bastard sonnes after his wifes death. First *William* base sonnes, Parkheads originall. of the Parkhead, of whom the house of the Parkhead is come, and the Lord of Torthorrell by his mother. Secondly *James* of Tod-holes: And thirdly one that (they say) was gotten in Glenbarvie, born after his decease. But this seemes to be false, because they affirm commonly, that after the field of Flowdon (where his sonne *George* was slain) he went into Galloway to Saint Maines, and lived the space of a year an austere life. Then he was not thus incontinent, if that be true, neither came he to Glenbarvie, seeing he lived in Galloway. He had also a base daughter. And thus much of his children.

To come to himself: we have heard how his father Earle *George* raised the house of Angus to such greatnesse of credit and authoritie, that it was become not much inferiour to the house of Douglas, to which it had succeeded. *Archbald* his son did no way diminish it. But when he came to be of years fit for managing affairs, he so behaved himself, and gained so good opinion of his wisedome and courage, that the whole burden of the estate of the Countrey did lye upon him alone. And for that cause chiefly he is commonly designed by the epithete of The great Earle of Angus. For as touching his Lands and Rents, we finde no great augmentation of them, save that he provided his children well. If we consider the means, it hath been his own worth and sufficiencie that hath brought him to it: for he began indeed his marriage with Court, as a fit mean whereby to rise; but that lasted but short while, as we have heard. The Court changing, it was rather a mean to have wrought him discredit. Notwithstanding of which, and though he was young himself, we finde nothing, but that his businesse went right. He got his own wardship, even when his alliance were at the hardest pinch, that same very year that *Thomas Boyd* had his wife taken from him, and married to another. His successe in the marriage of his sisters doth also show the same. Neither hear wee of any hard effect that their dis-courting did produce toward him.

It was he that was the chief actor in taking order with *Robert Cochran*, and the other Courtiers, that did abuse the King and Countrey. He takes order with Cochran and the Courtiers. He propounds the matter to the Nobilitie; he opens up the estate of things, he puts hand to work, and executes what was concluded. The rest consent, and follow, he goeth before in every thing. And even then when he did all this, he was of no great age, not above five and twentie; and yet his credit, power, and authoritie, was able to go through with it. The History is written at length in our Chronicle, we need do no more but transume it. Neither is it necessary that we do that to the full, it will suffice to set down onely what is requisite for laying open the occasion



## 222 *Of the first Archbald, and sixth Earle of Angus,*

The relation  
thereof.

1474.

*Coghran* a  
Mason.  
*Rogers* a  
Singer.

and circumstances for clearing of the fact, that the Reader may the better discern the right from the wrong, which otherwise lye confused. Thus it was. King *James* the third of that name, a man of a great and high spirit, and of a haffie nature, and prone to anger, and such a one as would not suffer patiently his own judgement to be contradicted, could not away with that freedome of speech, which he found in his Nobilitie: wherefore hee made choice of such to be about him, as would not correct, but approve all his sayings, and who would not offend him by gainsaying, but did curie-favour by soothing of him, and who with flattering admiration did extoll all that he said, or did. Wherefore excluding the Nobilitie, he was wholly at the devotion of a few of his servants with whom he advised, and consulted of all busines, and either followed their opinions, or made them to consent, and execute his will. Thus he began to do about the year 1474. having after his marriage (in the year 1470.) addicted himself most part to his domesticke, and private pleasures, seldom coming abroad, or giving time to the affaires of his Kingdome. He had gotten about him base men both in place and worth, whom he had advanced to honours, and nobilitated. Amongst these there was one *Robert Coghran* a Mason by his trade, whom he made Earle of Marre, An English singing man called *William Rogers*, whom he honoured with Knight-hood, with diverse others of meane rank and qualitie, whose chief commendation was that they were impudently wicked, and villanous. This *Rogers* is thought also to have been his Pander, and an enticer of him to lewdnesse and wronging his Queen. Amongst these base men, there was one Gentleman of good birth, but he seeing the Kings inclination, had set himself fully to follow it in all things; wherefore he had given his daughter to *Robert Coghran* in marriage as a bond of friendship and societie, his name was *Thomas Preston*. There was also a young page *John Ramsay*, who was of the same combination. These were the Kings Minions, Counsellours, and whole confidence. On these he reposed, and cast the burden of affaires. Their hopes were built upon the ruine of the Nobilitie, that by their fall they themselves might rise. These were Counsellours and Executioners of the murder of his younger brother *John*, and had caused him to commit his other brother *Alexander* to prison in the Castle, who had died likewise, if he had not found means to escape in the night, by making a rope of his bed-clothes, and so got over the wall. To these great evils there were joynd worse things. He had given himself to seek responses, and predictions of things to come, chiefly concerning his own estate, of Magiciens, and Witches. He had for that purpose brought one out of Flanders that was thought very skilfull in divining, named *Andrew* a Physician by profession, and Astrologer. This man had given the Kings Ambassadors some proof of his cunning when they went through Flanders to the Duke of Burgundie. He hearing whether they were going, told them they needed not to make any great haste, for they should hear news of the Duke ere it were long. And so they did indeed, for within three dayes they heard that he was slain. When they came home they related this to the King, extoll his skill, and instaurate his minde; which was too prone of it self, with desire to hear him.

So

So he was sent for, and being come, was presented with many rich gifts. And good reason he should, if he could withall have instructed the King how to avoide the evils that were to come. But meerly to foretell evil which could not be shunned, it was too dear bought evil tidings. Yet that is all he doth, tels him that his own should be his ruine. The King interprets it of his brethren, his kinsmen, and his subjects, especially the chief of the Nobilitie. Whereupon being suspicious and jealous of all others, he trusted none but his foresaid Minions. By these doings he makes way for the fates, by slaying or warding his brother, he irritates the Nobilitie, he suspecting them, and being suspected of them by a mutuall fear. They to secure themselves, put hand into the Courteours who were the authours of these evils, he interprets that to be Rebellion against himself, and seeks how to be revenged. They for their safety are driven from point to point, constrained by necessitie for the preservation of their lives, cast off all respect, and take Arms openly, drawes his sonne to the party (his own nearest according to his responses) whereon ensues his ruine. This is the effect of seeking to Magiciens and sooth-sayers, whereof we seldome hear a better end. And it is but deservedly, that those that leave the authour and fountaine of all good, who guides all by his providence, to follow follies and superstition, and the authour of all evil and wickednesse should be thus served. This is the effect of pride and arrogancie, that leans onely to its own judgement, and will not give way and libertie to admonish and informe rightly. Upon which, other inconvenients do follow by degrees: First with-drawing the ear from faithfull Counsellours, then giving themselves to flatterers, then entertaining of these, and rejecting and casting off others, whereof ariseth suspicions, jealousies, wrongs, injustice, from hence shedding of blood under colour of law, or without colour in open Tyranny, as no man at first becomes extremely wicked. At last followes the ruine of the authours, together with the ruine of others. To return to our point, it came so about here. The warre began betwixt Scotland and England; An Army liebooved to be raised, and for the raising thereof the Nobilitie must be convened. Loath were those new men to the work, they knew not what they might think when they were convened. But there was no remedie, their privie counselling could not sustaine the warres. That was the part of the Noblemen, and could not be done without them. So they are convened; the Army raised marches toward the borders, on to Lawder they go. It is a Town in the confines of Merle and Tivedale, which countries were both wasted by the incursions of the enemy. Nothing will make men wise where there is ruine determined. The place, the time, the enemy, the necessitie to use the Nobilitie, could not serve to admonish the King and his Courteours to give them some small countenance and contentment. Whom they were constrained to employ, they would not endeavour to please. On they go with their wonted course. The King only countenances, consults, advises with his Cabin-councell. Neglects the Nobilitie and distrusts them. It had been strange if they had not rectified it; and as strange if they had not remedied it. Now was the time or never. The force, power and all was in their own hands. They disdain it,

The King  
with his Ar-  
my at Lawder.

## 224 *Of the first Archbald, the sixth Earle of Angus,*

The Nobility  
meet in the  
Church.  
Angus makes  
this speech.

it, they regrate it in private one to another. They agree on the generall, that some order must be taken with these disorders. They appoint a meeting for advising of the forme and particular manner how and what to do. The place, Lawder Kirk, the time, next morning betimes. Thither they come at the time prefixt. Here the Earle of Angus, first in place and rank, first in credit, first in authority and their account, is also first in speech, and is said first thus to have opened up the matter unto them.

„ My honourable Lords, I hold it not needfull to go about with many  
 „ words to set before you the Estate of this Kingdome. For some things  
 „ you your selves remember, some you see before your eyes. Our chief  
 „ Noblemen are thrust into exile, and forced either to suffer intolerably,  
 „ or do unjustly. And you who are the Arms and Limbs of this King-  
 „ dome are left without a head, as a Ship without a Pilot and Master, ex-  
 „ posed to the storms and tempests of fortune. Our fields are burnt, our  
 „ goods carried away, the labourers killed, or seeing no other remedie of  
 „ their manifold miseries, have yeelded themselves to the enemy. His  
 „ Majestie in the mean time a man indeed (if he were himself) of a gene-  
 „ rous minde and rare understanding, bewitched in his affection, asketh  
 „ no advice or counsell of his Nobilitie, but consulteth of peace and  
 „ warre, of the good of the Countrey, and safety of us all with a few  
 „ base, vile, and ignorant fellows, who by relating the predictions of  
 „ Sorcerers and Magicians, fill his sick minde with vaine fear and super-  
 „ stition. And these men determine and set down decrees of our lives  
 „ and estates, who knowing that they merit the hatred of all men, do  
 „ therefore hate all men. Neither do they seek onely to lessen your au-  
 „ thority, but to strike off your heads by one plot or other. Some of you  
 „ they have already made away by death, others by banishment. Neither  
 „ do they, as commonly new risers do, climbe up to the highest places  
 „ by degrees, but they make the carcasses of the Kings sonnes steps for  
 „ them to mount upon, and water their growing honours with the Bloud  
 „ Royall it self. One of his brothers they have most cruelly murdered,  
 „ the other they have constrained for fear to forsake his Countrey, and  
 „ become a Captain in the enemies Camp. And now being rid of them,  
 „ they lye in wait for the rest. For being conscious of their own basenesse,  
 „ they cannot endure any that is excellent or eminent. Whoso hath ri-  
 „ ches to satisfie their avarice, or power to assist their bold attempts, him  
 „ they reckon for their enemy. And do we prepare our selves to with-  
 „ stand the common enemy? And encampe against England? As if a-  
 „ ny were more deadly and more to be feared then he whose greedinesse  
 „ our goods cannot suffice, and whose thirst of slaughter our bloud is  
 „ not able to quench. Now that you may know how much this inward  
 „ plague is worse than that outward foe, put the case that England (which  
 „ God forbid) should overcome, what could we look for at their hands?  
 „ what would they make the end of their hatred, or reward of their victo-  
 „ ry? The death of the King do you think, or of your selves? verily, I  
 „ beleieve neither. Our contentions have not been for lives, but for ho-  
 „ nour and empire. And a noble heart, as it is vehement and violent a-  
 „ gainst those that oppose, so is it easily mitigated by prayer and entreaty;  
 „ and

„and even with the consideration of the instabilitie of humane affairs  
 „it is moved to pity and compassion. But let us suppose the worst, that  
 „they being mindefull of our old debates, and puffed up with present vi-  
 „ctory would take the Kings life, which of these two doth deal more ea-  
 „sily with us? He that by depriving us of life, doth also take away all  
 „sense of evil; or he that reserveth that to daily tortures and torments,  
 „which next after our God, should be most dear to us? who besetting  
 „the minde with Witch-craft, do animate the King to the destruction of  
 „his nearest kindred, who detain him like a captive; and will not suffer  
 „him at any time to show his face to his loyall Subjects: that they may  
 „enjoy the comfort of his countenance, and he behold their service for  
 „his honour and safety. They are not so much to be reputed enemies,  
 „who with displayed banner profess hostility, as they who within the  
 „walls lye in Ambush for your overthrowe. who drawing away his Ma-  
 „jesties affection from his friends betray him to his enemies, and making  
 „you destitute of a leader, would expose you to the mercie of your ene-  
 „mies. Into whose hands if you do fall, though perhaps you escape death,  
 „yet shall you not eschew shame and ignominy, and which is worse than  
 „a thousand deaths, servitude, and bondage. If you get the day and be  
 „victorious, you shall not for all that, acquire that which is the end and  
 „fruit of victory, honour and renown to your King, rest and quietnesse  
 „to your selves, and to your posteritie, a flourishing and prosperous estate  
 „of your Countrey, but on the contrary a greater liberty to your adver-  
 „saries for the present, and greater security for the time to come, ruine  
 „and destruction to your selves; and to your King a worse slavery. So  
 „that by vanquishing you shall not be so much freed from troubles  
 „abroad, as you shall increase your miseries at home. Wherefore my o-  
 „pinion is, to speak it in a word, that first we shake off this yoke of servi-  
 „tude at home; before we enter into fight with the forraine enemy.  
 „Otherwise all of us shall be slaves to the will and pleasure of a few, we  
 „shall strengthen our enemies, and become Tributours to the common-  
 „wealth. What you shall resolve to do, I pray God to prosper.  
 When the Earle had ended his speech, there arose a confused murmur  
 throughout the whole Assembly, for they had not the patience to give  
 their votes in order but all cryed out together, testifying their approba-  
 tion and assent to his speech and opinion. Amongst others there present,  
 the Lord Gray was one, whom some would have to be he that slew  
 the Earle of Douglas at Stirling, commonly called Cow-Gray. But if it  
 were he, he behoved to be of great age now, and of greater at the battell  
 of Bannock-burne, where he is also said to have been: wherefore I take  
 it rather that this hath been his son. However, the Lord Gray heard all,  
 „and seeing their forwardnesse, craved audience and told them the Apo-  
 „logue of the Mice; who consulting in a publick meeting, how to be sure  
 „from the Cats surprizing of them, found out a very good way, which  
 „was to hang a bell about her neck, that would ring as she stepped, and  
 „so give them warning of her approach, that they might save them-  
 „selves by flight. But when it came to be questioned who would under-  
 „take to tie the bell about the Cats neck, there was never a mouse durst

The Lord  
Gray his  
speech

cheep

## 228 *Of the first Archbald, and sixth Earle of Angus,*

Angus called  
Bell the Cat.

„cheep or undertake it. The Earle of Angus understood his meaning, and what application was to be made of it; wherefore he answered shortly, I will *Bell the Cat*; and what your Lordships conclude to be done, shall not lack execution. For this answer, he was alwayes after this named *Archbald Bell the Cat*. And so they concluded; that these wicked Counsellours, and their Complices the Courtiers of the same qualitie, and stamp, should be brought to judgement, and punished according to their deserts. In the execution whereof their main care was that no inconvenient should come to the King, which because it might fall out in a tumult, they ordained that the Army should lye quiet, and onely the Noblemen with their household servants should go to Court, and apprehend them as peaceably and calmly as possible they could. After the meeting was broken up, as they were going along, they encountred by the way with *Robert Cochran*, whom the King (informed of their meeting) had sent to know what the matter was: For it seemed to be some businesse of moment, and great importance that had moved such men to convene at such an houre, so early in the morning. He had about his neck a gold chain of great weight, which the Earle of Angus took hold of, and straining it a little, This chain, said he, doth not become a man of your rank, but I shall ere long give you one that will become you to weare farre better, and so pulling the chain from his neck, he delivered him to one of his men to be kept sure. After that he went on to the Kings lodging, where the Guard and others that were present astonished with the suddenesse of his coming, or reverencing the dignitie and majestie of his person gave place, and shrank away, so that the rest were easily apprehended without resistance or tumult. Onely *John Ramsay* fled to the King, and clasped his arms about his middle; and at the Kings request was pardoned in respect of his youth which excused his errours, and seemed to promise for him, that he would do no more so. The rest were led forth, and accused. 1. Of causing kill the Kings brother *John*. 2. Of inciting the King, and animating him against his other brother *Alexander Duke of Albaine*, so as to banish him: 3. Of sowing dissention betwixt the King and his Nobles. 4. Of drawing him to superstition, witch-craft, and magick to the offence of God, and slander of Religion. 5. Of perswading him to coyne a certain kinde of brasse, coyne of no value, which the people called the black coyne, which fact of all other was most odious to the vulgar. For hereupon had ensued great dearth of corns and victuall, whileas the owners did choole rather to suffer their graine to rot in their Garners, then under the name of selling to give them to the buyers, for so they thought it to be a gift, and not a sale. Their accusations were no sooner read, but all cryed out against them; and so they were condemned to be hanged over the bridge of Lawder. That sentence pronounced, was so acceptable to all that heard it, that they ran and brought their horse halters, and bridle reines to serve for ropes, and strive who should have the honour therein, the whole Army, and Nobilitie concurring and assisting at their execution. And thus they did remove those men, whom the good of the King, of the Nobilitie, and whole Countrey required necessarily to be removed from their Prince. Yet it was done with as great respect

*Cochran* and  
his fellows  
hanged.

spect to himself, as it could be in such a case, where matters were to proceed contrary to his minde. They offer his person no violence, they do not mis-behave themselves in words: they are carefull it be not done by any in a tumult, and therefore come accompanied with the fewer number. They grant his desire when he did interceed for one of the guiltie, which shewes how willing they would have been to have granted the rest also, if it could have been done safely. A very remarkable and rare example of carefulnesse of the Common-wealth, joyned with all modestie, love, and dutifulnesse towards their King. Their behaviour was just such as Lawyers prescribe in such cases, who accounting the person of the Prince sacred, and not to be touched any way, do allow that their wicked counsellours and abusers only be taken order with, where the good of the Countrey enforceth it. Wherein the Earle of Angus being the principall actour, the chief commendation thereof can not be taken from him; the praise, I say, not onely of wisdom in propounding, and perswading, of courage and resolution in under-taking, but also of discreet moderation, and dutifull regard to the King, in performing of this action without tumult, or uprore. Happie had the King been, if he could have taken it up rightly, and as he saw how far his wicked abusers were hated, he had also read their love and regard of his person, that appeared in every act of this Tragick Comedie, written in fair and Capitall Letters. He made show, as if he had taken all in good part, but it was not in sinceritie. He accounted it high treason and rebellion, and set his minde wholly on revenge. He saw what was done to his Courtiers, but he would not see the respect carried to himself; for upon this occasion the Army dissolving, so soon as he came to Edinburgh, and found himself at libertie, he retired to the Castle with a few of his familiar friends, as not daring to trust his Nobilitie. Which when they perceived, they had their private meetings and consultations apart. Hereupon his brother *Alexander* moves the King of England to send an Army with the Earle of Gloucester, hoping to do somewhat for himself. And so he doth; for the Nobilitie sent for him, and made him chief man of the party, under the name of Generall Lieutenant of Scotland. The King remained in the Castle, from whence he is brought out, and restored to his own place, his brother endeavouring by modestie to approve his uprightnesse, and banish all jealousies by his actions. But all would not do; he continues his jealousie, and the effects of jealousie, an evill minde, and ill-will. Intends to make him away, some say by poison; whereof he being advertised, with-drawes himself again into England; and that he might be the more welcome thither, he put the Castle of Dumbar into their hands. Neither doth he bear any better mind toward the Nobilitie; but still intends their ruines, making up a heap of crimes, calling all their proceedings and actions rebellious. And after a short while, the Courtiers began to follow the foot-steps of those that had gone before them, and nothing terrified with the example of their end, began to trade the same path that they had done. *John Ramsay* (who was pardoned at Lawder) procured an edict from the King, that none but he and his followers should go armed in those places where the Kings Court did converse. The King thought

The Army  
dismissed, the  
King comes  
to Edinburgh.

H h

it was



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it was hard for him to deale with them all at once, therefore they must be divided. For this effect he insinuates himself, and becomes very familiar with a part of them, and advanceth them to honours. He makes the Earle of Crawford, Duke of Monrosse, a great and powerfull man. But who was so fit for his service as the Earle of Angus? he makes as if he were fully reconciled to him, hath him continually about him, countenanceth him every way, communicates with him his most secret affairs, some say he made him Chancellour, but the Chancellour (*Andrew Stuart* Lord of Evendale) was even now living, at the coming in of *Alexander* Duke of Albanie; neither hear we of his death, neither do we finde in old Evidents, that the Earle of Angus is entituled Chancellour, before 1493. which is after this Kings death, in King *James* the fourth his time, though we have Evidents of the year 1488. and 89. To him the King opens his mind so far, as finding that the principal of the Nobility were in Edinburgh the K. sends for Angus to the Castle, tells him that now he hath a fair occasion to be avenged of his enemies, that he would cause seize and apprehend them: for if the Leaders and Chief of the Faction were once cut off, the rest would not dare to stirre: that if he should neglect this opportunitee, he could hardly look for the like hereafter. Some say, that he purposed to have invited them to a supper in the Castle, and so to have laid hands on them, others say, that he meant to have caused take them in their lodgings in the night, which is not unlikely. The Earle of Angus, though he were no very old Cat (some 31. or 32.) if that was 1486. as it should seem, yet was he too warie and circumspect to be drawne by a straw. He knew himself to be as guilty as any of them, and as much hated for his guilt. But he was now within the Castle, and had need to carry himself wisely. To refuse, might endanger his life; to consent he could not, it was so grosse and foule. Wherefore he frames his answer after such a kinde, as might be both safe for himself, and no waies prejudiciall to the rest. He tells him what a disgrace it would be for him, if without order of law he should (all of a sudden) bring so many Noblemen to the scaffold without a crime, to whom he was but lately reconciled, and had promised remission of all that was past, especially at such a time when they trusted to the publick assurance given them for their securitie. Neither will those that remain, said he, be terrified, and dismayed with the death of these few, but be irritated and driven to despair, and so to greater violence. But if it will please your Majestie to follow my advice, I shall tell you a better way to give you satisfaction. Do but charge and summond any of them at any time to under-lye the law, and I with my friends and followers shall bring them in by force openly, and in fair day light, to what place you please, where execution may be done according to law, which is not onely more safe, but more honourable, than either to betray them under colour of friendship, and feasting, or to invade them in the night, as if they were set on by thieves, and robbers. This being spoken with that grace and courage wherewith he used to accompanie his actions, the King acknowledging it was true that he said, and knowing he was able to performe what he promised, supposing he spake in sinceritie, gave him many thanks, and having loaded



loaded him with as many promises, dismissed him. As soon as he was come to his lodging, he revealed all to the Noblemen, and withall went himself out of the Town. From that time forth there was no more peace. The Kings counsell being revealed, he distrusted all men. The Nobilitie seeing his resolution to ruine them, and that there was no trust to be given to his words, despairing of concord; whereas they had before sought his amendement, and not his over-throw, retaining ever a dutifull love and regard to his Person, now they set themselves, and lay all the plots they can how to undo him. Yet can they not be alienated from the race of their Kings. His son had not offended, and fell to succeed. They affect him for their Captain. He is also most acceptable, and most agreeable to the people, and so fittest for them. Others might be suspected, envied; or mis-interpreted. Wherefore they allure him to their partie by his keepers, and his keepers perswade him by feare of being disinherited, and put besides his succession to the Crown. And now the parties are adressed, the King and his own son. There was divers times mention of peace, but where all trust was taken away, it could not be established. They send the King word flatly, they could not give credit to his promises. And so there was no way to mediate a peace, but by his dimission of the Crown to his son. That condition was intollerable; he aggravates it to forrain Princes; and to the Pope, shewing what an ill president it was for all Princes. But before any help can come from thence, the Lords make haste to come to a conclusion, which fell out according to their desire. The Kings Forces lay most part beyond Forth, and in the Northerne parts. For conveneing of them, Stirling was the fittest place. Thither he takes his way with the Forces he had: The Nobilitie following as near as they could come to him. Yet was he gone before them, and might first have come to the Castle. But being excluded by the keeper, he is constrained to hazard the battell at Bannock-burn. There, having overthrown the vanguard of the enemy, he was overthrown by the Anandale men, & west-borderers that bare longer spears than they that were on the Kings side. The King himself hurt with the fall of his horse, and wounded in the right arme, fled unto a water-mill that was near unto the place, with intention to have fled to his Ships. But he was perceived, and known by the partisans of his Guard, that stuck to him (which were trimmed with white fringes or fasses) and followed by *Patrick Lord Gray*, and *Stirling (of Keir)* and a Priest named *Borthwick*. Which of these, or if all of them fell upon him it is uncertain, but there he was slain by them. Fame layes it most on the Lord *Gray*, who if it were *Cave-Gray*; it seemes his apprenticeship and his practice in his old age have been very sutable. For he it was that slew *William Earle of Douglas* at *Stirling*, under this Kings father 35. or 36. year before this. He hath put a long time between his assay, and his master-piece, and gone too high in it. If it was his son, he hath followed well his fathers example, and gone beyond him also. All this while the Earle of *Angus* part was honourable and kindly, his heart could not digest the slaughter of his King. He sought his own safety, and to shorten the reins of his unbridled minde, but for his life, he neither sought it, nor could he suffer it to be

Plot against the King.

The K. sonne head of the faction of the Nobles against his father.

Battell at Bannock-burne.

The K. slain.

H H 2

taken

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taken so farre as he could hinder it. Wherefore seeing the victorie to be on their side, he cryed out to save the King, attesting all for their love to God; and for their respect to the young Prince his sonne, that they should do him no harm. This was cast in his teeth by the way of reproach as childishnesse, or too much tendernesse of heart at such a time, by the Lord *Gray*. There were slain on the Kings side the Earle of *Glenearne* (and a few of his fellows) the Earle of *Angus* married his daughter three years after, to *Robert Lord Kilmaurs* son or rather Grand-child to this Earle of *Glenearne*. This happened 1488. the 28. of King *James* Raigne, and 35. of his age.

1488.

But the Warre did not end with the death of the King. The old Kings faction was rather scattered than broken, chiefly his Navy and Sea Forces, of which the Captain (*Andrew Wood*) stood out obstinately. In the North the Lord *Forbes* had gotten the Kings bloody shirt, & carrying it upon a spears point like an ensigne, through *Aberdene* and other Towns stirred up all he could to revenge the Kings slaughter. In the Westerne parts of the Kingdome, the Earle of *Lennox* assembled his power, and divers moe with him did send their messengers to and fro, exhorting the people every where not to suffer so detestable a murder un-revenged; forbidding them to scarre at the shadow of the present Kings authority, whom these Parricides did detaine a captive to countenance their wickednesse, he being rather a prisoner than a Prince, the whole power resting in the hands of the *Douglasses*, *Humes*, and *Hepburnes*. That even in that regard they would take Arms to free him from their tyrannie, who would make the World beleieve that he being but a childe of 15. years of age were so unnaturall as to allow of his fathers murder. Besides all this the English made some trouble by Sea with five Ships, which lay in the mouth of *Forth*, and not onely infested the Merchants and such as did trade by Sea, but also many times came a Shore, and pillaged the Countrey. These were prognosticks of a storm arising, and of a tempest as great as had been from the West, from the North, and from the Sea. But these dropping Clouds which threatned an after-clap were quickly dispersed by the prudent handling of the other party. *Andrew Wood* was intreated, and brought not onely to be no enemy, but also to set up-

Five English  
Ships taken by  
*Andrew Wood*.

A Parliament  
at Edinburgh  
6. November  
1488.

on the English Ships, which he did with his own two onely, and brought in the five English to *Leith*. *Lennox* was defeated by the Lord *Drummond*, whose daughter *George* master of *Angus* had married: and the Northern men hearing of it sat quiet, and stirred not. And for conclusion a Parliament was held at *Edinburgh* the 6. of November, where all that was done at *Bannock-burne* was decerned to be good service, and that those that were slain there, were slain through their own default, and that those that had taken Arms against them were free from all crime. This had been done before in the Parliament when the King was crowned, but there were so few present then, that they thought it necessary to renew it here, where both parties were present. And so it was not onely enacted, but subscribed by all that had vote in Parliament. Thus did *Angus* with the rest of his associates governe those matters which seemed to be very hard to settle, both wisely and moderately. For they used not their

their victory and power either cruelly or covetously. They forgave sincerely those that came in and yeelded, and punished gently the more obstinate, fining them in their goods, or taking from them some portion, or parcell of their Lands and Possessions; but there was no man ruined, or wholly undone by them; And so they both pacified things, and did not much displease the parties, who bare it patiently when they called to remembrance for what small faults, and upon what slight pretences men were turned out of their whole Estates in the late Kings time. By these meanes they procured a true and sincere peace among the Subjects, strengthened with a generall love and submission of both parties to the King. And to confirme all the two principalls of the other party *Lennox* and *Forbes* came in, and were received into favour: Many attribute the commendation of all this to the King himself, whose inclination (it cannot be denied) was good; but to speak the truth, as it is, he was but young, and not a Guider, but guided, even by the confession of the adverse partie. Neither could he of himself have carried things so wisely, for all his good disposition; neither was he able to have done it, though he had been skilfull, if there had not been great moderation in those that were about him. Wherefore seeing both common report, and our Histories also make our *Douglasses*, *Humes*, and *Hepburnes*, the chief authors and actors in these matters; I see no reason why we should defraude them of their due commendation of being men that were dutifull to their Countrey, and withall very respective to their King, having laboured all they could to reclaim him, and after he had shut himself up in the Castle, restoring him to his full authority, and even when he was seeking their lives, they did tolerate him a good while, being very loath to come to extremity. And last being forced to it by necessitie for the preservation of their own lives, they had regard to the race of their Princes, yea to himself, and his life in the greatest heat of the battell, ever willing and desirous to save him. And then after the victorie, we see how moderate they were against their detractours, slanderers, and profest enemies that had taken Arms against them, how meek in bearing with them, how carefull too, with calmnesse to reconcile them, how gentle in using of them, how wise and prudent in the whole progresse of pacification. And above all the moderation of their desires is to be remarked; for they did neither increase their estates, nor enrich themselves on whit, by spoiling or violent seizing of any mans Lands or Goods. The Earle of Angus was made Chancellour. But that was after the death of the Lord *Broodale*, and so it was not taken from any other man, neither was there any wrong in it. And on whom could it have been so well bestowed? who was so fit for it? and who so worthy of it? Besides, it seemes that he got it not in the Kings minority, when he had all power in his own hand under the shadow of the Kings name, and so might have extorted it from the King in those troublous times; for he is never termed Chancellour untill the year 1493. which was 5. years after Bannock-burne, and then all the troubles were quieted and pacified, and the King came to be 20. years of age, able to guide his affairs by himself. The Lord *Hume* is also made great Chamberlaine of Scotland, yet that was also in the Kings power to give,

Chamberlain.  
Lord Hume

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give, and belonged to no man. What other casualty, or benefite they acquired by the Kings liberality, we finde not, unlesse it were the Guardianship of the inheritrix of Glenbarvie, which Angus got, whom he married to his son *William*. But suppose they did get any such thing, yet was it without injury to any man and un-reproveably. Wherefore we may say justly, that no Princes minority was ever so moderately and innocently, so justly, wisely, and prudently guided amongst so great troubles and grounds of dissention. This made them that they feared no man, having offended no man, but were even secure in the Kings presence, notwithstanding that he had enjoyned himself a pennance, for being accessarie to his fathers death, which was the wearing of a chain of iron about his middle in stead of a girdle, to which he added every year a new link or ring. Not the lesse of all this, they were never afraid of the King nor jealous of him, but interpreted this well, and took it in good part, not onely because they trusted to the Kings gentle disposition, or because they confided in their own Forces, as being of the stronger faction; but also because they reposed on the conscience of their fact, the necessity of doing what they had done, and innocencie every other way towards every man.

Angus Chancellour.

From this time the Earle of Angus continued Chancellour, so named in all Writs and Indentures untill the year 1496. the 14. of January, at which time he contracts his daughters to the Lord *Harris*, and the Lord *Lile*. He indents with *Hugh Douglas* Deane of Buchan, and sonne to the late Earle of Ormond, in two severall Indentures, whereof the condition of the one is to pursue for the lands of Evendale in the year 1493. the other in the year 1496. the 14. of January, is to this purpose; That the said *Hugh* shall pursue for Glenwhome, Gladstones, and any other Lands pertaining to the Earles of Douglas, Lord of Evendale, or his father the Earle of Ormond, and that having obtained them he shall resigne them in favour of the Earle of Angus. Other things remarkeable we have none, untill about the time of the Field of Flowden, which makes it seem to be probable (which some allege) that all this time he was confined in Arrane. The pretended cause (as they say) was secret intelligence with King *Henry* of England, but the true cause (they say) was his taking *Jeane Kennedy*, daughter to the Earle of Cassils out of Galloway, to whom the King bare affection, and to whom the Earle gave insettingment, and seizing of the Lands of Bothwel, although he never married her. As touching the pretended cause it hath no appearance at all, seeing there was alwayes peace and friendship betwixt us and both the *Henries* (the 7. and 8.) untill the warre was denounced, or a very short time before. And concerning that of *Jeane Kennedy*, we have a note of an Indenture betwixt Angus Chancellour, and the Lord *Kennedie*, but they have neglected to set down about what it hath been in the year 1496. So that we are uncertain what to think of it. And contrary to this we finde that the Lands of Bothwel were not in the Earles hands, but in his sonne *Georges*, who got them from the Lord Bothwel in exchange for the Lordship of Liddisdale, which for that cause he resigned into the Kings hands in favor of the Earle Bothwel in the year 1492. so that the Earle could not give her the Lands that belonged

longed to his sonne. Further our Histories tells us, that when *James* Earle of Aran, who was sent with the Navy which the King had prepared for a present to Queene *Anne* of France, had turned in upon Ireland, and having burnt Knockfergus, was come to Air a Sea-port in Coile, the King offended with his folly, gave the charge of the Ships to Angus for prosecuting of the voyage. But Aran having heard of it, hoysed saile, and was gone before Angus could come to the place where the Ships lay. Now although it should seem by this that the King continued his favour toward him, yet there are some apparant reasons to move us to think that it hath been somewhat diminished. For *Alexander* Lord *Hume* was made Warden of all the three marches (and that before Flowdon) of which the east and middle march at least had continued under the government of the Earles of Angus, for the space of three or foure generations, descending from father to sonne by succession, from Earle *William* in the persons of *James*, and *George* to this present *Archbald*.

Other mention, or monument of him we have none till the Warres betwixt King *James* the 4. and King *Henry* the 8. of England. It is reported by some, that the Queene and he did what they could to dissuade the King from that Warre, but when he could not prevaile with him, he followed him into England. There the King having wasted Northumberland, and taken Norham with some few other Castles, got a view of the wife of one *Aeron* of the Foord, and did so fancie her, that he neglected the prosecuting of the warre, and care of his Army, and did nothing but dallie with her. Whilest the Army lay there idle, the English sent a Herauld to the King desiring that he would appoint a day for battell. But the greatest part of the Nobility did dislike it. And the Earle of Angus though he saw all this and many moe errors, yet he held his peace all this while, whereas the rest of the Nobilitie reasoned with the King, but in vain. For the King told them flatly, he would fight them though they were a hundreth thousand more, and that he would retire. Then (and not till then) the Earle of Angus hearing his answer, and knowing the danger of such resolution, being the Chief man amongst them both for years and authoritie, he went about to set before the King the reasons of the counsell given him, hoping by that meane to break him of his determination, in these words. Sir (said he) your Majestie hath done abundantly to satisfie your friendship with the King of France, in that ye have made the King of England withdraw the greater part of his Army out of France, and have turned the danger of the War from him without endangering your self. For they cannot keep the fields long in a Countrey that is so cold and wasted, especially now when the Winter is so near. Neither need your Majestie to wonder that the French Ambassadour is so instant with us to fight; he being a stranger, it is no strange thing to see him prodigall of other mens blood, who doth not regard the good of the parties, but the benefite that will thereby redound to France. Besides, his request is altogether impudent and shamelesse. For he requires us to do that which his master (a man of great understanding) thinks not fit to do for his own Kingdom. Neither should the losse of this Army seem small, because our number is few, for

Warre with England, and the occasion of the Field of Flowdon.

Angus his speech to the King to dissuade him from fighting.

all

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„ all that are of worth, & excell either in wisdom or valour in Scotland  
 „ are here, and these being slain, the vulgar will become a prey to the e-  
 „ nemy. Therefore as it is safest for the present to prolong the Warre,  
 „ so is it most profitable in generall. For if *Lewis* would have either the  
 „ English exhausted with charges, or wearied with delay, what is more  
 „ convenient, then to compell him to divide his Forces, by keeping one  
 „ half thereof continually in readinesse against us, who lye in wait to in-  
 „ vade his Countrey upon every occasion, so to ease the French of so  
 „ much of their burden? As for your honour and reputation, which men  
 „ pretend, what can be more honourable, than having razed so many  
 „ Forts and Castles, wasted and spoyled their Countrey with fire and  
 „ sword, to returne laden with such store of spoyle, that they shall not be  
 „ able to recover their losses, nor their soile redeem the former beautie in  
 „ many years, though there should happen to be peace? What greater  
 „ commoditie can we expect to reap of the Warre, than in such a tumult-  
 „ tuous noise of Armes to have leisure to refresh our souldiers with ease  
 „ and quietnesse, to our credit, and to our enemies shame? Of all the vi-  
 „ ctories that are acquired, that which is obtained more by counsell, than  
 „ force of Armes, is most properly the victory of man, and the praise of it  
 „ doth onely redound to the Commander and Generall; for in it the  
 „ Armie can claim no part or interest. When the Earle had ended his  
 speech, all that were present shewed by their countenance, that they did  
 approve and assent unto his counsell. But the King who had solemnly  
 sworn to give battell, heard him unwillingly, and answered angerly; bid-  
 ding him, if he were afraid, go home. Then Angus seeing the King ob-  
 stinate, and fore-seeing in his minde what would be the event of such  
 headinesse, burst forth in teares, and after a while having gathered his  
 „ spirits again, when he was able to speak, If my former life, said he,  
 „ doth not free me from the imputation of fearfulnessse, I know not by  
 „ what other evidence I can clear my self; while this body of mine was  
 „ able to endure labour and toyle, I spared it not for the defence of our  
 „ Countrey, and honour of our Kings. Now seeing my counsell, by  
 „ which onely I am able to do good, can have no place, I leave here my  
 „ two sonnes, who next after my Countrey are dearest to me, together  
 „ with the rest of my friends and kinsmen; the surest pledge that I can  
 „ give of my affection to your Majestie, and to the rest that are here pre-  
 „ sent. And I pray God that this my fear may prove frivolous, and that  
 „ I be rather esteemed a false prophet, than that those things happen,  
 „ which I think I see before mine eyes. And so he took his leave, and  
 departed, leaving behinde him with the King his eldest son *George*, and  
 Sir *William* of Glenbarvie, whom he exhorted to carry themselves vali-  
 antly, as those they were come of had ever done, and recommending  
 them to God and their good fortune, he rode home. As the Earle of  
 Angus presaged, so it fell out: for the battell was fought at Flowdon,  
 where the day was lost, and the King slain, yet his body could never be  
 found, which had been easily discerned by the chain of iron which he  
 wore for a girdle. There were also slain at this battell *George* Master of  
 Angus, and Sir *William* of Glenbarvie, with some 200. Gentlemen of the  
 name of *Douglas*. Their

The field of  
 Flowdon,  
 1513, Sept. 15.



Their father the Earle went to Saint Mains in Galloway. He lived there a year after, an austere and hard life, where he died also, and was buried in the Church of Saint Mains, about the year 1514. his heart was carried to Douglas. The years of his age were 61. or 62. by all the conjecture that can be made. So that it hath not been so much for his years, as for some other infirmities, that his body hath not been able and fit for service, as he sayes himself at Flowdon.

Angus death.  
1514.

He was a man every way accomplished both for minde and body. He was for stature tall, and of a strong composition. His countenance was full of majestie, and such as bred reverence in the beholders; wise and eloquent of speech; upright and square in his actions; sober and moderate in his desires, valiant and couragious, a man of action and undertaking. liberrall also of heart and hand, loving and kinde to his friends; which made him to be beloved, revered, and respected of all men. He gave proof of his personall valour in a duell which is reported to have been thus. The King on a time was discoursing at table of the personages of men, and by all mens confession the prerogative was adjudged to the Earle of Angus. A Courtier that was by (one *Spense* of Kilspindie) whether out of envie to hear him so praised, or of his idle humour onely, cast in a word of doubting and disparaging: It is true, said he, if all be good that is up-come; meaning if his action and valour were answerable to his personage and body. This spoken openly, and coming to the Earles ears in the worst interpretation, offended him highly. It fell out after this, as the Earle was riding from Douglas to Tantallon, that he sent all his company the nearest way, and he himself with one onely of his servants, having each of them a hawke on his fist in hope of better sport, took the way by Borthwick towards Falawe; where lighting at the brook at the West end of the town they bathed their hawkes. In the mean time this *Spense* happened to come that way, whom the Earle espying, said to his man, Is not this such an one, that made question of my manhood, I will go to him, and give him a triall of it, that we may know which of us is the better man. No, my Lord, said his servant, it is a disparagement for your Lordship to meddle with him, I shall do that sufficiently, if it will please your Honour to give me leave. I see, said the Earle, he hath one with him, it shall be thy part to grapple with him, whilest I deal with his Master. So fastening their hawkes, that they might not flye away in the mean time, they rode after him, and having over-taken him; What reason had you, said the Earle to him, to speak so contemptuously of me at such a time, doubting whether my valour were answerable to my personage? When the other would have excused the matter, he told him, that would not serve the turne; Thou art a big fellow, and so am I, one of us must pay for it. The other answered, If it may be no better, there is never an Earle in Scotland, but I will defend my self from him as well as I can, and will rather kill him, if I can, than suffer him to kill me. So alighting from their horses, they fought a certain space, but at last the Earle of Angus with a stroake, cut *Spenses* thigh-bone asunder, so that he fell to the ground, and died soon after. The two serving-men were very hard at it still, when the Earle came and stayed them, laying to *Spenses* man,

A duel between  
twixt Angus  
and *Spense*.



## 236 *Of the first Archbald, and sixth Earle of Angus.*

Go thy way, tell my Gossip the King, there was nothing here but fair play: I know my Gossip will be offended; but I will get me into Liddisdale, and remain in the Hermitage till his anger be over. And so it is thought he did: whereupon the King, when he was pacified, caused the Earle to exchange his Lordship of Liddisdale, with the Lands of Bothwell, alleging that there was no order to be had of the Earles of Angus so long as they kept Liddisdale: What other reasons the Earle had to move him to this excambion, I know not, nor why he should have preferred Bothwell, but it is certain his son *George* exchanged them with his consent. One fault he had, that he was too much given to women; otherwayes there was little or nothing that a man could have wished to be helped in him, or that was amisse.

*Archibaldus Angusia primus.*

*Palponum dum turba ferox illudere regi  
Non timet; idque palam plebsque patresque fremunt;  
Amissum decus imperii; vilescere sceptrum;  
Omnia turbari tum foris atque domi;  
Cochronum extinxi (caput horum & dux nebulonum  
Is fuit) & laqueo colla scelestæ dedi.  
Talibus infestus quod sim Gnathonibus, atro  
Dente petit, famam rodit & aula meam.  
Fax hominum, procerum pestis, Regumque ruina;  
Quo magis oblatras, hoc magis illa nitet.*

*Archbald of Angus, the first of that name.*

Whiles bloody flatterers did not fear  
T'abuse their Princes name and ear:  
Whiles great, and mean, and all repine,  
Whiles the Kings honour doth decline,  
His rule too much despis'd by all,  
And State affairs to ruine fall.  
*Cochran* their Head was hang'd by me:  
And for I punisht such as he,  
They do attempt my name to stain  
With slanders, but these dregs of men,  
The pest of Courts, the shame of Kings,  
Their greatest hate most honour brings.

*of*

Of George Master of Angus, and sonne to  
Archbald the first.

**H**is eldest son ( as hath been said ) was George slain at Flowdon, designed commonly by the appellation of Master of Angus. He was married to *Elizabeth Drummond*, daughter to the Lord Drummond of whom we told how he defeated the Earle of Lennox. His children by her were three sonnes. First *Archbald*, afterward Earle of Angus. Secondly Sir *George* of Pittendrich. Thirdly *William* Priour of Coldinghame.

His daughters were, First the Lady Yester. Secondly the Lady Basse. Thirdly *Jeane* Lady Glames. Fourthly *Alison*, married first to *Robert Blackader*, of Blackader, and afterward to Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne. Fifthly the Lady Drumlanerige, as I take it. Also they mention a sixth, married to a Baron in the North, whom they name not, neither do I know who he should be.

His age at his death ( to reckon from the 15. year of his fathers age in the 1469. to the year of his own death at Flowdon 1513. ) was not above 44.

His actions, because he never came to be Earle, are not recorded. Some dealing there was betwixt him as Governour of Liddisdale, and the Lord Dacres in England, with whose Deputies he agrees to meet at Dumfreis, for doing of Justice in the year 1489. the year after the King was killed at Bannock-burne. So at Cannabie he met with the Lord Dacres himself, where they accorded not well: For they intended both to send to the Councils of both Nations to have their determination of their differences. He agrees the same year with Sir *Robert Lundie* of Bagonie, Treasurer for a generall remission to Ewisdale, Eskdale, and Niddisdale, which I think should rather be Liddisdale, for a 1000. pounds, being at this time not above 20. years of age, not out of Curatorie by the Laws, though that was in his fathers hands. Yet we see also Courts held in his name, by his Bailiffs, as a retour of *Adam Ker*, to some Lands in Selkirk, in the said year, which makes me to think he hath been then married. Also he it is, as we told above, that excambes the Lands of Liddisdale for Bothwell with *Patrick* Earle Bothwell, resigning the Lands of Liddisdale, and the King disposing them upon the resignation in the year 1492. upon what reason either the Earle Bothwell should have affected these, or he preferred the other, and not thought himself as fit to rule that unruly Countrey as any other, I have not heard. But it was done in his fathers life time, who was no fool when he was in his greatest vogue, the first three years of King *James* the fourth. He allies afterward with this same Earle Bothwell, marrying his sonne *Archbald* to his daughter, but that must be long after, except that he hath been married young, as some say he was.

In the year 1510. he indents for the marriage of his fourth daughter *Alison* to *Robert Blackaders* sonne, and apparent heir to *Andrew Blackader*

1489.  
Cannabie.

1491.

1510.

of that ilk. Her portion 300. marks, the terms, 1. at the compleating 40. pounds, and 20. pounds, at the feast of Martimasse next after; and so 20. pounds yearly till it were payed. That same year he is infest in Abernethie. And this is all we have of him, which we have set down chiefly for his children, and the Historie that followeth of them.

Of Archbald the seventh Earle of Angus and the  
second Archbald.

**T**O Archbald the first, succeeded Archbald the second, his Grandchilde by his sonne George Master of Angus.

He was thrice married, first to *Margaret Hepburne* daughter to *Patrick Hepburne* the first Lord Bothwell, being as yet very young: for at his first marriage he was not old, but a youth, or stripling, Adolescens. She died in child birth within the year (as they say) immediatly after the Field of Flodden. His second wife was *Queen Margaret* relict of King *James* the 4. and daughter to King *Henry* 7. of England. She bare to him a daughter *Lady Margaret Douglas*; who was married to *Matthew Stuart* Earle of Lennox; and bare to him *Henry* Lord Darnly; that married *Queen Mary* of Scotland, and father to King *James* the first of Scotland, and first of great Brittain now happily reigning. *Lady Margaret* had also another sonne named *Charles*, who was father to the *Lady Archibald*. His third wife was *Margaret Maxwell* daughter to the Lord *Maxwell*. She bare to him a sonne and a daughter, who died both of them before they were 8. years old. He had also a base daughter by a daughter of *Traquair*, *Joane Douglas* married to the Lord *Rutven*. Some say that he begot this daughter in the Queens time, while she lying in of *Lady Margaret Douglas* in England, after her delivry went to London and stayed there with her brother King *Henry* the 8. and with her sister the late Queen of France, and then Duchesse of Suffolk. Others say that it was before. He had also a base sonne (as I take it) commonly called *George the Postulant* to a by-name, because (I know not upon what claim or title) he did postulate and claim the Abbacie of Aberbroth (or Abernethock) and not onely did postulate it, but apprehended it also, and used it as his own.

Having brought the house of Angus still increasing, and growing in greatnesse, and honour unto this man Archbald the second, shall we suffer it now to decay; or to take halt in his person? No, but we shall see it increase so much the more, as he approacheth nearer unto that descent, which is able to give honour unto basenesse it self, far more to adde and multiply honour upon that which is already honourable. Men do not onely take honour from their progenitors; their posterity makes them honourable: when they have much honour, and that variable according to the degrees of their honour more or lesse. Which seeing it is undeniable, in what place of honour shall we rank this Archbald, father to the *Lady Margaret Douglas*; and by her great Grandfather our Sovereign King *James* of great Brittain? This one thing is enough to life him

him up to the highest top of honour. All other things are but necessary; yet are they additions of great importance. Men are honourable by their marriage: Who then so honourable as he? Having married a Queen, a Kings daughter, a Kings sister, a Kings mother. Others also of the Subjects of this Countrey have married Queens (I grant) But none of them did marry Queen *Margaret*, a Lady so vertuous; None did marry a Queen so Royally descended, and every way Regall in her father; her mother, her brother, her sister, her husband, her sonne being all of them Kings or Queens. None did marry a Queen without some blemish and diminution of her reputation but he. None with the approbation of all men; even of the Queens own chief Kinred, with the allowance, desire, and exhortation of her Kinsfolks, of King *Henry* the 8. But you will say perhaps, that this hath been chance or fortune, or ignorance in her, blindness of an impotent woman, who placed her affection without desert, or that it hath been ignorance in King *Henry* her brother, a forraign Prince ill informed. Let us therefore hear such witnesses as were not blinded, either with womanly affection, or with the ignorance of a stranger; such as were unpartiall, and who had neither fear nor hope, love or hatred, which are the common causes of partiality. These are our histories, which if they record truth (as they are recorders of truth) if there was any more worthy, or before him in any good quality, then let it be accounted folly in her, and weakness in her brother. What do these our Histories then say? First of his place and descent; they say he was the first of the youth of Scotland for Nobility. Lo here is one good quality, and that a very manly one, wherein her choyce and her brothers approbation are justified; and he shewn to be worthy, nay most worthy by his place and birth, whereof we have said enough heretofore. But let that be thought of no moment or value if there be no more. What say they next? What of himself? In himself? in his personage? The first of the youth of Scotland for favour and comeliness of personage. I dare not consent to them that make no account hereof: It hath ever been in account; men have thought it worthy, whereon to bestow a Kingdom. It is yet regarded, it affects all humane creatures, and moves us whether we will or no; They say that beasts discern it not. I doubt of it, though we are not able to discern their discerning of it. But let them be beasts that do so. And let this also be nothing in him; if there be yet no more in him; if there be no qualities joyned to it, which it gives lustre to, as gold to a Diamond. Let it be (as in all men and women) like a ring of gold on a Swines snout, ill placed, and matched; unseemly, and unworthily. Yet it is gold, and gold is ever precious, and to be desired, although the Swines snout of ill conditions be not worthy to be so fairly and finely deckt, or adorned. What are then his other properties and qualities of minde and man-hood, soule and body? which is the third point. The first and principall (say they) of the youth of Scotland in all good exercise, knowledge, cunning, skill and understanding, belonging to a man of his place! for I doubt not there were many more cunning Clerks than he; yet not more sufficient in uprightness, honest vertue, dexterity, and good address, both in politick matters belonging to the good government of the Countrey, and

Gentleman-

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Gentleman-like, exercise becoming his estate, for body or minde, for peace, or warre. What particulars they are we shall see in his particular actions; *viz.* valour, and true courage, with love and kindnesse to his Countrey, hereditarie properties from the very root of which he is sprung. Also wisdome and magnanimity, truth and uprightnesse in words and actions, with others which will appear, as the occasion occurs. And so we have him by these testimonies thrice (that is every way) first, or chief and principall. 1. Chiefe in Nobility beyond all. 2. Chiefe in personage, beyond all. 3. Chiefe in vertue, and all good arts (for so is the word) or qualities, beyond all. Worthy therefore whom the Queen should have preferred, and made choyce of to be her husband beyond, and before all. Worthy of whom should descend that race of Kings so Noble, beyond all. Which as it honours him, so doth it not disgrace or disparage that Noble and Princely race, to be come of such an one in his person; of such stock in the whole race and descent of that whole Family, so noble, so worthy, and heroically every way. Not so much private in place, as Princely in worth, all vertue and magnanimity; though otherwise Subjects. And thus the honour of the house doth rise in his person, whom we see accounted by all every way honourable, honourable by blood, honourable by vertue, honourable by marriage, honourable by affinitie and alliance, honourable by progenie and posterity, honourable by all actions, by all valiant, and alwayes worthy acts. As for his greatnesse and puissance, we finde it at his entry and beginning matched (yea over-matched) by the Lord Hume Chamberlaine; But in end hard to be matched by any, nay matching (almost) what should not be matched in any sort, wherewith no Subject should match himself. Which however good or evil it be in using, yet it is greatnesse to have done so.

He marries  
Q. Margaret.

To come to his particular actions; The first we finde is his marriage, which is not indeed to be attributed to his prudencie, or his purchasing, yet is it the effect of his worth. She affected him, and he had reason not to refuse the party. Her brother King *Henry* consents, and writes lovingly to them both. He had his own particular end, which was to counterpoize, or weigh down the French faction, and to hinder the incursions of Scotland by his means; some say also to stay the Duke of Albanie from coming home, to be Governour, but that was not yet motioned. And though that were his end, yet the other was the end of his desire to stay Albanie, and his main scope; for all that he aimed at by staying of him was but to stay the Scottish warres, which he by his coming was like to set on foot. Things fall out contrary many times to mens intentions. This marriage brought in the Duke of Albanie, and by him had strengthened the French if he had guided wisely, kept the hearts of men in Scotland, and entertained his home-bringer, the Chamberlain, and given him a thankfull meeting for that work. But there is a providence, if men would observe. This plot fails King *Henry*, that fails the Chamberlain, this fails the Duke of Albanie. The King hopes to hinder the French by this marriage; it furthers them to be all the guiders, being brought in by the Chamberlain. The Chamberlain looks to be rewarded; he hath his

his head stricken off. The Duke thinks that the Chamberlains death shall breed him all quietnesse, ease, and power, it looseth him the hearts of all men, and at last his office. The working of these things was thus.

The Queen was by the King her husbands testament left Regent during her widow-hood. That lasted not long, from the 25. of September untill the next Spring was ended, say some: others say untill the 6. of August almost a year. Then she marieth, and so falls from that charge. The Earle of Angus did labour to have it continued, and used a strong motive, which was, that so the peace should last with England, which was both profitable and necessary. The Queen during her Regencie had procured it; She had written to her brother that he should stay the war, and abstain from troubling his Nephews Kingdome; troubled already, too much with factions within it self. He had answered her, that he would warred against the Scots, when they made war against him; and that he would keep peace with them when they kept peace with him. This was a magnanimous minde, and a Princely (say our writers, not envious of the praise of the English) though indeed it were not without a good policie. For by that meane he had leasure to prosecute his French intentions without fear of being disturbed or diverted by the Scottish incurfions. But we will not extenuate it: he had indeed the better hand of it, and at this time peace was more needfull for Scotland. And therefore this reason brought by Angus for the continuation of the Queens authoritie was so much the greater. But it could not move the other party, whereof the Lord *Hume* (Chamberlain) was Chief. They shew their willingnesse to honour the Queen. That appeared (say they) in this; that contrary to the ancient custome of this Kingdome, they had suffered and obeyed her authority, whiles she her self kept her right by keeping her widow-hood. Now that she had quit it by marrying, why should they not choose another to succeed into the place which she had left? which the old laws would also have taken from her, which do not permit that a woman should govern in the most peaceable times, far lesse now, when such evils do threaten, as can scarce be resisted by the wisest and most sufficient men. This they pretended, and touched the point that did annoy them. The marrying of the Earle of Angus had made him too great already, the continuing of her authority would make him farre greater.

The Queen looseth her Regencie by her marriage.

This they can not endure; especially the Chamberlain who was jealous of his greatnesse, which he thought would impair and lessen his own, already beginning to decline, by the retiring and with-drawing of Liddisdale and Anandale from following him, and casting them again under the wings of the *Douglasses*, to whom they had wont to belong. This point being once obtained, that the Queen should governe no more, the next was, who then should be the man? Here also was no lesse strife and contention. The Chamberlains credit carried it away, his own power, his alliance, the Earle of Arane being his brother in law, the Earle of Lennox Aranes sisters son, joyned to the Prelates, (a Faction ever French, and then more than ever by the King of Englands shaking off the yoke of Rome)

Convention about choosing of a Governour.

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Rome) especially the Archbishop of Gläsgow, a proud Prelate, and ever factious. By these men, all Noblemen at home are despised and balked; and the Office cast upon *John*, called afterward Duke of Albanie, Cousin-germane to the late King, being then in France, brought up in France, and onely with the French tongue, where his father was banished and forfeited, and he himself not restored: yet is he by them, who had not so much power as to restore him in the minoritie of a King (as had been proved in King *James* the second his time, against the Earle of March restored in his minoritie) ordained to be Governour of the King and whole Countrey. Bent was the Chamberlain that way: And so bent he was, that he professed openly at the Convention, that though they would all refuse, yet he alone would bring him home, and make him Governour. A great word, if he were not able to do it; a great power if he were able. It is interpreted ambition in him, and that despairing to have that honour conferred on himself, and envying it to any other, he took this course. I cannot be of that minde. He that had power to do so much for another, had power to have done somewhat for himself: At least so far as to have gotten some part of the government with others, as it was customable, when they could not agree upon any one man, they divided it. It is reported also for certain, that the Earle of Angus finding that he was so earnest in that course, went to him, and naming him familiarly by his name, „ *Alexander*, said he, what do you mean by this? that man is a „ stranger to us, and understandeth not our language no more than we do „ his. He will work his own ends, and who knoweth after what manner? „ Whether or not to the Kings prejudice, who is onely between him and „ the Crown. Certainly, he will never regard either of us, whom he will „ rather seek to depresse than to advance. Go to therefore, let us agree „ amongst our selves. Take you the government of the borders, and of „ all that lieth on that side of the river of Forth, and let me have the com- „ mand on the other side. A fair offer, and a wise consideration, which the Chamberlain shall acknowledge hereafter too late, and shall himself say the like to him that now doth thus admonish him. For the present he refused obstinately, and (as it may be thought) fatally, persisting in his former resolution. Whereof when I consider what might have been the cause, I think it hath been not any distrust to obtain some place in the guiding of affairs; but a doubting how to keep it: if by chance any thwarting or infociableness of Empire should fall out between them at any time thereafter: in which case Angus could not but be the stronger by the power of England his allies, they having no partie so great to counterpoize them. For this cause he hath thought it fit to bring in the French to equall the ballance as principall, himself onely as accessarie, not doubting of a chief place both by his desert in bringing him home, and the necessitie of his service, which could never be lacking. On this rather than the other ground (as I take it) he hath laid down his course. But as well as he laid his grounds, hereupon he built both his time before three years were come about, and speedie repentance soon after the arrivall of his Governour.

Howbeit upon this occasion the Duke of Albanie (so called afterward) is



is sent for, arrives, is made Earle of March, Duke of Albanie ( which his father had been before, but was forfeited ) and Governour untill the Kings ripe years. The Lord *Hume* comes to him, some say with a huge number (10000. horse) to Dumbarton, whereupon the Governour said; he was too great to be a subject. Others report, that he came very privately with his household onely (some 24. horse in Kendall Green which was his Livery) and that the Duke slighted him with this sentence, *minuit presentia famam*; being a man of low stature, and carrying no appearance of much stuff to be in him by his out-side. However he was then welcomed, and what faire and good countenance he got then, it lasted not long. *John Hepburne* Prior of S. Andrews was his enemy on this occasion. *Andrew Stuart* Archbishop of S. Andrews was slain at Flowdon. Three divers pretended to the place by divers meanes. *Gavin Douglas* Bishop of Dunkeld, uncle to the Earle of Angus, by the Queens admision, *Hepburne* by the election of the Chapter, *Andrew Foreman* by the Popes gift. This *Foreman* was Abbat of Dumfermling, and Aberbroth, Legat from the Pope, and had gotten this to maintain his grandour, or as a reward of his service. The question was hard to decide. All pretended right and reason. *Gavin Douglas* had gotten possession of the Castle, and had put servants into it; but the Priour was stronger about the town, and findes a mean to thrust them out. *Foreman* cannot get his Bulls proclaimed: none durst take it in hand so long as *Hume* and *Hepburne* agreed. He workes wisely, having been born under the Lord *Hume*, he flees to him as his Patron, agrees with him as a friend, and gives the Abbacie of Coldingham to his youngest brother *David*. He doth his turne, proclaimeth his Bull, but had no power in Fife to prosecute it any further. Yet it causeth *Hepburne* to come to a point, to take composition, the Bishoprick of Murray, and 3000. crownes by year, and a discharge for all his by-past intromissions. So he agrees with *Foreman*, but dis-agrees with the Lord *Hume*, and despites him with such malice, because of that morsell pulled out of his jawes, that he ceased not to work him what mischief he could. He did so possesse the Governour with jealousy of the Lord *Humes* and Angus greatnesse, and aspiring, that he thought there was no way to secure himself, and his Government, but by ridding the Countrey of them both. Wherefore the Lord *Hume* repairing to him, and finding by his neglectfull carriage, and cold entertainment, the little good-will he bare him, repenting too late his forwardnesse in his election, and calling to minde what Angus had foretold him, though he had contemned his counsell, yet now seeing no other remedie, went to him; and the Queen his wife, condemning his fact, and regrating the present estate of the King and Countrey, and advised them to flie into England with the young King. When the Governour had notice of this consultation, he used such diligence and expedition, that coming to Stirling unlooked for, he surprized the Queer, and removing her, and the *Douglasse* from about the King, he gave the keeping of him to the Lord *John Erskine*, and other three Noblemen. Hertupon the Queen and Angus, as also the Lord *Hume*, and his brother *William*, withdrew themselves into England, and the Governour upon their departure, sent Ambassadors to

The Duke of  
Albanie made  
Governour.

Prior *Hepburne*  
undermines  
the Lord  
*Hume*.

Kk

King

## 244 Of Archbald the seventh Earle of Angus,

Lady Margaret Douglas  
born at Harbottle in England.

King Henry to clear himself, that he had done nothing why they should be so afraid of him, or leave their Countrey. He dealt also privately with themselves by their friends, promising and profferting to give them all content and satisfaction, in such wayes, that they beleevyng and desiring to live at home, returned all of them, save onely the Queen, who being then near the time of her childe-birth, remained at Harbottle in North-humberland, where she was brought to bed of Lady Margaret Douglas. Then as soon as she was able to endure travell, she went to London, where she was kindly welcomed, and lovingly entertained by her brother King Henry, and her sister Mary Queen of France, and afterward Duchesse of Suffolk. But the Governours head being once filled with suspicions, and new causes of distrust arising dayly, could not be quieted by their return, nor the Queens absence, neither could he think himself bound by promises. Gavin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, uncle to Angus, was committed to prison: John Lord Drummond his Grandfather, or mothers brother, & David Pantier Secreatarie to the late King, were likewise laid fast. Alexander Lord Hume, and his brother William, were executed, their goods confiscated, their lands forfeited, and their heads affixed on the Gallowgate of Edinburgh, called the Nether-Bow: Being thus rid of the Chamberlain, he did much fear the Earle of Angus, whom he left to governe in his absence (for he went into France) but joyned with him the Earles of Arran, Argyle, Huntley, the Archbishop of S. Andrews, and Glasgow, together with a Frenchman, named Antonius Darsius, commonly known by the title of *Sieur de la Beaute*. To this *La Beaute* he allotted Dumbarton, the Shires of Lowthian, and the Merse, where the Chamberlaines lands and friends were. This *Darsius* was slain by Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, occasionally, in the year 1517. the 18. of September. For this Sir David was out-lawed, his house seized, and Sir George Douglas (Angus brother) suspected to be accessarie, imprisoned in Garvet Castle; they not daring to meddle with the Earl himself, who was no lesse suspected to have been conscious of it (though falsely) because Sir David had married their sister *Alison*.

Ant. Darsius  
or De la  
Beaute  
slain 1517.

Dissention  
betwixt Arran  
and Angus.

Not long after this, there fell out an occasion of great troubles betwixt the Earle of Angus, and the Earle of Arrane. There was some question of the Bailiff-ship and right of keeping Courts in Jedward Forrest, the Earle of Angus his Lands, but in which Andrew Ker of Farnihaste challenged a right and priviledge of doing justice, and punishing male-factors as hereditarie Bailiff. In this controversie Arrane sided with Farnihaste, not for any particular relation, or because he thought his right was good, but onely in opposition to Angus, whom he hated inwardly. What the cause of his hatred was, we hear not, and they had been good friends before. Arrans bafe sonne James Hamilton, as he was on his way towards Farnihaste to assist him, John Summerwale of Cammerthen set upon him, killed five or six of his company, took thirty men and horses, and pursued himself so near, that he was forced to turne in to Hume Castle for his safetie. This fact was imputed to Angus, on whom Summerwale did for the most part depend, men thinking that it was done by his direction. But it is well known that besides this quartell of the Earles, that man had ever a parti-

particular feude with the *Hamiltons*. But if the Earle had been guiltie of this wrong and offence done unto them, it is not likely that he would have been so slightly accompanied at Edinburgh, and have stayed their coming thither with so small forces, if he had suspected any ill meaning from them, or known any such deserving in himself. Besides they having so just cause, they might have complained and gotten redresse and satisfaction of the Earle by order of law, if they could have made it appear that he had any hand in it, and not have taken this violent course. Wherefore in all likelihood this was but a colour and pretext. Hereupon (however) in the year 1520. the 27. of April, a convention being appointed at Edinburgh where *Archbald Douglas* of Kilspeindie (the Earle of Angus his uncle, or Cousin-German rather) was Provest: the *Hamiltons* refused to come thither, alledging that they could not think themselves assured of their lives in the Town, where he was Provest. *Archbald* to cut off their excuse, and that he might not hinder publick businesse, laid down his office voluntarily, and in his room was chosen *Robert Logane* a Burgesse of Edinburgh. Then they came to the City, and finding the Earle of Angus there but meanly attended, and weakly guarded, his friends not being yet convened, they assembled together with the chief Noblemen of the West in *Archbishop Betons* house in the Black-Frier-Winde (this *Beton* was also Chancellour) and there resolve by all means to apprehend Angus, alledging that his power was so great, that nothing could be discerned freely, so long as he was free. The cause was plausible, their malice great, and the occasion fair, considering his singleness, and their multitude.

1520.  
Skirmish in  
Edinburgh  
betwixt  
them.

So soon as Angus heard of their consultation, he sent to them his uncle the Bishop of Dunkell, desiring that if they had any grievance, or just quarrell against him, they would complain thereof to the convention, to whose censure he would submit himself, and make such satisfaction as it should please them to ordain. And to this purpose Dunkell spake to Glasgow the Chancellour, to move the rest to accept of this offer, and that he would not be an instrument of civill dissention. But he had fair perswading of him: no man was deeper in it than he, who was ring-leader to the rest, and very Episcopally had put on armour to be present at it, and to assist them himself in person: yet he sought to excuse himself, and laid all the blame upon the Earle of Arran, who, said he, is highly offended with the Earle of Angus for many occasions, but chiefly for the affront done to his son by *Sommervale*, and for the slaughter of *De la Beaute* committed by his brother-in-law Sir *David Hume*, not without his knowledge, consent, and councill. For this cause Arran will needs have him to go to prison. There is no remedie, sayes Glasgow, upon my conscience I cannot help it. And in the heat of his asseveration he beat his breast with his hand, where his conscience lay well covered with a jack of Maile, or a Secret hid under his Seton or Cassock. And now being knocked upon, it answered with a ratling noise, which the plates of iron did yeeld, bearing witness against him how little he cared for that inward witness, which be-lyed him when he protested he was desirous to pacifie matters, being indeed thus preparing for warre. Neither did

• K k 2

Dunkell

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Dunkell stick to tell him so, saying, *How now my Lord, me thinks your conscience clatters. We are Priests, it is not lawfull for us to put on armour, or bear Arms, it makes us irregular.* And so leaving him, he returned to his Nephew, and told him shortly that there was no possibility of composing matters, and as little of escaping or fleeing, for the City Gates were shut, and his enemies were assembling. *For me I am a Churchman, I will go to my Chamber and pray for you.* And so he did, but he sent his servants with the Earle to aide him. Some ascribe this to want of strength, and to his debilitie and old age, but it was indeed, because he held it not lawfull, as a thing forbidden in the Canon-law, and which he had reproached to Bishop Beton. For in the year 1513. his eldest brother George slain at Flowdon was but 44. and Gawin the fourth brother not above 38. or 39. so that now in the year 1520. he hath not been more than 46. which is no age of Decrepitnesse. Dunkell being gone to his devotion, Angus without further consultation resolves rather to die honourably defending himself against his enemies, than to be hailed (he and his friends) forth to the Scaffold, and lay their necks upon the block to be be-headed by their proud and insulting enemies. So he conveens his small troupe, tels them what his minde was, and exhorts them to stand to it manfully. They all commended his resolution, and shewed themselves most willing to hazzard their lives for his safety. Wherefore that they might not be surprized in their Chambers, they came forth, and went down the High-Street (for the Earle did lodge at the Straight-Bow) being in all but 80. or 100. at most; but they were all of them choice men, valarous, and hardie. Angus was well beloved in the Town, so that when he came by the Shops where the Pikes and Speares are made, they had libertie to furnish themselves with long Weapons, and many also were reached to them by the Citizens out at the Windows, and from the Stairs; which was no small advantage, their enemies having no long Weapon at all. The Chief Street is so seated that the Gates being shut there is no entrie to it, but by some few Lanes that reach from the Cow-gate; in one of which called the Black-frier-Winde the adverse party had conveened. Now that they might not issue forth upon him at divers places, and so oppresse him with their multitude, Angus had caused his men to close up and barre the entrances of the Lanes with Coale-horfses, and Ale-barrels, Carts, and such things as would best serve for that purpose, and could be gotten on a sudden. He placed also some few men at every Lanes head to defend the Barricades, but he himself with the choycest and most resolute of his company, planted themselves directly over against the Black-frier-Winde, which he had left open for them, and as they thronged out, he assailed them with Pikes and long Weapons. There having slain many of the foremost that came out, and scattered them all, he drave the rest down the Lane, which by the narrownesse thereof, made their number unprofitable, as had been rightly fore-seen by Angus, who knew that a few would be able to make good a straight passage against many, their multitude availing nothing, scarce one of ten having room to fight at once, and come to strokes together. The Earle of Arran and his sonne James  
Hamilton

*Hamilton* (having been apparently of that number that issued forth at the Lanes head at first, or else he could not have gone that way) crossing the High-Street, fled down a Lane on the Northside of the City, and finding a Coale-horse standing in their way, they threw off his loading, and rode through the North-loch at a foord where there is none known now, and so escaped easily, no man pursuing them that way. The rest were scattered on the other side of the Town, of which some fled to the Gray-Friers Monasterie for sanctuary, the Chancellour fled on foot to Lithgow. In the mean time, while they were at this bickering within the City with great tumult, *William Douglas* Priour of Coldingham (Angus his brother) and Sir *David Hume* (his brother in law) came to the City Gates with 800. horse which they had brought out of the Merse, and finding them shut, broke open the wicket with Smiths hammers, and so entred. But before they could get in, the fray was ended, Angus strengthened and emboldened with this supply; because the City was still full of his enemies, caused it to be proclaimed with sound of Trumpet at the Market-Crosse, that none should be seen abroad with Arms but he and his, under pain of death. This enforced them of his adverse party to crave leave to depart; which was granted unto them. Such was his moderation towards those who had plotted his ruine and overthrow. He had fought for his life and honour, not out of malice, or hatred; and now that these were out of danger he lets his enemies go away safe and sound. And so there departed of them in one company 800. horse well laughed at, and derided of the beholders, to see so many beaten and chased by so few. Besides these there were many others that had fled before, and divers stayed still in the City lurking. This conflict fell out in the year 1520. the last of April, in which there were 70. slain, and two of note; *Patrick Hamilton* brother to Arran, and the Master of Montgomerie. The Chancellour (as we have laid) fled disguised to Stirling to the Queen. After this, Sir *David Hume* returning to the Merse, and being thus strengthened by the authority and countenance of Angus, found means to take his own house of Wedderburne from those that had kept it since the killing of *De la Beauce*. He took also the Castle of Hume at the same time which had been seized on by the Governour, and was kept by men that he had put into it. And thus was the Earle of Angus partie settled and strengthened in the Merse. Also in Lowthian he had no opposition or contrary, neither in Tividale, and such other parts of the borders. The *Hamiltons* were the onely great men that had any equality to match him, and were now incensed by their losse at Edinburgh. Some of his friends lay near unto them, *Robert Lord Boyde* was his dependor, and speciall friend. He was also near to him in blood, for Angus his Grand-mother (*Elizabeth Boyde*) was sister to *Thomas Boyde*, Grand-father to this *Robert*. The Lord *Boyde* was nearer to Arran, for King *James* the third his sister was mother to Arran, and Grand-mother to *Boyde*, as is probable. But *Boyde* followed Angus more than him. His house of Kilmarnock in Cuninghame, lay nearest to their Forces in Cliddisdale, and farthest from the Earle of Angus his power and friendship. Therefore they besiege it, but without success, it being so well defended;

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fended, that they rose and went away without getting of it.

1521. The next year (1521. the 18. of July) Angus came to Edinburgh, accompanied with his friends, and especially the *Humes* that were banished, as our writers designe them. By which he means rather (as I think) *George* now Lord *Hume* (for he is Lord ever after this) and Sir *David* of Wedderburne with his brothers, who may be said to have been banished, in regard he was denounced Rebell, and out-lawed: but otherwise he never went out of the Countrey, but dwelt ever still in some part of the Merse. There Angus (as *Buchanan* sayes) but (as our folks say) *George* Lord *Hume* and Wedderburne, by Angus his connivence, took down the heads of the late Chamberlain, and his brother *William*, and interred them solemnly in the Gray-friers. He passed from thence to Stirling, hoping to have found the Chancellour *Beton* there, but he was fled. From thence he returned to Edinburgh.

Angus goeth into France. About the 28. of October, the Governour returned out of France. Angus his power seemed to him to be too great. He determines to diminish it. For which purpose he commands himself to go into France, causeth his uncle the Bishop of Dunkell to be sent for to Rome, as wee have said above. Neither did Angus return out of France, untill the Government was taken from the Duke, who from this time forward

1522. doth nothing of importance. For the next year 1522. he went with an Army to Solway to have invaded England; But his Army loved him not; all went unwillingly with him, and against the hair. The Earle of Huntly being come within three miles of England, openly refused to go any further; so that he was forced to move *Dacres* and *Musgrave* (English-men) under hand to sue for peace, that he might have some shew of an honourable cause for his retreat. Wherefore the 10. of October the same year, away he goeth again to France having stayed one full year in Scotland, and returns into Scotland the next year 1523.

1523. the 22. of September. He brought then with him 3000. foot, and 100. men of arms. Then assembling an Army of Scots (the 20. of October) thinking to do great matters with his French aid, but having passed Tweed at the Bridge of Melrose, he was served just as he had been the year before; they refused still to enter into England. Thereupon he came back again to the other side of the River, and coming along by the bank thereof on Scottish ground, he began to barter from thence the Castle of Warke standing on the other side of the River on English ground. And having made a breach caused his French-men to give the assault, who entered the breach, but they were repulsed again, and beaten out. So he left the siege, and retired to Lawder in the night. In the spring he goeth again into France promising to return before September, and taking a promise of the Nobilitie that they should not transport the King from Stirling before his return. This their promise was kept with the like fidelity as he had kept his promise made to the Chamberlain. For the King was brought to the Abbey of Halyroodhouse by the Queen his mother; The Earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and many others: And from thence with all solemnitie of Parliament, to the Parliament house, where he did solemnly abrogate the Governours authority: by which

Albanies government abrogated.

which mean he saved him a labour of returning into Scotland again. He needed not, neither did he return any more to it; nor passe the Seas for that errand. He had governed, or rather mis-governed the space of nine years. He spent in his journeyes, and staying in France, five whole years, or fix of these nine, being absent from the countrey, and leaving it a prey to forreiners, and civil ambition and dissention; and when he was at home, he abused and oppressed the Nobilitie by slaughter or banishment.

But though he returned no more, yet others returned for him; those whom he had caused go to France by his authoritie, do now return without his licence, yea without licence or recalling of any other, for ought we read. The Earle of Angus returns after he had been in France almost three years. He returned through England, having first sent *Bishop Pannogo*, and obtained licence of K. *Henry*, by whom he was received lovingly, and dismissed liberally. For K. *Henry* desired greatly the diminishing of the Governours authoritie, & was glad of the alterations in Scotland, & therefore did make the more of Angus, because he knew that he was opposite to the Duke. At his returne he found the estate of the Countrey in this case. We told before, how in the year 1518. the Queen his wife, and he, had with-drawn themselves into England, and stayed at Harbottle, where she bare her daughter Lady *Margaret Douglas*; how her husband having returned into Scotland, she (after her deliverie) went to the Court of England to visit her brother and her sister, with whom she stayed for the space of a whole year. In which time the Earle her husband becomes acquainted with a daughter of Traquair, by whom he had a daughter called *Jean Douglas*, married afterward to *Patrick Lord Ruthven*. When the Queen came home again, he meets her at Berwick, and brought her to Edinburgh. She having gotten notice of this wrong he had done her; never lived with him in that love they had done before. And now having set her affection upon a younger brother of the Lord Ochletrees, whom she intended to create Lord Methven, she was become altogether his enemy: And that so obstinately, that howbeit her brother K. *Henry* wrote to her, that for her own honour, for the peace and quietnesse of the countrey, and for the advantage of his affaires, she would be reconciled to him; yet she not onely would not yeeld to it, but even sued for a divorcement before the Pope, at the Court of Rome, alledging that Angus had been affianced, betrothed, or hand-fasted to that Gentlewoman who bare the childe to him, before he had married her, and so by reason of that pre-contract, could not be her lawfull husband. She prevailed not in her sute, for her alledgance could not be proved, being also untrue: but she increased in spight and hatred against him, and was set (by all the means she could) to overthrow him. This drew Arran to be of her Faction; both of them disliking that Angus should be in the first place, and suspecting he would not be contented with the second, bent their Forces to contend against him as for dominion and empiring. On the other side there were the Earle of Lennox, and Argyle, who had assisted the Queen and Arran, and helped them to abrogate the Duke of Albanies authority, and to establish the King himself in the Government of the Kingdome.

The Earle of Angus returns out of France.

But



The Trium-  
virate of An-  
gus, Argyle,  
and Lennox.

But now finding that the Queen and Arran took all the guiding of the King and Countrey into their own hands onely, and did not admit them to be any way sharers with them therein, but wholly excluded them from all copartnerhip, they were glad of Angus his returne: for they knew that by his power they should be able either to break the authoritie of the Queen and Arran, or to diminish it in some measure. Neither were they deceived in their expectation: for having convened the greater part of the Nobilitie, Angus, Lennox, and Argyle, are chosen Keepers and Governours of the King and Countrey. Hereupon they passe forth with great celeritie, accompanied with 2000. horse, and move Archbishop *Beton*, Chancellour, to consent to the election, who did accordingly, not daring to refuse. Then to Stirling they go, and there depose all that bare any publick Office, whom they suspected, and placed in their rooms such as were sure to their side. From thence they came to Edinburgh, and made there entrie without violence. The Queen and Arran remained in the Castle with the King, confident in the strength of the place, and the Kings (though naked, and unarmed) authoritie: but there being but a small trench cast up about the Castle, they yeilded themselves, and it, because they were no wayes provided for enduring a siege. The King onely was retained, and the rest dismissed. The order of governing agreed upon amongst these three Earles, was, that they should rule by turnes, each of them his foure moneths successively. The first place was Anguses, either by lot, or by consent. During the time of his presiding, the Abbacie of Holy-rood-house fell vacant, the Abbot thereof *George Creighton* being advanced to be Bishop of Dunkell. Angus conferres this Abbacie on his brother *William*, Prior of Coldinghame, either by himself and his own power, or by moving the King to conferre it upon him, and that without the consent of the other two, which he thought he needed not, seeing he was absolute Governour for his time. The other two thought themselves wronged by this balking, and thought that howsoever he was for those moneths to attend the King alone, yet that he ought not to governe, or dispose of any thing of moment by himself alone. So they take offence at it, and Argyle retires, and with-drawes himself home into Argyle. Lennox would gladly have done the like, but the King detained him for the love he bare him, yet did he utter his discontentednesse many wayes. Thus is the Trium-virate dissolved: for which dissolution Angus is blamed, as having encroached upon the others, and drawing all to himself alone. But he seemes to be unjustly blamed, if this were the time of his Government (as it should appeare it was) and not of attendance onely; for they also attended the King at that same time. The decision of this question depends upon the words of the Act or Contract of their agreement in point of governing, which we have not precise. Yet they seem to have been too hastie, in that they did not expect their turne, during the time of which some such thing, or perhaps some better thing might have fallen in their donation, wherein if he had impeded, or hindered them, then they might have had just and undeniable cause to complain of him. Now they abandon their charge, and thereby give him occasion to administer all alone, which is imputed to his

The Trium-  
virate dissol-  
ved.

his ambition. And so he takes all upon him, making small reckoning of their offence, which he esteemed to be unjustly taken; and leaning to the greatnesse of his own power, which was such as we have said; and was now also increased by having the Earl of Huntly for his ward and pupill, he being left Tutour by his Grandfather Earle *Alexander Gordon*, and having gotten the Wardship from the King, so that now he had the friends and dependers of the house of Huntly to be his.

In this mean time fell out the slaughter of *Patrick Blackader* Archdeacon of Dumblane; Cousin Germane to *Robert Blackader*, sometime Priour of Coldingham, and brother Germane to *Robert Blackader* late of Blackader. *Robert* the Priour of Coldingham had been slain before by Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne, and his brother *John Hume* being in his company, is thought to have given him the deadly stroake. This Sir *David* married *Alison Douglas* sister to the Earle of Angus, and relict of *Robert Blackader* of Blackader. She had two onely daughters; married to two of Sir *David*'s brothers; the eldest to this *John Hume*, and the younger to *Robert Hume*; who claimed, and posselt the Lands of Blackader in the right of their wives, who were heirs of Line. Hence arose deadly feude betwixt them, and the name of Blackader, who challenged to be heirs by entailment of the Lands to the heirs male. Wherefore they had laid wait for *John* divers times to have slain him: especially at one time he being in a Taverne in Edinburgh, and his men being all abroad, or in another room with a Gentleman or two of his acquaintance, and companions, a Priest of Arch-deacon *Blackaders* came into the room where he was. *John*, not knowing who he was, desired him to drink with him out of courtesie, but he refused, and went forth presently. When he was gone, one of the house sayest to *John*, if ye had known who that man was, ye would not have offered him any wine, for it was such an one. *If I had known* (sayes *John*) *that it had been he, I should have made him drink his bellie full whether he would or not.* As they were thus talking, a servant of the house going to the door, espies the Arch-deacon coming with a great company of men, and came running to *John* and told him of it, who leaping to the door just as they were ready to enter, made good the door, and drave them back, so that with much ado, he and those that were with him found means to shut it. This attempt so incensed him, that having understood of the Arch-deacons coming to Edinburgh at this time, he lay in wait for him by the way, and slew him. This slaughter was imputed to the Earle of Angus by his enemies; at least some aspersioun thereof was rubbed upon him, because (as they alledged) Angus had sent for the Arch-deacon, and he was come upon his sending for, and (as some said) upon an appointment of agreeance to be made betwixt *John Hume* and him. But *John* ever in all discourse; or conference of that businesse denied that ever there was any appointment, or overture of agreement, or that he ever knew of Angus his sending for him. That which made it the rather beleaved to be done by Angus consent, or privy was, because when in the tumult raised upon the slaughter, divers went out to have apprehended *John*, Sir *George Douglas* (the Earls brother) went out also to have taken him at the Earls command; who was

The slaughter  
of Patrick  
Blackader,  
Archdeacon  
of Dumblane.

Lf

highly

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A faction a-  
gainst Angus.

highly offended that he should have committed this insolencie in his government ; whom when the others saw , they suspected that he being *Johns* wives uncle , and seeing many *Douglasses* and *Humes* in his company (who were friends and allied with *John* ) was come out, not to apprehend but to defend and assist him. Wherefore they returned from pursuing of him. Sir *George* also returned shortly after without finding him ; neither was there any search made for him after that : *Angus* (besides that he was uncle to *Johns* wife ) having almost continuall use of serviceable and active men, being loath to offend his brother Sir *David*, and his other friends in the Merse. And now werethings in working, and a faction making against *Angus*. Arch-bishop *Beton*, who had joynted with him rather out of fear, than good-will, had quickly fallen off from them : And *Angus* , to be revenged of him , had brought the King to his lodging in Edinburgh , and intromitted and seized on his household stufte for his own use. *Argyle* and *Lennox* had separated from him : The Queen and *Arran* were his professed enemies. These had their friends about the King. *Lennox* was ever with him , and most entire of any. His domestick servants were corrupted by the Queen , who therefore all sought by all means to alienate the Kings minde from the *Douglasses* , detracting and calumniating their actions, some justly , many of them unjustly , aggravating their errors, mis-interpreting things doubtful, concealing the good which they did , and traducing all. Thus did the King ( though to retain his favour they had used him with all indulgence , and had loosed the reins to all delights and pleasures, even more than was fit ) weary of their government. Yet were they so incircumspect , or carelesse , that they neglected to remove his suspected servants, and to place their own assured friends about him ; either not doubting them that were with him , or being too confident in their own strength and power , so that by little and little he became altogether alienate : at last he opened his minde to such as he trusted , and began to conferre with them of the way and means how to be set free from that bondage, as he was taught to call it. Above all he did most especially conferre with the Earle of *Lennox*. While they are in plotting of these devices, *Angus* (either not knowing, or not caring what they were doing) was much troubled in settling and ordering the borders, and the out-laws there. He had made many rodes thither, but effected nothing or litle. Now he takes resolution (for the better furtherance ) to go into *Tridale*, and (the more to terrifie the malefactours , and to encourage others against them ) to take the King with him. Being come to *Jedbrough*, he moves the King to command the chief of the *Clannes* to bring in such men as were given up by name in writing to him. It was obeyed ; and by that mean many were execute and put to death , many pardoned in hope of amendment, and that of the principall malefactours. While all are glad hereof , and their mindes loosed to some peace of contentment , the occasion seemed fair , and as it had been fallen from Heaven , to them who were enemies to the *Douglasses*, of taking the King out of their hands and custodie.

The mean is devised thus ; that *Balcleugh* ( who dwelt within a litle of

of Jedbrough ) should invite the King to his house , and retain him there ( being not unwilling ) till more were come and conveyed. But that plot failed by chance , or by discovery , the King being brought back to Melrosse. Notwithstanding hercof , Balcleugh resolving to prosecute, what he intended, would assay to do by force what he had failed in by craft. He assembled about 1000. horse of his friends and other borderers accustomed to theft. He cast himself to be in the Kings way, as he was to passe into Lowthian at the Bridge of Melrosse upon Tweed. The Earle of Angus sends to him, and asks his meaning, & wils him to retire. He answered, he was come to show himself, and his friends to the King his Master, as other border-men did. Then a Herauld was sent to him, commanding him to with-draw himself out of the way ; in the Kings name ; but his answer was, that he knew the Kings minde as well as he, and would not go away till he saw him. The Earle of Angus had not so many in number about him as Balcleugh, yet those he had being his choyce Gentlemen, together with the Chiefs of the names of *Hume*, and *Ker*, *George Lord Hume*, and *Andrew Ker* of Cesford, all valiant and active men, he resolved to hazzard battell. And because they were all come out on horse-back, he gave order that they should alight, and fight on foot. The Lord Hume answered, he would do so if the King would command him to do it. We hear not what answer was made, or that the King commanded, but he alighted, and took part very honestly with the rest. Balcleugh also alighted, but he had no sooner joyned battell; than a great number of his men ( better accustomed to steal then to fight ) fled away and left him. He himself, and his friends, stood to it manfully, and continued the fight, which was for a space very fierce and hard ; as being in the presence of the King, who was a beholder, and was to be the reward of the victor. At last *Walter Scot* of Balcleugh, being hurt, his whole company turned their backs, there being fourscore of them slain, and having first slain *Andrew Ker* of Cesford. Balcleugh escaped himself out of the Field. Hereupon began deadly feude betwixt the *Kers* and *Scots*; or was renewed and continued divers years after, and divers murthers and slaughters followed upon it, amongst which was the slaughter of Sir *Walter Scot* himself in Edinburgh. There my Lord *Fleming* also alighted with Angus, and took part in the confliet; but the Earle of Lennox sate still on his horse by the King, as an indifferent spectator, and looker on. He being before a suspected, but now ( by this ) a declared enemy to the *Douglasses* with-drew himself from Court. This fell out about the 18. of July 1526.

Confliet betwixt Angus and Balcleugh at the bridge of Melrosse. 1526.

After this attempt, Angus perceiving so many evil-affected toward him, entred into parleying with the Earle of Arran; and having composed their old differences, received him to be his partner, and fellow-governour in ruling the Countrey. This did the more incense Lennox against them both, and his anger made them both the more watchfull and carefull to strengthen themselves against him. The ground of their dissention was this; Lennox was Arrans sisters sonné (as hath been said) and failing heirs of his own body, was to be his heir, and to succeed as well to the Earldome of Arran, as to his right and title to the Kingdome

Arran joynes with Angus, and Lennox makes up a faction against them.

254 *Of Archbald the seventh Earle of Angus,*

of Scotland, after the King and his heires, and there being great appearance of it, Lennox had conceived great hope that he should be his heir, because his uncle Arran had been long married to the Chamberlan *Hume* his sister, and had no children by her. She also her self (whether because she was of good age, or because she had been so long barren) had lost all hope to conceive, whereupon her husband (either by her advice, or not without her consent, as is thought) divorceth from her, pretending he had before he married her, lien with a kinswoman of hers, that was so near in blood, as made his marriage with her incestuous, and so could not be brooked by him with a good conscience. So being divorced, he marries one *Beton*, daughter to Creigh in Fyfe, who was brother to *Beton* Archbishop of S. Andrewes. This was a great stop in the Earle of Lennox his hopes, chiefly concerning the Earledome of Arran, for as touching the Crown, the report went, that the King would entaile that to him, out of his own favour. Neither was his hope of Arran quite given over, if the divorcement could afterward be quarrelled either in substance, or formality, which Lawyers might readily do in a subject of this nature, which is so full of questions and doubts. These things wrought jealousy, that contrariety, and alienation of mindes, which soone begat hostility and hatred. The diversity of faction increased it, and it bred and increased the faction. The King held firm for Lennox, or was held firm by him, and sent him many private Letters to many of the Nobilitie, with whom he dealt, and drew a great faction. In which being very confident, he assembled them at Stirling, where was Arch-bishop *Beton*, and divers other Bishops. There he propounded in plain terms, the setting of the King at liberty; which they decreed and appointed a day for the performance and execution thereof. Angus so soon as he had found the winde thereof, and had begun to smell it out, had written to the Earle of Arran to come to Lithgow, where they might meet, and take such order as was needfull. Arran was not slow, but gathered his Forces quickly, and kept the appointment. Lennox hearing of it, resolved (though the day were not yet come that was appointed for his associates to convene at Stirling) to adventure to set upon the *Hamiltons*, before Angus (who was at Edinburgh) should joyne with them, with such power as he had ready about him. The *Hamiltons* having notice of Lennox his intention, advertised the Earle of Angus thereof. Angus made ready, and addressed himself for the journey, but he got many lets and impediments. The King also did hinder and stay him not a little, for he lay long a bed, pretending indisposition and sickishnesse, he marched slowly, and stayed often, and made many halts by the way, as being weary, and troubled with loosenesse of his belly, which moved him often to untrusse, which he did onely for an excuse of purpose to stay them. Angus perceiving it, and fearing lest he should come too late, left his brother Sir *George*, and some few with him to attend the King, made all the haste he could to joyn with Arran in time. In this mean while, Lennox was come from Stirling straight to Linlithgow, and the *Hamiltons* issuing out of the Town, had manned the Bridge, which is a mile from the Town; and the rest had put themselves in order of battell along some small hills

not

not farre from the Bridge. This forced Lennox to forsake the passing of the River by the Bridge, and to crosse the water at a foord a little above, near to the Abbey of Machlein. He exhorted his men to assaile the *Hamiltons*, before Angus should come to assist them: and they made haste, but by too much haste they broke their ranks, and having the little hills to climbe up, they were out of winde when they came to strokes, and withall the cry arose that Angus did approach. So the *Hamiltons* assailing them with long Weapons from a ground of advantage, and the *Douglasses* also coming upon them on the other hand, Lennox his men were over-thrown, being sore wounded. This was done ere Sir *George Douglas* could come to them, who desired greatly to be with his brother, but was held back by the Kings pretences. It is constantly reported, that Sir *George* seeing the King linger thus, and knowing that he did it of purpose, said to him in great fury, *It is as much as our lives are worthy, if our enemies get you from us to day; which, rather than they shall do, we will hold fast one half of you, and let them pull away the other.* These words the King never forgot, nor forgave; neither would ever hear of pardoning him; when he seemed not to be implacable towards the rest. When the King could not stay Angus any longer from going to aide the *Hamiltons*, he sent *Andrew Wood* of Largo to have saved Lennox life by all means. But he was slain in the chace by the Earle of Arrans base son *James Hamilton*, who used the victory cruelly, and whom afterwards a Groom of Lennox wounded almost to death, having stabbed him in five or six places, in revenge of his Lords death. He was lamented of his uncle Arran with many tears; by Angus with sorrow and sadnesse of heart; but above all, the King took his death ill, seeing his care to save him not to have succeeded. It is said that when he was coming from Stirling, Arran sent to him, and prayed him not to come forward, but to stay, otherwise that he would force him to fight him, which he desired not to do. To which Lennox answered; That he would not stay, but would go and see the King maugre him, and all that would take his part. But his purpose was directly to fight the *Hamiltons*, and not to go to the King; for he could not go to him, and leave them strong behinde him, having the *Douglasses* before him. There were slain with him the Laird of Howstoun, and the Master of Glencarne was sore wounded, and hardly saved by the Earle of Angus, whose Cousin he was (brother and sisters children) as is said above. After the Battell, those that had borne arms against the King were enquired after, and summoned to compeere in judgement; but some of them compounded for money, some became dependers to the house of Angus, some to the Earle of Arran. The obstinate were pursued by Law, such as the Earle of Cassils, who alledged for himself; that he had the Kings Letter to show for his warrant, to do what he had done; whereupon they desisted from further processe against him; which I see no ground why they should have done upon a private Letter; and as little reason is there why they could not charge him with the hurting or slaying of some man, seeing he was in the Battel. It should seem they would not have been so malicious, & vehement against men, as our writers give out; or not so pregnant

Conflict at  
Linlithgow.  
Lennox and  
Hamilton.

Lennox slain.

in

in the inventing of crimes and quarrells, as men are now a dayes. Cassills was slain by the Sheriffe of Aire his friends ( a little after ) at the instigation of Arrans bastard, who had killed Lennox at Linlithgow, because he stood to justifie himself , and refused to become a depender of the house of Arran. His son betook himself to the protection of the *Douglasses*, came to *Archbald Douglas* of Kilspindie ( who was then Thesaurer to the King ) and was kindly received by him, and lovingly entreated, as one who for his noble birth and towardlinesse he intended to make his son-in-law. Now the Earle of Angus knowing well that Archbishop *Beton* was one of the chief stirrers up of the Earle of Lennox in this enterprife against him, remembring also how he had before stirred up Arran in the same manner, and his assisting of him at Edinburgh, and many other times, goes now to S. Andrews, takes the Castle by force, and pillageth it, but could not apprehend the Fox himself , who fled from hole to hole, and linked secretly amongst his friends. The Queen also ( lest she should come into her husbands hands ) kept her self hid and solitarie. Theie escaped their search.

After this he went to the Border , where he caused the principall of every Name to give pledges and hostages for their good behaviour , and keeping of good order. And first he went into Liddisdale with an army, where they came and yeilded themselves to him ; and the rest of the Borderers followed their example. And now had the Earle of Angus settled all things, in all appearance. His enemies were overcome on the East hand at Melrosse ; on the West at Lithgow ; the Earle of Lennox was dead, and his Faction dispersed and broken , the Queens authoritie dashed, and Bishop *Beton* beaten out of the cock-pit , both put to save themselves by hiding, all hush, and under hatches, no partie, no faction, no men to make head against him. An estate highly esteemed , greatly affected, and much sought for by men. But as in our bodies, fulnesse of health hath the own danger, so in our estates , too great prosperitie and ease are the fore-runners of change, which ( as experience doth teach ) is even then at the doores when there is least appearance otherwise. It fell out just so now while the *Douglasses* were thus secure of all danger, knowing too well, and leaning too much to their own strength , no partie to take the King from them, no place strong enough to keep him in when he were taken, nor to keep them out, no meanes to effect either the one or the other, and threupon grew slothfull in attending him, are often abroad about their businesse, he findes first the place, then the means to escape, then the party to maintaine it, and at last to overthrow them. The Queen ( his mother ) had the Castle of Stirling as a part of her dowrie , which, while she ( for fear of the *Douglasses* ) hides her self , was left emptie and waste, and yet not seized on by them, who were neither so greedie, as men would have them to appear, by so much ; neither so circumspect as wise men should have been, to secure themselves, knowing the fitnessse of the place for such a purpose, the disposition of the owner, and the inclination of the King toward themselves. Now her fear being somewhat abated, and the coasts being clear of them, the Queens servants returned thither, and furnished it more for show , than sufficient resistance of any Force.

The

The beginning of a change with Angus, and his discourting.



The King making (wisely) choice of it, knowing there was no other place so strong, pretending the conveniencie of hunting (even to her) transacts secretly with her, and gives her Methwen in exchange for it, with other Lands about Methwen, no lesse convenient and profitable for her. And so he had gotten his first point, a place of retreat. The meanes how to retire, were easie, which was the next. He was in Falkland, which was not far from Stirling, in a countrey not subject to the *Douglasses*, nor near their forces and power. Angus, and Sir *George* his brother, are both absent about affairs of the Countrey, and none of theirs we hear of, that were to attend the King, or few and negligent they were, as men are wont when they are secure. So he goeth from Falkland, to Stirling in the night, with a few of his familiar servants, as secretly as he could. Having gained these two points of them by their error, there rested the third (without which these errors had been no errors to them, nor advantage to him, they had been of no effect nor importance) that was a partie to maintain the retreat. This is the main point, and their main error, the cause, and the ground of the other two errors, that made them slothfull in seizing that house, in attending the King, because they laid their ground, there could be no partie in Scotland. And *Buchanan* writes concerning the Earle Bothwells refusal to be Lieutenant against them, that he saw them a little before to be such, as all the rest of Scotland were not able to match them. But they took not heed, nor considered, that then the King was with them. However his minde was against them, he was in their custodie and power, and if any had been ill affected to them, he could be no warrant to any Faction, having no assurance of his life, which was at their disposing, and therefore he could not be a Head to any: These considerations being of no small consequence, as the event now proves: for he is no sooner gone from them, than he findes a partie against them, now that he could be a Head to a partie. He writes for many of the Nobilitie, they come all to him: others upon the first news of his retiring, came without staying till they were sent for. So that he quickly found himself free, and out of danger to be forced. Then by their advice he causeth make a Proclamation, that the *Douglasses* abstaine from all administration, and handling of publick affairs, and that none of them, or their dependers, come within twelve miles of the King, under pain of death. This Edict being brought to them, as they were on their way toward Stirling, many of their friends advised them to go forward, but the Earle himself, and Sir *George*, resolved to obey, and perswaded the rest to do so. A dutifull and wise resolution, if there was not sufficient power with them to go forward, which others that counselled them to go on, have thought sufficient: And if withall they had resolved to lay down their necks under the yoke, and beare whatsoever should be laid upon them. But that they did not resolve to do, as appeareth afterward, therefore they lost here also the occasion which might have procured them peace on better and more equall termes. They returned to Linlithgow to remain there, till they should hear farther from Court. This their retiring, and not going forward to Stirling, is such an over-sight, as a man could scarce have looked for at so wise and resolute heads and hands. But where ruine is determined,

The King  
escapes to  
Stirling Castle.

Angus and  
the *Douglasses*  
banished from  
the Court.

## 258 *Of Archbald the seventh Earle of Angus;*

Parliament  
at Edinburgh  
the 6. of Sept.  
1528.

terminated, wisdom is taken from the wisest, and hearts from the hardest. They will disobey more out of time hereafter. The King makes use of that respite of time, assembleth more and more Forces, summons a Parliament in September. They go to Edinburgh, and assemble also their friends more fully. Both parties aimed more at their own security, and to defend themselves, than to offend the other, yet they give place again, and the second of August leave the City, which day the King entered with displayed banner: from thence (by entreatie of friends) he sent conditions to them, which if they would obey, there was some hope shewne of clemencie and gentle dealing towards them. These were, That the Earle of Angus himself should be confined beyond Spey, and his brother Sir *George*, together with his uncle *Archbald* of Kilspindie, should go to prison to the Castle of Edinburgh. But they rejected the conditions, and thereupon were summoned to compear at the Parliament in Edinburgh the sixth of September. In the mean while their Offices are taken from them, the Chancellorship from the Earle, which we hear not when it was given to him. Archbishop *Beton* had been Chancellor in the Governours time, he had consented to the Triumvirate, and afterward had left and forsaken them. Then hath it been taken from *Beton* (as far as we can conjecture) and given to Angus. It was now given to *Gavin Dumbear* the Kings Pedagogue in law matters, one who was no ill man, but who was thought to be a greater Schollar, than wise and prudent for government. The Thesaurers place was taken from Kilspindie, and given to *Robert Carnecrosse*, a man better knowne by his bags of money, than for his vertues. Thus driven to their last hopes, they labour to hinder the meeting of the Parliament, by taking of Edinburgh where it was to sit, and from whence the King was returned to Stirling. For this end they send *Archbald* of Kilspindie, with some troops of horse, to assay what he could do. A poor shift, if they had gotten it. But the King had prevented them, and sent thither *Robert Maxwell*, who with his friends and dependers, assisted by a great number of the Commons, excluded them, and with watch and ward kept the town till the Kings return. Hereupon Angus retired to his house at Tantallon. The day of the Parliament being come, they were cited, accused, condemned, and forfeited; the Earle, Sir *George*, Kilspindie, and *Drummond* of Carnock. The main cause, and clearest evidence given in against them, was, that the King swore he was ever in fear of his life, so long as he was with them. It is strange that his feare should have seemed a sufficient cause and evidence of forfeiture. Their absence was no cause, for they were prohibited to come within 12. miles of the K. & they had forgotten to release them from that command & interdiction. Sir *John Ballantine*, who was then one of their dependers, & afterward Justice-Clerk, knew it well, and did freely and courageously protest in open audience, that nothing done there should be hurtfull, or prejudicial to the Earle, because he had just cause of fear, & so of his absence, which should be declared in the own time; which was both an honest part toward his patron, and a wise and stout part in it self. Upon this protestation the forfeiture was reduced seventeen years after this. But for the present it goeth on; and an act was also made against such as should receive,

The Douglasses  
are forfeited.

ceive them, that they should be liable to the same punishment of forfeiture. Soon after this, *William*, Abbot of Halyroodhoule (Angus his brother) died through sicknesse which he had contracted by grief and sorrow for their estate. The rest, seeing no appearance of pardon, make now for open violence. Who can think but it was as unfit now, as fit to have used it when they stayed from going to Stirling? But then they have had hope of more favour, which hath marred all their course. Better late wise than never, time was driven, but they counted it not lost, because by their so long patience they had given proof of their goodwill; now they will shew their enemies what power they had then, and that it was willingnesse, not weaknesse, made them to forbear doing more than they did. They burn Gowland, and Cranston, and daily rode about Edinburgh in view of the City; so that it was in a manner besieged, the mean sort suffering for the faults of the great ones. By this their proceeding, the thieves and broken men of the borders, and elsewhere (whom they had before restrained in their government) loosed from all fear of them, waxed bold to come out of their lurking places, and greatly molested the Countrey people about them. Many outrages were committed by many, in many places; oppression, theft, murders, and robberies. All was imputed to the *Douglasses*, and called their doing by the Courtiers, thinking thereby to please the King well. There was a Ship (called the *Martin*) which being loaden with rich Ware, brake about the Skate-raw, and the common people came and took away the goods from the owners; this was laid also upon them, and their faction and followers, though nothing of it came to their use, unlesse it were that some of their stragling horsemen, happening to be there at that time, might perhaps get their share with others.

About this time the King resolves to besiege Tantallon Castle in Lowthian, some sixteen miles from Edinburgh, and for that purpose causes bring Ordinance, Powder and Bullet from Dumbar, which was then kept by the servants of the late Governour the Duke of Albanie, as a portion of his patrimony. There was in Tantallon one *Simcon Penan-goe*, with a competent number of men, well furnished and provided both of Victuals and Munition. The Earle himself remained at Billie in the Merse, within his Baronie of Bonkle, not willing to shut himself up within the Walls of any strength, having ever in his mouth this maximè (which he had received from his Predecessours) That it was better to hear the Lark sing, than the Mouse cheep. The Castle was well defended for certain dayes, none hurt within; many without were wounded with shot from the Castle, and some burnt and scalded with their own Powder, which took fire unawares; and divers killed. The besiegers were troubled without by the horsemen, who assaulted them daily at their trenches, so that seeing no hope of carrying it, they raised their siege, and retired. In their retreat they were set upon in the Reare by Angus his horsemen; and one *David Falconer* (a principall Cannonier) slain with some other hired Muskietiers, and two of the Cannons cloyed. This the K. took so highly (esteeming it an affront and scorn put upon him) that he swore openly, that so long as he lived, the *Douglasses* should never be re-

Tantallon  
besieged.

M m

ceived

received into favour. He was then young, and in his hot blood, and saw not their worth, or at least looked upon it through the prospective of an angry passion; but before he died, he saw it more settledly and clearly, and that their service was more steadable than all theirs that were now about him. Being come to Edinburgh, he adviseth what was next to be done. It was thought fit to keep a company at Coldingham, which needed not to be very great, but onely to lye there constantly, to preserve and protect the common people from their incursions. But that was to *kill the Cat*; a good designe, but difficult to prosecute. Billie (where Angus made his residence) is within five miles of Coldingham, and all the Countrey about did favour him; yea, some in that same Town it self did bear him good will. The task to execute this conclusion, was laid upon the Earle Bothwell, who was the most powerfull man in Lowthian. He refuses it absolutely, as that which he was not able to perform. So is the King driven to think of another. The Earle of Arran was the greatest in power and friendship; but he had slain the Earle of Lennox at Linlithgow, and was in societie with the *Douglasse*. He doubts with what zeal or fidelity he would prosecute the businesse. Argyle was in great account, for warrelike and politick wisdom; But he lay farre off, in the North-West parts of the Kingdome. There is no remedie, he must be the man; he is made Lieutenant, and (as our Writers say) by the Lord Humes assistance drove Angus out of Scotland. But all our ancient men, who lived in those dayes, and were present at those doings, and actors in them, say the contrary, That he did no good, but came to Dumbarton, and some of his companies going before, were set upon at the Peeths, and three or fourscore of them slain. Hereupon was made this rime in derision, beginning thus:

Argyles expedition against them frustrated.

*The Earle of Argyle is bound to ride  
From the border of Edge-bucklin bray,  
And all his Habergeons harn beside,  
Each man upon a sonke of Stray,  
They made their vow that they would slay, &c.*

Angus returneth to England.

Neither did the Lord Hume take any particular dealing against him; neither did he leave Scotland, being compelled thereto by force (as our traditioners say) but upon the King of Englands desire, who wished him so farre to obey and yeeld to his Prince. He also caused him to render Tantallon up to the King. What warrand the King of England had, and what promises by word (for it stood not with his honour to give any thing in writ, that his clemency might be free and voluntary, and not by capitulation) our History doth rather glance at it, than expresse it in these words: *That the Castle of Tantallon being rendred, the King should under his hand-writing, assure them of the rest of their petitions.* Yet the Castle being rendred, the rest were not (for all that) sincerely kept. What he speaks of the rendering of the Castle, our old men (acquainted with these mysteries) speak also of the Earles leaving Scotland; That both were done upon these promises. They tell also what the promises

ses were , that they should be received again , pardoned, and get their peace (the Kings honour being once thus salved by his going out of the Countrey, and rendering of the Castle) within such a space as was agreed on. Our Histories also signifie no lesse by the exception which it makes in this : The rest (sayes he) were not sincerely kept, except that favour was granted to *Alexander Drumond* to return, &c. Then his return hath been one of the conditions , seeing it is accepted as one of them that were performed. Neither hath the condition been that he alone should return , but that they should be brought home all of them. He signifies also , that *Drumonds* return was not permitted out of any respect to the promise , but at the request of *Robert Bartaine*. So that the exception is no exception ; and so nothing hath been kept. But the King of England (to whom the promise was made ) was not at this time disposed to exact the performance of it , and to back his exacting of it with 40000. men , as Princes promises should be urged. Men say he had other work in hand , and businesse of his own to request for ; which was to desire his Nephew *James* to be quiet , and not to trouble his Kingdome while he made Warre against the Emperour *Charles*. Yet afterward in the year 1532. he fought it directly amongst the conditions of peace, that the *Douglas* ( according to his promise ) should be restored. For King *Henries* own part he entertained them with all kinde of beneficence and honour , and made both the Earle and Sir *George* of his privie Council.

He and Sir  
*George* Privie  
Counsellours  
there.

The Kings anger still continued against them in such sort , that nine years after , in 1537. he was contented that *Jeane Douglas* Lady Glames ( who was *Angus* sister ) should be accused by false witnesses ; condemned and execute. The point of her accusation was , that she , and her husband ( *Archbald Campbell* then ) and her sonne and an old Priest, had gone about to make away the King by Witch-craft. Their servants were tried and racked, but confessed nothing, the accuser *John Lion* ( a Kinsman of her first husband ) when he saw how they were like to be used, and that the house of Glames would be ruined, repenting of what he had done ; confessed to the King that he had wronged them ; but it did no good. She was burnt upon the Castle hill with great commiseration of the people , in regard of her noble blood , of her husband, being in the prime of her years , of a singular beauty ; and suffering all , though a woman, with a man-like courage , all men conceiving that it was not this fact , but the hatred the King carried to her brothers , that had brought her to this end. Her husband seeking to escape over the wall of the Castle, fell , and broke his leg, and so died. Her sonne was kept in prison , because he was so young that the law could not strike against him. Others were committed to Ward , as Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne (who was *Angus* his sisters son) to the Black-Nesse, for whom his mother Dame *Alison Douglas* coming often to entreat the King for him , though he alwayes used her courteously , and gave her good countenance ( and that almost onely to her of all their friends ) so that his language was by way of excusing without deniall , yet she could obtain nothing till a little before his death about the rode of Fawla , when hee began to misse

*William*

Glames  
burnt.

M m 1

their

their service ; then he set him at libertie. His implacabilitie did also appear in his carriage toward *Archbald* of *Kilspindie* , whom he ( when he was a childe ) loved singularly well for his ability of body , and was wont to call him his *Gray Steell*. *Archbald* being banished into England, could not well comports with the humour of that Nation , which he thought to be too proud , and that they had too high a conceit of themselves , joyned with a contempt and despising of all others. Wherefore being wearied of that life , and remembring the Kings favour of old toward him , he determined to trie the Kings mercifulnesse and clemency. So he comes into Scotland , and taking occasion of the Kings hunting in the Park at *Stirlin* , he casts himself to be in his way, as he was coming home to the Castle. So soon as the King saw him afar off , ere he came near , he ghesse it was he , and said to one of his Courtiers , yonder is my *Gray Steell*, *Archbald* of *Kilspindie* , if he be alive. The other answered , that it could not be he , and that he durst not come into the Kings presence. The King approaching , he fell upon his knees, and craved pardon, and promised from thence forward to abstain from all meddling in publick affairs, and to lead a quiet and a private life. The King went by without giving him any answer, and trotted a good round pace up the hill. *Kilspindie* followed , and ( though he wore on him a Secret, or shirt of Maile for his particular enemies ) was as soon at the Castle gate as the King. There he sat him down upon a stone without, and entreated some of the Kings servants for a cup of drink, being wearie and thirstie : but they fearing the Kings displeasure, durst give him none. When the K. was sat at his dinner, he asked what he had done, what he had said, and whither he was gone : It was told him, that he had desired a cup of drink, and had gotten none. The King reproved them very sharply for their discourtesie, and told them, that if he had not taken an oath, that no *Douglas* should ever serve him, he would have received him into his service. , for he had seen him sometime a man of great abilitie. Then he sent him word to go to *Leith* , and expect his farther pleasure. Then some kinsman of *David Falconer* ( the Cannonier that was slain at *Tantallon* ) began to quarell with *Archbald* about the matter , where-with the King shewed himself not well pleased when he heard of it. Then he commanded him to go to *France* for a certain space, till he heard farther from him. And so he did, and died shortly after. This gave occasion to the King of England ( *Henry* the 8. ) to blame his Nephew , alledging the old saying, *That a Kings face should give grace*. For this *Archbald* ( whatsoever were *Anguses* or *Sir George* his fault ) had not been principal actor of any thing, nor no counsellour or stirrer up , but onely a follower of his friends, and that no wayes cruelly disposed. He caused also execute *Sir James Hamilton* of *Evendale* , for divers reasons : but that which incensed him most, was his correspondencie, and secret trafficking and meeting with the banished *Douglases* , especially with *Sir George*, whom he met with in the Park-head, as the King was informed. There was no man that he could hear had but received them into his house, but he caused apprehend , and execute the rigour of the law upon them. He caused the Laird of *Blackader* bring in *John Nisbet* of the *Spittell*,  
and

*Kilspindie*  
dieth in  
*France*.

and made him to be executed to death, for receiving (as was alledged at least) the Earle of Angus into his house. These many executions proceeding from many reports and delations given to him, bred great suspicion in his minde, all the woods seemed full of theeves. Many were put to death for the *Douglasses*; this was a token that they had many favourers: many were offended by these executions, and so many ill-willers by being offended. So his suspicion against the Nobilitie was daily increased; his jealousie growes, cares multiply, his minde is disturbed, which would not suffer him to sleep sound, but troubled his head with dreames and fanfies.

In the mean time the Warres began with England by mutuall incurfions on the Borders. The King sent *George Gordon* Earle of Huntley to the Border to repress the English. But they seeing his Forces so small, came forward to have burnt Jedburgh. The Lord *Hume* hearing of their intention, went and lay in their way. The Earle of Angus had been sent down to the Border by the K. of England, to wait for occasion to do something against Scotland, and was now with these English here. Hee dissuaded them from fighting, and told them, that the Lord *Hume* would not flee, nor his men leave him, and that they would all die at his feet. But they would needs fight, and were overthrowne. The Earle of Angus himself was almost taken, for he was caught about the neck, and rid himself again with his dagger, and so escaped. There were some slaine, more taken, all scattered and chased. The King was so glad hereof, that he gave the lands of the *Hirfell* to Sir *Andrew Ker* of Little-dean for bringing the first newes hereof: but he that was the chief actor the Lord *Hume* got nothing. This was at *Halden rig*. Then was the rode of *Fawla*, where the Nobilitie did flatly refuse to fight, and suffered the English to retire, and escape without battell or skirmish. The King being there in person, was so enraged hereat, that he burst forth into open railing against them, calling them cowards, and beasts that were not worthy of their places or Predecessours; and withall told them, that he should bring home those that durst and would fight, meaning the Earle of Angus and his friends. Then followed on the neck of this the defeat at *Solemne-Mosse*, where *Oliver Sinclair* being deserted by the Nobility, was faine to flee, and so lost the day; and many were taken prisoners; many also yeelded themselves to the English. The King, who was not farre off, when he heard of it, was wonderfully commoved, having his minde distracted with indignation, anger, grief and sorrow; now thinking how to be avenged on them that had dealt thus traiterously with him; then of new preparation for the Warres, & how it should be managed. For which he saw now there was but one way left, which was to bring home the Earle of Angus; upon what ever terms; seeing at last what a subject he had thrust from him, and repenting him, said he should bring him home, that would take order with them also. But it was too late, for his death ensuing shortly after, hindered the execution of that purpose. He died the thirteenth of December 1542. leaving one onely daughter *Mary* his heir behinde him, a childe of five dayes old.

Haldenrig.

Hirfel lands  
given to  
A. Ker.  
Fawla.Solemne  
Mosse.K. James the  
fifth dieth.  
1542.

But although he lived not to effect his determination, yet he gave them



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them an honourable testimony of their worth , and withall made a confession of the wrong he had done to them , and gave them a clear absolution from all former imputation. And so for their part they rest satisfied with it , and seek no other. The King was dead, who had purposed to have brought them home , his will is enough to them ; they stand not on ceremonies , they come home now unlent for. There were taken prisoners at the Solom-Mosse ; seven Earles and Lords , foure and twenty others, of inferiour , but good place and quality. When King *Henry* of England had triumphed a while over them ( causing to lead them from the Towre of London to Court through Cheapside Street the 20. of December upon Saint *Thomas* day ) he rebuked them as breakers of Covenant by a long harangue of his Chancellour ; who magnified the Kings mercy , who did ( said he ) remit much of the rigour he might justly have used against them. After this they had some more freedome ; and when the news of the Kings death was come , he dealt kindly with them , and told them his intention ; which was to have their Kings daughter married to his sonne Prince *Edward* , that so the Nations of England and Scotland might be joyned together by that alliance ; for affecting of which match he takes their promise to favour his designe , and to set it forward at home as farre as they might without dammage to their Countrey , or reproach and infamy to themselves. So ( having first taken pledges and hostages of them at New-Castle , by the Duke of North-folke, for their return , in case the peace were not agreed on ) he sent them home to Scotland the first of January 1543. with these returned our *Douglasses* ( the Earle and Sir *George* ) after fifteen years exile , and were receivd of all with great joy and gratulation. Onely they were not welcome to the Cardinall. They had been ever at variance , they ranne divers courses in policie , he suspected their Religion , specially Sir *Georges*. He knew they would not approve nor ratifie the Kings testament which he had forged , wherein he was made Protector and Governour , with three Noblemen to be his Assessours. He doubted not , but that they would oppose him in the Parliament ; and therefore here he found means to be chosen Governor before their return. Yet his fraud was detected before they came home , and he debouted, and put from that authority. In his place *James Hamilton* Earle of Arran was chosen , as being the man to whom it properly belonged , as next heire , and best beloved, partly because they had a good opinion of his towardly disposition , and that he was not averse from the reformed Religion ( whereof he willingly read the controversies ) partly because they hated the Archbishop *Beton* and his priests crueltye , which put every man in fear of their government. That businesse was settled ere they came home. The next point was the marriage of the young Queen , which they were to set forward with England. The Queen mother, and the Cardinall, and the whole faction of the Priests, oppose this way with all their might and power. But they prevailed not , and the Cardinall because he troubled all , and would suffer nothing to be done orderly , he was shut up in a Chamber till the matters were concluded ; and pledges promised to be given to the English Ambassadour Sir *Ralph Sadler* for performance.

Ambassadours

*Hamilton* Governor.

Ambassadors also were sent into England to treat on the conditions. They were, the Earle of Glencarne, Sir George Douglas, Sir William Hamilton of Machane, and the Secretarie of estate. These remained four moneths in England, agreed at last, and concluded all articles and conditions. But in their absence, the Cardinall was set at liberty, who troubled all, gathered a contribution of the Clergie, and what by bribing, what by other practices used by him, and the Queen, turns the Nobilitie quite an other way. When those that had been sent into England were returned, and found things in this estate, they were much grieved at it, and laboured to recall things, and to perswade them to keep their promise made to King Henry. To move them hereto, Sir George Douglas spake to them very earnestly, and told them the apologue of the asse, which a King did love so dearly, that he had a great minde and desire to have her to speak: and having dealt with divers Physicians to make her to speak, they told him it was a thing impossible, and gainst nature; but he being impatient, and not enduring to have his desire crossed, slew them because they told him the truth. At last he trying about what others could doe, one, who was made wise by their example, being required to do it, he undertook it; but withall he shew him, that it was a great work, and would be very chargeable. The King being set upon it to have it done, told him he should have what allowance he pleased, and bade him spare for no charges: and that besides he would reward him liberally. The Physician told him that it would prove also a long cure, and could not be done in a day, ten years were the fewest that could be allotted to it. The King considered of it, and was contented to allow him that time for performing it; and so they agreed, and the Physician began to fall to work about his asse. His friends hearing of it, came to him, and asked him what he meant, to take in hand that which could not be performed in nature. He smiled, and said unto them, I thought you had been wiser than to ask me such a question: if I had (sayes he) refused to take it in hand, he had put me to death presently, now I have gained ten years time, before which be expired, who can tell what may happen. The King may die, the asse may die, I my self may die; and if any of these happen, I am freed. In the mean time I shall be in good estate, wealth, honour, and the Kings favour. Even so (sayes Sir George) stands the case with us at this time: if wee refuse and leap back from the conditions that are propounded and agreed on, wee enter into present Warre, for which we are very unfit, and ill provided. If we embrace them, we gain time; we shall enjoy peace and quietnesse during the Queens childe-hood, and before that be expired, Prince Edward may die, our Queen may die, King Henry may die, or the parties when they come to age, may refuse one another, or then perhaps (as things may fall out) it may be thought the best way by us all. But he could not perswade them to it, the Queen mother, and the Cardinall, the Popish and Politick Faction standing for France, and drawing all to that end, had so wrought the matter, that there was no place left to any wholesome counsell. These two for strengthening of their party had sent to France, and moved that

Sir George Douglas his speech concerning marrying with England.

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Lennox  
comes home  
out of France.

that King to send home *Matthew* Earle of Lennox a competitour and counterpoyle to the house of Hamilton. He came, being put in hope of the Queens marriage, and to be made Governour, but when he saw himself deluded, and *Beton* preferred to the government, in effect upon agreement of Arran, and the Cardinall ( wherein Arran had renounced the controverted heads of Religion, and addicted himself fully to the Queen and Cardinall, to be ruled by them ) he forsook them, and so did also the Governours chief friends leave him, and turne to Lennox: And now Lennox had made a strong party against the Governour and the Cardinall, but at last he was drawn to come to a Parley with them, first at Edinburgh, and then at Linlithgow, where finding that they intended to intrap him, he fled in the night, first to Glasgow, then to the Castle of Dumbartan. About this time the *Hamiltons* and *Douglasses* were reconciled: and for further assurance of sincere and firm friendship, *Sir George Douglas*, and *Alexander Cunningham* Master of Glencarne, were given as pledges ( the one for his brother, and the other for his father ) to the Governour *Hamilton*, upon promise to be released within a few dayes, but they were kept till the English Army came. Angus himself also, and the Lord *Maxwell* going to mediate a peace betwixt the Governour and Lennox ( a dutifull part of a Nobleman, and of a good Patriot ) was retained; and both sent out at a back-door at Glasgow, to Hamilton, while their followers did wait for them at the ordinary fore-gate of the Governours lodging. Angus was sent afterward to the Black-Nesse, and kept there a close prisoner. Thus were both he and his brother in the hands of their enemies: neither did their wisdome or experience, the examples of their Predecessours, or their own maximes and rules save them from being intrapped. But who can keep himself from deceit: What wisdome was ever able to do it? we heard before in the Lord Hume ( Chamberlain ) how he was caught, and therefore no wonder, though the young *Douglasses* ( put to death in Edinburgh Castle ) were deceived. It is wrong to impute it to want of fore-sight, as these two ( who were at other times wary enough ) may witnesse. They may thank God more than their own good guiding, if they escape with life; but that God doth worke it out, where their wisdome failed. He sends in the English Navie, which was bound for Boloigne, under the command of the Earle of Hartford. Some sayes that they were so directed by King *Henry* to relieve the Earl and his brother; some, that it was to revenge the rejecting of his affinitie. However it was the mean and occasion of their releasing. For having landed at Leith unlooked for, the Governour and Cardinall were forced to flee out of Edinburgh, which they burnt, being abandoned by them, and the Citizens being most of them absent about their Traffick. The Governour, either required to do so by the Earle of Hartford ( who threatned to destroy more of the Countrey after the same manner if he refused ) or of his own motion, so to regain their favour, and service of their followers, set them all at liberty, Angus, *Maxwell*, Glencarne, and *Sir George*. Their wisdome saved them not from being caught, but their worth releaseth them, either in the judgement of King *Henry* ( if it were his requesty

Angus and  
Sir George  
made prisoners.

They are released again.

quest) or in the estimation of their enemies, if it came meereely of themselves, who saw how steadable, yea how necessary their favour was to them. That which had brought them home, if King James had lived, procures their liberty from this Governour now when the King is dead. Envie committed them, true valour brings them out of prison. So it is seen ere long: for Lennox being forsaken by the French, and his partners overthrowne by the *Hamiltons*, he fled into England; and was well received and entertained by King *Henry*, who gave him also his sisters daughter by the Earle of Angus, Lady *Margaret Douglas* to wife. On her he begate *Henry* Lord Darneley, who was married to Queen *Mary* of Scotland. He sought to have married the Queen Dowager, he is rejected; but he fares better, and comes to reigne in both the Realmes by his Posteritie. Let men look on it, and see the deepnesse of providence, and learne not to distrust in whatsoever strait, seeing the worst doth often occasion the best; for even in exile being condemned and forfeited, he was laying the foundation of this returne.

Lennox goes to England.

Marries Lady Margaret Douglas.

Of these dissensions at home, the Forrein enemy takes advantage, the K. of England sends an Armie to Scotland, burnes Jedburgh, and Kelso, takes Coldingham, and fortifies the Abbay and steeple thereof. Thither goes the Governour *Hamilton* with 8000. men in winter, and batters the steeple one whole day and night, all the Company standing all that while in Armes. The next day he took horse, and went to Dumbar with all the speed he could, accompanied onely with a few of his most familiar friends, without acquainting the Nobilitie or Armie with his departure. What it was that moved him hereto, is uncertain, whether it were some rumour of the enemies approaching, or that he feared lest his own Armie (whom he had offended many wayes) should have delivered him into the hands of the English. This troubled them all so much the more, because they knew not thereason of it. Wherefore they began to advise what was next to be done: Some thought it best that every man should go whither he would, and leave the Ordnance a pray to the enemy. Others thought it was better to charge them double, and so to break them, that they might not be usefull to the enemy. Thus is the case brought to an exigent, this is the place for the Earle of Angus to shew himself to be a *Douglas* of the right stamp. So he doth, he rejects both these wayes as dishonourable, and exhorts them, that they would not adde this grosse error in Warre to their shamefull flight. But when he could not perswade them either by reason or authoritie, he cries out aloud, that they might all hear, *For my part (saith he) I had rather die honourably, than live with shame, though with never so much riches and ease. Ye that are my friends and companions in armes, do what you think best, but I shall either bring home this Ordnance, or shall not bring home my self alive, and one and the same day shall end both my life and my honour.* Having spoken thus, he commanded them to go on with the Ordnance, and he with his Companie, and some few more that stayed with him for shame, marched after, to keep off the English that pursued them, and so brought them safely to Dumbar. Then turning him to the Master of the Ordnance, *Take them there to thee (saith he) better thus, than either broken, or left behinde.* A sober and gentle re-

The Governour and Angus at Coldingham.

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proof to those that had abandoned him, yet such as might put them in minde of their fault.

*Sir Ralph Ivers, and Sir Brian Laiton expedition.*

The honour was his, but the fault (more observed oftentimes) redounded to the discouraging of the Countrey, and emboldening of the English, which gave new occasion of stirring up in him the ancient vertues proper to the name, valour, and love of his Countrey. *Sir Ralph Ivers*, and *Sir Brian Laiton*, had made divers in-rides into Scotland, in the Merse, Tividale, and Lawderdale, with good successe, finding no man to oppose or make head against them. The Inhabitants of those places, had for the most part yeelded, and taken on the badge of England, the red Crosse, or at least kept themselves in strong places in safetie from the enemy. They esteemed all conquered, and for that which rested, they made account to conquer all unto Forth. So to Court they go, and sue to the King for a reward of their service, the enlarging of his Dominions. The Duke of North-folk, who had made warre in Scotland divers times, and knew the fashion of the Countrey, how easie a matter it was to make the Commons (when they wanted a Head in time of Civill and intestine dissention) to yeeld to any conditions; but withall know also, that they would presently cast off the yoke so soon as they found any to lead them into the field, he perswades the King to bestow upon them for their reward, all the Land that they had conquered, and to encourage them to go on, promiseth unto them all the Land that they could conquer more thereafter. They come to the Borders full of hopes, and increase their Forces by the addition of 3000. hired souldiers, with intention to go on with their conquest. This did greatly grieve such Scots as remained true Scots indeed. The flight from Coldingham had discouraged them; they could look for no good from the Governour. But he who had his Rose Garland unstained there, must be the man to do the turn here also. Angus had large possessions in the Merse and Tividale: therefore he had his particular interest, and could not so easily leave his lands for a prey to the enemy, nor suffer so great an indignitie in publick, and reproach to his Countrey. Being moved with both these considerations, he goeth to the Governour, and layeth before him the greatness of the danger, and how he did suffer in his own reputation for the businesse at Coldingham, and would now suffer more if he sat still and did nothing at this time: Wherefore he exhorteth him to take some course for the safety of the Countrey, and to repair his own honour. The Governour bewailes his own estate and condition, that he was not able to do any thing; being deserted by the Nobility, whereof he complained heartily. Angus replied, and told him it was his own fault; For they (said he) would willingly hazzard and bestow both their lives and fortunes for the defence of their Countrey, but you contemn their counsel, and have given your self over to be guided by a company of Priests, who are unfit to go abroad to the Warres, and are seditious at home; being free from perill themselves, they live on the fruits of other mens labours like Drones; abusing and spending all upon their own pleasures. From hence doth spring this suspicion and jealousie betwixt you and the Nobilitie, that none of you doth beleve or trust other, which

*Angus speech to the Governour.*



„ which is the bane of all actions , and hindreth the atchieving of any  
 „ matter of moment. But if you will apply your self to them , and con-  
 „ sult with them , who will not spare to spend their lives in the executi-  
 „ on of things ; I do not distrust but as honourable acts may be per-  
 „ formed by us now, as have been done at any time by our Predecessours.  
 „ But if by sloth and negligence ye suffer the enemy thus to encroach by  
 „ piece-meal , he will at last force us either to yeeld to him , or forsake  
 „ the Countrey: of which two it is hard to say which is the most misera-  
 „ ble and shamefull condition. As for us two , I know we are traduced  
 „ by our enemies , they accuse me of betraying my Countrey , and you  
 „ of cowardise , but if you will resolve throughly and soundly to do  
 „ that now, which you must needs do some time, it shal not be a flourish-  
 „ ed speech, and painted words, that shall confute their calumnies, but the  
 „ flourish of Armes , and a Pitched field. The Governour considering  
 the truth , and honourable counsell given him , promised to follow his  
 and the rest of the Nobilities advice. Hereupon Proclamation is made  
 and sent into all the Provinces about, commanding the Nobiltie to repair  
 to the Governour with all the haste they could ; wheresoever he should  
 happen to be. There came not above 300. horse , with these they march  
 toward England ; and by the way some few of Lowthian , and some of  
 the Merse joyn with them. So they come to Melrosse upon Tweed,  
 where they intended to stay , and wait for the rest that were coming.  
 The English were come to Jedbrough before , and now being adverti-  
 sed of the small number of the Scottish Army , they march toward Mel-  
 rosse, having 5000. men in their Army , in great confidence to defeat  
 so small a number as was with the Governour , who besides that they  
 were so few , were also wearied with their journey. The Scots had no-  
 tice of their coming , and thereupon retire to the next hils , where they  
 might with safety espie what course the enemy would take. The Eng-  
 lish frustrate of their hope ( which was to have surprized them ) stay a-  
 bout the Town and Abbey of Melrosse , which had been spoyled not  
 long before, to see what more spoil they could light on, untill it were day;  
 for this was in the night time. As soon as it was day , they began to  
 march back toward Jedbrough , and the Scots ( to whom had now joy-  
 ned *Norman Lesly* with 300. Fifemen , and *Sir Walter Scot* of Balcleugh,  
 with a very few of his domesticks ) encountered them by the way. Both  
 Armies alighted from their horses, and fought on foot. The English con-  
 fiding in their number , and hoping with a few houres travell, to perchase  
 honour and riches with peaceable and quiet possession of the Lands that  
 were granted to them by their Kings gift , fought very valarously. They  
 had divided their Army into three battels, and seeing the Scots Grooms  
 ( who rode up the hill with their masters horses , which they had put  
 from them ) they supposing they had been the Scottish Army fleeing,  
 made great haste to overtake them. And so ere they were aware , they  
 were hard upon the Scottish battell, which stood in array in the valley at  
 the foot of the hill unseen till now. At the first encounter their Fore-  
 ward was beaten back upon the middle , and both together upon the  
 Reer-ward ; so that their Ranks being broken , and all in confusion, they

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were constrained to flee, and the Scots following hard upon them in grosse, slew them down right without resistance. At night when the Scots were returned from the chace, every man repairing to his Colours, they found but two of their own slain, & of the enemy (besides Sir *Ralph Ivers*, and *Brien Laton*) 200. or (as others say) 800. amongst whom there were divers Gentlemen of good note and qualitie. There were taken prisoners 1000. or as others 2000. (with all their baggage which had been left at Melrosse) of which there were 80. of good birth and qualitie. It was no little furtherance to the victory, the advantage which the Scots had of the Sunne going down, and so beating full in the eyes of the enemy: as also of the Winde that blew the smoak of the Powder on their faces likewise, so that they were blinded two wayes. They had also marched so fast to overtake the Scots, that they were quite out of breath almost ere they came to strokes; and when they came to them, at the first joyning, the Scots that were on their side fled without fighting. It is said that the Earle of Angus was so resolute and void of feare, that when they were going to joyn battell, he perceiving a Heron flie over their heads, cryed out aloud; "O that I had my white Gose-hawke here, we should all yoke at once. The honour of the victorie was wholly given to him, and the profit came to the Governour. But the more honour that Angus got at home of his own countrey-men, the more hatred he had of the Enemy the English. King *Henry* blamed him, saying he was ungratefull, and vowed to be avenged of him for it. As if any gratitude could binde a man to betray his Countrey, or any benefite tie him to omit his duty toward it: Angus had never learned such gratitude of his Predecessours, nor could his noble heart stoop to such mercenarineffe. And as for his threatnings, he looked upon them with the same courage and resolution. "Is our brother-in-law offended (sayes he) that I am a good Scottish man? Because I have revenged the defacing of the tombes of my Ancestors at Melrosse upon *Ralph Ivers*? They were better men than he, and I ought to have done no less: And will he take my life for that? Little knows King *Henry* the skirts of Kirnetable, I can keep my self there from all his English hoste."

The newes of this victory being come to France, the King sent *Montfieur de L'orge* Earle of Montgomerie into Scotland with 3000. foot, and 500. horse, to assist against England. He gave him also commission to bestow the order of the Cockle (or *S. Michael*) on the Governour, Angus, Huntley, and Argyle, which he did accordingly. *De L'orge* arrived about the fourth or fifth of July 1545. and moved the Governour to assemble some power of men, about 15000. which were mustered at Haddington. From thence they went to the Borders, and encamped over against Warke, an English Castle upon Tweed. But they did nothing to any purpose. Hereupon the Count Montgomerie returns into France the rest of that year, and the next following, with a good part of the year 1547. there was nothing done abroad, or at home, save that the Cardinal was busied in causing execute such as were of the reformed Religion, whereupon followed his own tragick death, and the French Gallies coming,



coming, besieged *S. Andrews Castle*, and carried away the authors of the Cardinals slaughter into France. The Earle of Angus hath had no hand in all these broyles; for he is never mentioned in any of them. Only his naturall son *George* is said to have gotten the Abbacie of *Arbroth*. But then (if he got it) he might have been called Abbot, and not Postular, or Postulant, which implies; that he was ever asking it, but got it not.

In the same year 1547. in August, King *Henry* of England dying, his son *Edward* (a childe of some eight or nine years of age) succeeded, and his Uncle the Earle of Hereford was created Duke of Sommerfet, and made Protector of England. He levied two Armies to come against Scotland, one by sea, another by land, in which he came himself in person, and with him the Earle of Warwick. It contained 18000. men. He pretended for the cause of his coming; the performance of the marriage betwixt the King his Nephew, and the young Queen of Scots; together with the observation of the Articles agreed upon with the Scottish Nobilitie in the Treatie of Peace with King *Henry*. The Governour was mightily perplexed herewith. He had no forraigne aide; and he distrusted his Countrey men at home. Norwithstanding he causeth it to be proclaimed, that they should assemble themselves to resist the common enemy. They had their rendezvous at *Edinburgh*, and there came thither to the number of 30000. men. From thence they march to *Muscleburgh*, which is seated at the mouth of the river of *Eske* in *Lowthian* some foure miles from *Edinburgh*. The English lay at *Preston* within two miles, and their Fleet sailed along the Coast, still in the view of the Land army, & ready to second or succour it. The Protector looking down from *Carberrie Hill*, and perceiving the Scottish Army to be greater than he had expected in regard of the civill discord and dissension that was amongst them; called a Councell of Warre, to advise about the Battell; and in the mean time he sends a Letter to the Governour; to try if things could be taken away without blood. The summe of the Letter was, that he was come to crave the performance of the marriage, and the observance of the conditions agreed unto by the Scots. If they would not yeeld to that; yet if they would but promise not to enter into terms of marriage with any other forrain Prince, nor carry her out of the Countrey till she were come to years of discretion to choose her own husband, they should return in peace; and make satisfaction for any dammage their Army had done. This was very reasonable; but it should have been treated of before they came from home, and rather by Ambassadors than in the field and camp. It hath never been the cause of their coming with an Army; but rather hope that no head could have been made against them (in respect of the dissension for Religion and other divisions) which perswaded them to come. Now the sight of an Army which was a sufficient party for them, had taught them wisdom and moderation in their conditions. If the Governour could also have moderated his hope of victorie, which arose from his confidence in the number of his men, the bargain had been agreed on; and the businesse had ended without blood. But his councell of Warre (his base brother

Occasion of  
Pinkie field.

the

272 *Of Archbald the seventh Earle of Angus;*

the Bishop of S. Andrews, *George Durie*, Abbot of Dumfermling, *Archbald Beton*, and *Hugh Rigge*) puffed him up with idle hope of a sure victory. So the Letter is suppressed, and preparation made for battell. The Armies were thus ordered. The English were divided into three battels; Whereof Warwick led the Vaunt-guard, together with Sir *Francis Brien*, who commanded 800. light horsemen which were in the wings. The Protector himself commanded in the mid battell, having with him Sir *Peter Mewtas* with 600. Musketers, and *Fambour* a Spaniard with 1000. horse with Carabins. The Reer was conducted by the Lord *Dacres*, to whom was joyned Sir *Richard Manners* with 600. light horsemen. The men at Arms, and demilances, were commanded by the Lord *Gray*. The Scottish Army was also tripartite, of which Angus had the Vaunt-guard, to whom were joyned Coile, Carriest, and Cunningham, with Stirling-shire, and Stratherne, to the number of 10000. in all. The like number was with the Governour in the middle Ward, and as many with the Earle Huntley in the Reer. The English had resolved on a fair retreat toward Berwick, thinking it not fit to hazard a battell upon such disadvantage in the number of men; and not being able to stay without fighting, for want of vivers, which they could not bring in out of the Countrey by foraging, in regard of the nearnesse of the enemy. In the mean time they perceive Angus with the Vantguard coming marching up the hill against them. He made no great haste at the first, knowing they could not stay long, thinking it better to assaile them in their retreat. But the Governour sent him word to advance, and yet for all that he marched but leisurely, till he sent to him again, and commanded him to mend his pace, assuring him that he and Huntley should be hard at his hand to support him. Then he marched so fast that the English beholding them from the hill, beleaved they had been all on horseback. Wherefore the Lord *Gray* was sent with his men at Arms, and demilances, on barbed horses, to stay them; and (if he could) to break their Ranks. The Scots were close joyned together (as their manner is) and carried long speares, not unlike the Macedonian Phalanx: Angus encourages them, exhorts them to fight manfully, & adviseth them to kill the horses by pricking them in the belly, for they were armed in the Counter. These men (said he) shall be our prey if ye do so. They followed his counsell, charged the enemy fiercely, and kept their Ranks so whole and close, that 200. of the English were brought to the ground and killed; the rest retired to their companies. The Protector commands the Lord *Gray* to charge again, but he answered; that he might as well command him to runne against the walls of *Belaigne*, for it was as impossible to break through the Scots Ranks, as to break through a brick-wall. Hereupon the Protector resolved either to retire, or flee as they could, & called for some Scots in his army, who knew the wayes, to be their guides. One of these was named *Thomas Lorraine*, a Tenant to the Laird of *Red-brayes* in the Merse, of whom many have often heard this report. The Earl of Warwick adviseth to try another way; he causeth *Fambour* the Spaniard with his Carabins to set upon them in flanke. Hereupon they, lest they should break their Phalanx, turned softly toward him, from the right ascending  
of

of the hill, which way they were in before. The Governour with his mid battell seeing them declining from the straight way which led to the enemy, and which they had been in before, supposed they had fled, and so brake their own Ranks, and fled first themselves. Huntley with his Reer followed the Governours example, and fled likewise. The Vaunt-guard thus destitute of all support was overthrown, and most of them all killed. The English Ships had greatly annoyed the Scots Reer with shot from the Sea, for there was one Galley, and two Pinnaces, that came so near to the Shore, that they reached the enemy with their Ordnance, and Lochinvarre was slain by one of their shots. This the Governour and Huntley alledged for their not coming to succour the Vaunt-guard after the first charge, because their men (chiefly the High-landers) refused to go with them being so troubled from the Ships. There were slain in this battell a great number, and those of the Flowre of the Scottish Nobility; amongst whom were the Masters of Ereskine, Grahame, Methvane, Oglevie, Levingston, and Rosse; the Lords, *Fleming*, Glencarne, the Lairds of Lochleven, and Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne. The Earle Angus his brother, Sir *George*, and Glenbarvie were commanded to keep themselves on horseback, and ride about the companies to exhort them and keep them in order. It was so much the more easie for them to flee, yet Glenbarvie was hardly pursued for the space of foure miles, being taken for the Earle of Angus, because he rode on a py-bald horse that was known to be the Earles. Angus himself escaped, and came that night to Calder, very heaue and sorrowfull for the losse of the battell, and of his friends. Many fled to the Castle of Dalkeith, amongst whom was *James Douglas* Earle of Morton, afterward Regent of Scotland; and *David Hume* of Wedderburne, brother to Sir *George Hume* that was slain in the field. The Castle was besieged by the English, and defended a while, but wanting provision of victuall for such a number of men as had fled thither, and having no hope of any relief to come to them against a victorious Army, it was rendered, and these fore-named made prisoners.

Defeat at  
Pinkie.

The Earle of Angus complained heavily that he had been thus abandoned by the Governour and Huntley, and laid the blame on them of the losse of the day, and of his so many dear kinsmen and friends, especially to the Queen-mother, whom he went to visit at Stirling. She seemed to be much grieved therewith, but was thought not to be discontented that the *Hamiltons* had suffered this disgrace, and their pride and authoritie was thus abated, which made for the setting forward of her project, which was to wring the Government out of their hands, and winde in her self into that place, as also to bring in the Frenchmen, under the pretext that the Countrey was not able to maintain the warre against the English, who had fortified Insh-Keith, Saint *Columbs* Insh in Forth, Broghie on Tay, Hadington on Tine; at Lawder and Roxburgh built Forts, and taken the Castles of Hume, and Fawcastle. The French were sent for, and came into Scotland at her request, these places were all regained by their assistance, the young Queen *Mary* was conueighed into France, to be married to the Daulphine, *Francis* the second afterward. Then the

Queen *Mary*  
sent into  
France.

Queen-

Queen-Mo-  
ther Govern-  
our.

Queen-Mother dealt with the Governour to demit his place, which he did at last, and she was substitute into it as her daughters Deputie, having Monsieur *D'oselle* (a Frenchman) for her Counsellour and adviser in all affaires. This was done in a Parliament in the year 1555. the 10. of April. All this while we hear nothing of the Earle of Angus, save at the siege of Haddington, where when the wals were battered and made assaultable by a sufficient breach, the French (who were there) refusing to enter the breach, (because they being far from home, they could not easily repaire their losse of men) the Earle of Angus moved with indignation hereat, left them, and went to Tantallon to remain there. And again, when Monsieur *de Termes* besieged Broghtie upon Tay, Angus is said to have been with him, and lying at Breeghen with some horsemen to have skirmished daylie with the enemy. At last both Broghtie, and another Castle near unto it were taken, and almost the whole Garrisons slain that were in them.

And now the Queen-Mother being Regent, all her care and endeavour was to bring Scotland into subjection of the French. For this purpose a motion was made, that all men should be taxed proportionably, according to their meanes, and the moneyes levied thence, should be employed to wage souldiers for the defence of the Countrey, that so the Gentlemen and Nobilities travell and blood might be spared. None liked of this course, but every one eschewed to be the first refuser and opposer of it. At last the small Barons sent Sir *James Sandilands* of Calder, and the Laird of Weemes to her, whose speeches are set down at length. Thus our Writers say: But the ancient men report, that the Earle of Angus was the man that made the refusall (it may be he joyned with them) and that he came to Edinburgh, accompanied with 1000. horse, which was against her Proclamation, whereby it was forbidden that any man should have any more in train then his domesticks and household servants, which was to make way for, and was another meane of their intended tyranny. She reproved him for transgressing the Proclamation by being so accompanied. He answered; "That the Knaves would not leave him, that he would gladly be rid of them, for they did eat all his Bread and his Beefe: that he would think himself much bound to her, if she would make him free and quit of them. Concerning the tax which she desired to be made, he said briefly; We will fight our selves, and that better than any hired fellows; our Prededeceffours have done it, and so will we do also. They tell also how at another time, she desired of him to have his Castle of Tantallon to keep warders, in or upon I know not what pretext, or for what use. To this hee gave no direct answer for a long time, but having a Gose-hawke on his fist which he was feeding, spake of her, saying she was a greedy Glad, "that she had already too much, and yet desired more. But when the Queen insisted (not understanding, or not willing to understand his meaning) he told her, Yes, Madam, why not, all is yours, ye shall have it, it is at your service: But Madam, I must be Captain and keeper of it: I shall keep it for you as well as any man you shall put into it. They tell also how the Queen Regent had intention to make the Earle of Huntley a Duke, whereof

The devill is  
in this greedy  
Glad she will  
never be full.

whereof when she was discoursing with Angus she told him, how Huntley had done her very good service, for which she intended to advance him and make him a Duke, to which he answered, "Why not Madam, we are happy that have such a Princeesse, that can know and will acknowledge mens service, and is willing to recompense it: But by the might of God (this was his oath when he was serious and in anger, at other times it was by Saint *Bride* of Douglas) *if he be a Duke, I will be a Drake* (alluding to the word Duke, which in Scotland signifies a Duck as well as that title and dignitie, which being the female, and the Drake the male, his meaning was he would be above and before him) "Our Predecessours (sayes he) have done as good service as he or his, for which they have the priviledge to be the first of the Nobilitie after those of the blood Royall, and I will not lose it in my time upon any such pretext. So she desisted from further prosecuting of that purpose.

Not long after this he died in Tantallon, and was buried in Abernethie, when he had lived from his marrying the Queen in the year 1514. in continuall action, all the minority of King *James* the fifth, his majority, all the time of the Duke of Albanie, of the Governour *Hamilton*, and of the Queen-Mother, till the year 1556. or 57. the space of 44. or 45. years; to which if we shall adde his age at his marriage (of which we have no certainty) and suppose it to have been 20. years, hee hath lived some 64. years. He was a man (besides his other vertues spoken of) of greater wisdom than he made show of, or then did appear unto men. His brother Sir *George* (who died before him) was more learned, and of greater eloquence, with whom he entertained alwayes brotherly love and friendship, and would seem to be guided much by his counsel, so that when any suit was made to him, his answer was, We shall advise with our brother. But his brother would tell them (who came to entreat him to mediate with the Earle) in plain language, that if he had referred it to his advising with him, it was a thing he intended not to do: for (sayes he) what he mindes to do, he never adviseth with me. Neither was he hereby accounted lesse wise indeed; for even this was a point of wisdom, that he would have his brother seem more wise, which did no whit diminish nor derogate any thing from him. It was of this brotherly affection, that he espoused his brothers quarrell against *George* Lord *Hume* about the Lands of Cockburnspeth, or Colburnspeth, as some will have it termed. The Lands were possessed by one *John Hume*, who was a near Kinsman to the Lord *Hume*; but for some unkindnesse or hard dealing and usage of the said Lords towards him, he chose rather to sell them to Sir *George Douglas*. To put his brother in possession (or to keep it) the Earle assembled out of Cliddisdale, Tivisdale, and other parts to the number of 3000. men. He was also assisted by Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, and the Laird of Blackader, together with the rest of Wedderburnes father brothers, all of them except Broom-house, who followed the Lord *Hume*. Angus brought with him field-pieces, and all provision of Warre. The Lord *Hume* with his forces came to the Moor above the Park-gate of Cockburnspeth, and

Angus dyes.

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alighting

## 276 Of Archbald the seventh Earle of Angus, &c.

alighting from their horses, put their men in order of battell. But when he saw Angus begin to march toward him, and that none came between to bring the matter to a Parley, he shrunk back over the ditch that was nearby. Hereupon Angus (thinking it enough to retain his brothers possession) stayed his Companies, and stood still. The Lord Hume retired, and going homeward, scattered his Company, and the Earle did the like. Here a quarrell was like to have arisen betwixt John Hume of Blackader, and one Douglas of Jedward forrest. For when Angus began to march against the Lord Hume, this Douglas sayes to Blackader; *Now we of the Forrest, will teach you of the Merse to fight.* The other answered a little angrily onely for the time: but when all were retired, he challenged Douglas for those words: to whom Douglas answered, *were ye angry at my words?* when the other said he was, *It is well* (sayes he) *that ye were; for I was afraid you would not have been half angry, nor have fought half eagerly, there being so many Humes on the other side.* Besides his wisdom and brotherly affection, the Earle of Angus is also reported to have had a great dexteritie in conciliating mens favour. There was no man whom he would not winne with his courtesie and affabilitie, no man but he would take notice of him; and pretended to know either himself, or his father, or his Grandfather, or some of his friends, whom he would praise unto them, and tell what honest men they had been, and what good service they had done in such and such a place, at such and such times. Of which they relate this instance, how being in Edinburgh talking (in the Tolbooth) with the Lord Drummond, there came a friend to Drummond, and took him aside to speak with him a little. When the Gentleman had ended, and was going away, Angus takes him kindly by the hand, and spake familiarly to him as if he had been of his acquaintance. After he was gone, my Lord Drummond asked Angus whether he knew the Gentleman or not; he answered, that he knew him not at all, and had never so much as seen him before. *How comes it then* (sayes Drummond) *that ye spake so familiarly to him?* He answered, *I saw he was a friend of yours, and your friends are my friends: And besides, thus doth gain mens hearts, If I were now in danger, or had to do, yonder man would assist me, and take my part.*

### Archibaldus Secundus.

*Quam praeſtans animi juvenis formaeque decorus,  
Et fuerim tamis junc quoque dignus avis.  
Teſtis eris thalamo qua me dignata Superbo,  
Nympba, parens Regis, filia, ſponſa, ſoror.  
Conſiliis promptumque manu Teuſotia laudat,  
Quae ſtratas acies vidit Ivere tuas.  
Atque tuas Latone: loquetur nos quoque fortes  
Eſca lotbi, & dextra hac me meruiſſe mori.  
Quia jam viſtor eram, ni Prorex Gordoniusque,  
Sive metus trepida ſuaſit abire fuga.*

Sen

## Of David the eighth Earle of Angus, &c. 277

*Seu dolus aut error, liquissent turpiter hostem,  
Dum premo qui fugiens jam mihi terga dabat.  
Summus at hinc mihi surgit quod sanguine Creti,  
Sint nostro reges terra Britannia tui.*

*Archbald the second Earle of that name.*

How lovely was my shape ! how sweet a grace  
Dwelt in my looks ! how like the *Douglas* race !  
How gallant was my mind ! what hopes were had  
Of my fresh youth ! witnesse the Royall bed  
Of her who had been daughter, sister, wife,  
To three brave Kings ; how my ensuing life  
Made good these hopes, how wise my projects were,  
*Ivers* and *Laiton* vanquish'd, witnesse beare.  
*Pinkie* beheld my strength, there had I gain'd  
The field, but *Huntley*, and the Regent stain'd  
Their honour : fear or error made them flee,  
Ev'n when I wonne ground of the Enemie :  
Yet do not these such height of honour bring  
As t' have been Grandfire to Great Britains King.

*Of David the eighth Earle of Angus : And of his father George,  
called Sir George of Pittendrigh.*

**T**O *Archbald* the second, dying without heires male of his own body, his brother *Sir George* of Pittendrigh should have succeeded, if he had out-lived him, wherefore we will speak a word of him. He got the Lands of Pittendrigh by marriage. His children by the heire of Pittendrigh (whose name was *Douglas* also) were *David*, who succeeded to the Earledome of Angus, and *James* Earle of Morton, and Regent of Scotland. This *James* got the Earledome of Morton by marrying the third daughter to the Earle of Morton, who was *Douglas* also, and so was made Earle by provision. Her other two sisters were married before, one to the Lord *Hamilton* Governour, and the other to the Lord *Maxwell*. He had also a naturall son, called *George* of Park-head, because he married the heire of Park-head in Douglas, she was also *Douglas* to name, of whom he begat *James*, afterward Lord *Torthorall*, by marriage likewise, and *Sir George* of Mordington. He had also a naturall daughter by the Lady *Dundas*, in her husbands time, called *Elizabeth*, who was married to *Smeton Richeson*. Of this *Sir George* we have spoken above in his brothers life, and how he died before his brother.

His son *David* married *Elizabeth Hamilton* daughter to *John Hamilton* of Samilton, called *John* of Cliddisdale, brother German to Duke *Hamilton* who was Governour. She bare to him one onely son called *Archbald*, and two daughters, *Margaret* first Lady Balcleugh, then Countesse of Bothwell ; and *Elizabeth* Lady *Maxwell*. His wife after his death



## 278: Of Archbald the ninth Earle of Angus,

married the Laird of Whitelaw, and had before been married to the Laird of Johnston.

This *David* lived not long, was little above a year Earle of Angus, neither hear we of any of his actions, being somewhat sickly and infirme of body. He died in Cockburnspeth in the year 1558.

*The ninth Earle of Angus, Archbald the third, and of his Uncle and Tutor James Douglas, Earle of Morton.*

**T**O *David* succeeded his son *Archbald*, a childe not above two years old. His Tutor and Guardian was *James Douglas* Earle of Morton his Uncle, and mother to *David*. Wherefore it is no wayes out of our way, or impertinent for our History, but rather necessary and most requisite, that we should first speak of him, being a branch and a brother of the house of Angus, and in effect, Earle of Angus, as well as Morton, though under the name of Tutor, or Guardian.

Of his marriage, we have told before, how he was married to *Douglas* his wife, and daughter to the Earle of Morton. She bare to him divers children (ten as is reported) but none of them lived long, but died all young, ere they came to perfect age. She her self became distracted of her wits, and would not company with her husband, alledging he was not her husband, but that he was Master *Archbald Douglas*, who was brother to *William Douglas* of Whittinghame, that her husband was dead, and that Master *Archbald Douglas* had killed him. She was kept and entertained by him as became her place, and had her residence at Tantalion, but he being deprived of her Company, loosed the reins to others, and begat three naturall Children: 1. *James* (whose mother was one High in Dalkreth): who was made Captain of Black-Nesse Castle, Priour of Pluscardain, and afterwards became Laird of Spot, by marrying the heir thereof, *Anna Hume* onely daughter to *George Hume* of Spot. 2. His second son was *Archbald*, whom he provided to the estate of Pitcindreigh, which belonged to his father Sir *George*. 3. The third son was named Master *George Douglas* who was lame of his feet. Thus much his Children.

His lurking  
and being a  
Greave.

Touching himself, during his childe-hood and youth he lived obscurely, and lurked for fear of the King (*James* the fifth) who had banished his Father, and Uncle, caused burn his Aunt (the Lady Glames) and had professedly set himself against the whole name of *Douglas* utterly to ruine, and extirpate them. We do not hear that his elder brother *David* did thus hide himself, or if he did, it hath not been so observed of him: but of this *James*, it is certainly known that all the time of his fathers banishment and exile, he lurked under the borrowed name of *James the Greave*, or *James Innisse*: First with his Cousin of Glenbarvie, afterward, for fear of being discovered with so near a Kinsman, with some Gentleman in the more Northern parts of Scotland. And as he bore the name, so did he also execute the office of a Greave, and over-seer of the Lands and Rents, the Corne and Cartell of him with whom he lived.

Neither

Neither was this ( howsoever mean ) imployment without great use, as nothing else in providence ever is , if it be rightly observed. It fitted him for those weighty matters , which afterward he was to meddle in, and schooled him for that charge in which he was to be employed ere long. For by this meane he became acquainted with the humours and disposition of the vulgar and inferiour sort of the common people, which knowledge is usefull and necessary to greatest Governours , that so they may know how to deal with them , and manage them according as they shall have occasion. He attained also hereby such skill in husbandrie, and such perfection in oeconomy and thriftinesse , that having acquired a habite of frugalitie , he not onely repaired the decayed and shattered Estates of these two Earledomes ( Angus and Morton) but also helped to recover , and augment the revenues of the Crown and Kingdome, more than any other Regent.

So long as his uncle , father , and brother were alive , we do not hear any thing of him , neither is there any mention at all made of him , save that in the year 1547. as hath been said, after the battell at Mulsleburgh, he yeilded up to the English his Castle of Dalkeeth, together with himself their prisoner, and was by them carried into England , being then about seven and twenty years of age, or thereby : How long he stayed there , we cannot affirme , but it should seeme he remained there certaine years , for during that time , he learned the Estate of that Countrey , together with the English tongue , and tone , which he did ever thereafter much delight to use.

He is a prisoner in England.

At his return , after the death of his brother *David*, he being Tutour, and Guardian to his Nephew *Archbald* Earle of Angus , finding both his own, and his pupils Estate greatly burdened with debt , he lived privately , and retired for a while with a very small retinue of his domesticks onely, neither going to Court, nor intermeddling with any publick affairs, to avoid the charges which otherwise he must have undergone. Wherefore his first care was to reduce these two Earledomes to their former integritie, by frugall parsimonie in the beginning, & not to lavish out the remainder by untimely magnificence, esteeming wisely that means & money are the sinews, not onely of Warre, but also of all civill and politick actions. Now besides the burden that was on the Lands, his Nephews title to the Earledome of Angus was questionable. For if the entailment were not very strong (as it seems it was not) Lady *Margaret Douglas* Countesse of Lennox had the better right, and was before him , she being sole heir of Line to *Archbald* that married the Queen, and so inheritrix of Angus. It is true she lived in England with her husband Lennox, who was banished, but who knew how soon he might be recalled and restored? Wherefore to prevent that danger , and to strengthen his Nephew and himself against their attempts hee contracts him to Monsieur *D'Osels* daughter, that by his means and friendship ( he being a French man ) he might have the Queens favour and good-will to uphold him against their claims. But this contract took no effect, for she was married afterward to Monsieur *D'Aubespine* , and Angus to others , as wee shall hear in his life.

Returns.

Lives retired and privately at home.

After

He comes  
abroad, and  
begins to deal  
in publick  
affairs.

After that he had thus settled his affairs at home, he began to come abroad and to have a hand in publick businesse. In the year 1559. he with Duke *Hamilton* do mediate a truce between the Queen-Mother, and the Lords, from the 24. of July, untill the 10. of January. Some Writers say that he assisted, and sided with the Queen; but it should seem that they have mis-taken the matter: for not long after, he joyned openly with those that were against her, and the French Faction; and is now reckoned among the Noblemen that sent to the Queen of England for her aide and assistance. These were the Duke of Chattelraut, *James Stuart* brother to the young Queen (afterward Earle of Murray) the Earle of Arran (son to the Duke) *Argyle*, *Glencairne*, *Roths*, *Sutherland*, *Monteth*, *Huntley*, *Caithnesse*, *Arrol*, *Marshall*, *Montrose*, *Cassils*, *Eglinton*: The Lords *Ruthven*, *Oglebye*, *Ereskin*, *Drummond*, *Hume*, *Rosse*, *Creighton*, *Levingston*, *Sommervale*, the whole Nobilitie almost. Their cause and their company being so good, Morton could not but take part with them: The common liberty of their Countrey against the French, and Religion was no lesse dear to him than it was to them. In matter of Religion, he was so forward, that the Book of Discipline being compiled by some appointed for that purpose, though divers refused to approve of it, and to set to their hands, yet he did it with the first, & received it willingly. Wherefore these two (then which there is nothing dearer unto men) being in danger, he was forced in a manner to lend his helping hand for their defence, *pro aris & focis*, as the common saying is. And that the rather, for that he saw there was no hope of peace; seeing the truce which he had procured till the 10. of January was not kept. For before the middle of September Monsieur *La Croque*, being sent out of France to certifie the Queen of the new Forces which were in levying for her aide under the leading of Marquesse *D'Elbeuse* her brother, she began to fortifie Leith with those French which were already in the Countrey. Not long after arrived *Octavian* (a French Colonel) with 1000. men, and immediately followed him at the heeles *La Brosse*, Knight of the Cockle, with 2000. more. The next spring came also the Count Marquesse of the house of Luxemburg; afterward Duke *D'Estamps*, with 1000. foot, and some horse. These all remained and abode in Leith, which they had fortified; but the Queen to secure her own Person, retired to the Castle of Edinburgh, though the Captain thereof, the Lord *Ereskin*, were on the contrary part. The Nobilitie assembling themselves at Dalkeith Castle, which belonged to Morton, hard by Edinburgh, from thence do write to her, desiring that she would dismisse the French, who were forrainers, and set open the Town of Leith, that the Natives might have free recourse and commerce thither. When they could not obtain these things at her hands, the English, to the number of seven or eight thousand being already entred into Scotland, they sate down before Leith the 4. of April 1560. About the eight of June, the Queen-Mother dying in the Castle of Edinburgh, a peace was concluded, the Town of Leith was surrendered, and the French men returned home into their own Countrey. In the beginning of Winter, Morton, together with *Glencairne*, and Sir *William Metellan* of Lithington, Secretary, were sent to thank the Queen

The Queen-Mother dieth.

Morton Ambassador in England.

Queen of England for her ready succour. Morton had also a private message from the Earle of Arran, sonne to Duke Hamilton, to lay out marriage to her, but it is not likely that he would deliver it, being so unprobable, and such a proposition as he knew would not be very acceptable unto her. In this journey, Morton procured of his Cousin Lady Margaret Douglas Countesse of Lennox, her renunciation of all claime and title she had to the Earledome of Angus, in favours of his Nephew Archibald, but being done without the consent of her husband (Matthew Earle of Lennox) it was renewed again afterward.

The sixteenth of August 1561. Queen Mary returned out of France to her native Countrey and Kingdome of Scotland, her husband Francis the second of France, being dead before in December. The Nobilitie was still divided concerning matter of Religion, and although now having their native Princess at home, her husband being dead, there was no great cause to fear the power or empire of strangers, yet did they suspect that she would be too much ruled and counselled by her Uncles, the Cardinal of Loraine, and the Guisians. The Heads of the parties were James the Queens brother, and George Earle of Huntley, the first a zealous Protestant, and wholly bent to maintaine the received Reformation, and the other no lesse forward to reduce the Romish Religion. The Queen inclined to favour Huntleyes cause, but the Reformed Religion was established by Acts of Parliament, which had been ratified by her own consent. Huntley, as he was a craftie and turbulent man, so was he also esteemed so be by the Queen, and her uncles, who (like unto themselves) made him a cloak of Religion to attain his own ambitious ends and designs. Wherefore howbeit they thought him a fit instrument to bring their own purposes to passe, and made use of him, yet did they not trust him. James Earle of Murray by the contrary was sincere, upright, trustie, and faithfull in all his actions, but he ran a course directly opposite to that which they intended. The Earle of Morton entred into strait bonds of friendship with Murray, which continued so long as they lived together. They had the same friends, and the same enemies, the same ends and aimes, the good of their Countrey, and maintaining of Religion. They ran the same hazard in all perils and dangers, never separating their counsels, nor failing to aid and assist one another. Wherefore Murray being sent by the Queen against the out-lawes upon the Borders, being assisted by Morton and his friends (who lay near unto these places) he came to Hawick upon the Fair-day of that Town, and having apprehended fiftie of the most notorious Theeves which came to the Market fearing nothing, he did so terrifie the rest, that those parts remained peaceable and quiet for a long time after. This successe as it increased his reputation, so did it also more and more kindle the hatred and envie of his enemies. And now besides those at home, the Guisards did also plot his name. Their quarrell was Religion, their instrument Huntley; their hope, his power and greatness, which was given out to them to be rather more than it was indeed. Wherefore they write to the Queen (their Niece) to feed Huntley with large promises, and to entertaine his sonne John with hope of marrying her, and fair countermences, that so they might be drawne

Queen Mary  
arrives in  
Scotland.

Friendship  
betwixt Mor-  
ton and Mur-  
ray.

Their ruine  
plotted.

The Queen  
goeth to the  
North, they  
accompany  
her.

drawn to do what she listed, to make away Murray and Morton, with their complices. The Popes Letters were to the same effect. She had sent to him for moneys to make Warre upon those that had spoken of the yoke of Popish obedience; and his answer was, that she should not want his help; so that she would do it seriously, that was (according to the Cardinall of Lorains Glosses) so that first of all she would cause make away those whose names were given her in writing. These Letters she shewed unto Murray and the rest; either because she suspected they had notice of them some other way, or to lull them asleep in security, that being thus perswaded of her sincerity and good meaning, they might the more easily be over-reached and entrapped. So the project goeth on; and all things being sufficiently fore-cast, and prepared for the accomplishing of their intentions, the Queen takes her Progresse into the North.

Murray behooved to accompany her, and Morton would not forsake Murray. Who can imagine that their counsels should be disappointed? The Forces which Murray and Morton had, were very small, and they were farre from their friends, which dwelt in the south parts of the Kingdome. Huntley commanded all in those quarters, being Lieutenant and Sheriff by inheritance: and compassed about with his friends and dependers: So the Game seemed sure. But what can prevaile against that which God hath ordained? He had decreed to frustrate them, and that by themselves. The Queens intentions and Huntleys did not jumpe in all things: they had their severall ends. They agreed in their desire of being rid of those who opposed the re-establishing of Poperie, but Huntley had a further drift. He propounded to himself as the reward of his service, no lesse than the Queens Person, to be married to his sonne *John*, and so in effect the Crown and Kingdome. But howsoever the Queen by her carriage toward the young man, was contented they should please themselves with that conceit; yet neither did she ever go so farre as to promise any such thing, neither was it indeed her meaning: for she desired no lesse to be rid of Huntley, and hated him much more than she did Murray, having had many proofs of his perfidious dealing both toward her father, and her mother. Besides, she thought him too great and more powerfull than was fit for a Subject, or safe for the Prince. Wherefore before she began her journey into the North, she left his sonne *John* in prison behinde her. The pretext was, because he had hurt the Lord *Oglebie* in a Skirmish on the Street of Edinburgh; but the true cause was, that he might be kept there as a pledge of his Fathers fidelitie, and that he being absent, Huntley might not constraine her to marry him, nor force her to any thing shee had not a minde to. But *John* made an escape out of prison, and followed the Queen, that his absence might not bee any hinderance to the marriage. So Huntley and his son gather their Forces together to meet the Queen, and to cut off Murray and Morton; as they would have her beleieve, but their main aim was withall to compel her to marry if she should refuse. This the Queen knew well enough: so that when the Countesse of Huntley did tell her from the Earle her husband, that he was ready to put in execution what had been determined, the Queen

Queen told her, that there was one thing which Huntley must needs do first of all, before any thing else were taken in hand. His sonne *John* had broken prison, which was a manifest contempt of her authoritie, and such a thing as she could not in honour wink at, and therefore he behooved to returne and enter himself prisoner in the Castle of Stirling, though it were but for some few dayes, to shew his obedience and subjection to the Lawes. Huntley would none of that, for he saw that so his son should be made to answer for whatsoever should be done contrary to the Queenes liking, so there was a demurre in the businesse. In the mean time the Queen goes from Aberdene to Bawhan, the house of one Master *Leslie* a Gentleman, sometwelve miles from the Town. This was thought a fit place to execute their designe upon Murray and Morton: but the Gentleman, though he was Huntlies friend, would upon no termes give way to have done in his house. Then the Queen went toward Strabogie (a house of Huntleyes, where he had resolved to make an end of all) but by the way she told the Earle, as they rode together, that unlesse his son would returne to his prison, she could not in honour go to his house. But he not condescending thereunto, though she were within sight of Strabogie, she turned another way, and went to a house of the Earle of Athols, from thence to Innerneffe, where thinking to have lodged in the Castle, Huntleys servants that had the keeping thereof, shut the gates against her. Then did she perceive what danger she was in, being constrained to lodge in an open town, which had neither wall, nor rampart, nor ditch, the Countrey about being wholly at Huntleyes devotion, whose son *John* was in the fields with a thousand armed men, besides the countrey people, who were ready to joyne with him. Wherefore now seeing that her own safetie consisted in her brothers, having none else on whom she could relie & trust into, she began to make much of him & Morton. These two caused set a watch, and placed a strong Guard at all the entries of the town, by which means Huntleyes spies and intelligencers were taken: The next morning the *Clon-chattans*, with the *Frasers*, and *Monroes*, and many High-landers, understanding that their Princeesse was in danger, came to her aide, and forsook Huntley. With these she took the Castle of Innerneffe, and caused execute *Alexander Gordon* the Captain thereof, which was a sufficient testimonie of her alienation from Huntley. All this did not quail the Earle, or divert him from his purpose. His ambition spurred him on before, necessitie doth now drive him forward. He had gone too far to thinke of a retreat. Therefore he follows the Queen from Innerneffe to Aberdene, watching for some oportunitie to effect his intentions. He lay not far from the town with his Companies, and had his intelligencers within it, the Earle of Sutherland, Master *Leslie* of Bawhan, black *Alexander* (or *Arthur*) *Forbes*. The townsmen were most of them, either of his kinred, or allied to him, and all of them so affected, as that they neither would, or durst oppose him. But letters being intercepted, which Sutherland and Bawhan wrote to him, their plots were discovered, and they defeated of their intendments once more. Then Murray and Morton thinking it both tedious and perillous, to be alwayes on their guard, and to be defenders only, resolved to take

The Queen  
at Innerneffe.

*Alexander  
Gordon be-  
headed.*

She goes to  
Aberdene.



The battell at  
Corrighie,  
1562.

their turne of assailing, and pursuing, if so happily they might break his Forces, and disperse them. And howbeit they had not of their own, that they could trust to above an hundred horse, yet being armed with authority, and the Majestie of their Sovereigne, for the safetie of whose person they were to fight, having gathered together of *Forbes* and *Leslies*, to the number of seven or eight hundred, and hoping that albeit they inclined to favour Huntley, yet their duty and allegiance to their Princessse would not suffer them to betray her, they took the fields. These made great show of forwardnesse in convening, and gave out great words and brags, that they alone would do all. Huntley with his men had taken a plot of ground, inclosed about with marishes, so that he was in a manner encamped. Murray and Morton, with the trustiest of their Friends, retired to a little hill, to behold the issue of this Battell, committing all to those who had taken it upon them: Onely they sent some horsmen a by-way, to close up the passages of the marish, that Huntley being overcome, might not escape that way. So those boasters begin to march toward the enemy, and by the way they pluckt off the heath (or hather) which growes in abundance in those parts, and stuck it in their Helms, and Head-pieces, according as it had been agreed upon betwixt them and Huntley. Wherefore, he thinking now (these being for him) that there was no power to resist him, came out of his Strength against them, who presently turned their backs, and came fleeing with their swords drawn, and crying, Treason, treason, as if they had been betrayed, when indeed themselves were the traitours. They had thrown away their spears and long weapons, wherefore Murray and Morton, though they were astonished at the first sight of these hather-topped traitours, who came running toward them, with Huntley at their heels, yet they took courage, and resolved to stand to it. For as they were about to save themselves by flight, and were calling for their horses, *William Douglas* of Glenbarvie, (who was afterward Earle of Angus) requested them to stay (as is reported) saying, *No horses, my Lords, we are strong enough for Huntley, and these men, though they flee, yet will they not fight against us. Wherefore let us present our pikes and spears to keep them out, that they come not in amongst us, so break our ranks, and the rest will prove easie.* This advice was liked, and followed, so that Huntley expecting nothing lesse, than to finde resistance, and being destitute of long weapons, was forced (some of his men being slain) to give ground, and at last to flee as fast as before he had followed the counterfeit fliers. Then the Hather-tops perceiving that Huntley fled, turned upon him, and to make amends, slew most of them that were slain that day, which were some hundred and twentie, and an hundred taken prisoners, amongst whom was Huntley himself, and his sonnes *John*, and *Adam*. The Earle being an aged and corpulent puffed man, was stifled with his armour, and for want of breath in the taking. Some say, that he received a stroke on the head with a pistoll, but it seemes to be false: for it is reported, that when Huntley saw his men routed, he asked of those that were by him, what the name of the ground was upon which they fought, and having learned that it was commonly called *Corralghie*, he repeated the name three times, *Corralghie, Corralghie, Corralghie*, then God be



be mercifull to me. The name of the place put him in minde of a response or oracle (if we may so call it) which was given by a Witch in the Highland, to whom he had sent to enquire of his death; and she had told, that he should die at Corraighie. But whether the messenger, or he himself mis-took the word, he understood it of Creigh, a place which was in his way to Aberdene, and which (riding thither) he alwayes did shunne, by reason of this Sooth-sayers speech; or if at any time he did adventure to go by it, he was sure to be well accompanied, and to have the fields cleared before. But this event discovered his mistaking. It was also told him by some of the same profession, that the same day, on which he was taken, he should be in Aberdene, maugre those that would not so, neither should one drop of his bloud be spilt. This seemed to promise him a successfull journey; but the ambiguitie thereof was cleared by his death: for he was indeed that night in Aberdene, being carried thither upon a paire of creels, or panniers, and that against the will of all his friends, who would not have had him brought thither in such a guise. Neither did he lose any bloud, but was choak'd for want of breath. Such are commonly the answers of such spirits, ambiguous, and of no use to the receivers, yet mens curiositie is so prevalent, that posterity wil take no warning of former examples. Murray being glad of this so-unlooked-for-victory, sent to the Ministers of Aberdene, to be ready against his coming; to go to the Chutches, and give God thanks for that dayes successe: which they did very solemnely, and (no question) heartily, as men are wont to do while the memory of a great deliverie is yet fresh in their mindes. The next day *John Gordon* (the Earles son) was execute, and his brother *Adam* was pardoned in regard of his youth. *George* the eldest brother fled to his father-in-law Duke *Hamilton*, and afterward being arraigned & condemned of high treason, he was sent prisoner to the Castle of Dumbar. Who doth not see through this whole journey, but especially in this catastrophe, an over-ruling power and providence doth either willingly shut his eyes, or else hath his understanding blinded by partiality or prejudice. Five severall times (at Bawhan, at Straboggie, at Inner-Nesse, at Aberdene, and last of all, at Corraighie) did Huntley attempt to cut off these men, who were many degrees weaker, and five times is hee disappointed. And that neither by their wisdom nor strength, but by him who confounds the wisdom of the wise, and who delivers without the help of the arme of flesh. Neither were they delivered onely, but their enemies were also taken in the trap, and fell into the pit which they had digged for them. Let men observe it, and let them learne not to confide in their own (never so seeming wisely grounded) projects, lest they be thus disappointed as Huntley was. This fell out in the year 1562. After this they returned with the Queen to Edinburgh; where we will leave them in rest, and so in silence a year or two.

In the year 1564. *Matthew Stuart* Earle of Lennox returned into Scotland after 22. years exile, and was restored to his estate in a Parliament. Not long after, his sonne *Henry* Lord Darnely, having obtained leave of the Queen of England for three moneths, came to do his duty to

Lennox and  
Henry Lord  
Darnely  
come home.

Proposition  
of marriage  
with the  
Queen.

the Queen as his Princess and Kinswoman. Hee being a proper and handsome young man, and her Cousin Germane by his mother, Lady *Margaret Douglas*, the Queen began to think him a fit husband for her, and ere long did propound the matter to the Nobilitie, craving their consent and approbation thereto. They were divided in their opinions. *Hamilton* and *Murray* were against the match, fearing alteration in Religion, he being a Romane Catholique, as the Queen also was. Besides, they thought it not fit to conclude any thing without the Queen of Englands consent. *Morton* was for it, and thought it great reason that shee should have her libertie in her choyce of a husband. He liked also the party, being his near Kinsman, the Lady *Margaret Douglas* and he being brothers children. Wherefore having endeavoured to draw those that stood against it to be of his opinion, when he could not prevaile, he professed openly he would do what lay in him to set it forward; and speaking to the Duke and *Murray*, *It will be long* (sayes he) *ere you two agree on a husband for her, if she marry not till you do, I fear me she marry not these seven years*; and so he left them. The rest bound themselves to withstand it. Her Uncles of Guise did also oppose it, intending to bestow her on some forraine Prince, so to strengthen themselves by some great alliance. The Queen of England did not so much dislike it, as she desired to have some hand and stroke in it. Notwithstanding all this opposition the marriage was consummate the 27. of July 1565. about some six moneths after he came into Scotland. Whatsoever the motives were that induced the parties thus to hasten it, so it pleased God in his wisdom and providence, to dispose of things that by joyning of these two, this happy conjunction of the two Kingdomes which we now see and enjoy, should spring from them without all controversie or question. The eldest daughter of King *Henry* the seventh of England, *Margaret*, had but two children; *James* the fifth by King *James* the fourth, and *Margaret Douglas* (born at Harbottle) by *Archbald* Earle of Angus her second husband. *James* the fifth left behinde him but one childe, *Mary*, sole heire to the Crowne of Scotland. Lady *Margaret Douglas*, being brought up with her Uncle *Henry* the eight, was married to *Matthew Stuart* Earle of Lennox, who being banished, and living in England, had by her *Henry*, Lord Darnely, and *Charles*, father to *Arabella*. So that by this marriage of Queen *Mary* to *Henry* Lord Darnely, the whole right that was in Queen *Margaret* to the Crowne of England (failing the heires of King *Henry* the eight) was combined and united in the persons of these two, and their off spring. What eye is so blinde as not to see evidently the hand of the Almighty in this match? In taking away her former husband (the King of France) in bringing her back again into Scotland; in sending Lennox into England, there to marrie Lady *Margaret Douglas*; in bringing him and his sonne (*Henry*) home again after 22. years absence, and in moving Queen *Mary* to set her affection on him. I make no question but this consideration (of strengthening the title to England) hath been amongst the motives that drew on this match, though we finde none, or very slender mention thereof in our writers.

They marry  
the 27. of July  
1565.

The next day after the marriage, they were proclaimed with sound of Trumpet

Trumpet at the Market-Crosse of Edinburgh by a Herald, *Henry* and *Mary*, King and Queen of Scotland. This was ill taken both of the Nobility and Commons. A King made by Proclamation ! The voice of a Herald to be in stead of a Parliament ! King *Francis*, her former husband had not done so ; he had sought a matrimoniall Crowne from the three estates ; and hardly obtained it, after he had been refused at first, yet not without consent of a Parliament. But by this it appeared they made no account of the estates, nor bare no respect unto the customes of the Kingdome. Every man thought it a great neglect and derogation to their priviledges ; but the male-contented called it, a tyrannicall usurpation. Thus many of the Nobility being discontented withdrew themselves ; and the want of their presence and countenance in guiding of affaires, did alienate the people. The principall male-contents were *Hamilton*, *Murray*, *Argyle*, *Rothuse*, *Glencatrine*. Against these the King goeth to Glasgow with 4000. men. They lay at Pasley ; and though they were together, yet they were not all of one minde. The *Hamiltons* would not hear of any peace, alledging there could be no true and firme reconciliation with Princes once offended. The rest were not of their opinion : they said that matters had been hitherto carried without blood ; neither were their differences such ; but that they might be composed without stroke of sword ; especially in regard that there were some about their Princes, that would both mediate their peace, and endeavour to have it faithfully kept. The constant practice of their Predecessours, and the rule they had ever followed had been this ; To passe by, and not to take notice of the secret and hidden faults of their Princes, and to save those things which were doubtfull by a favourable and charitable construction ; yea even to tolerate and beare with their open faults and errors, as far as might be, without the ruine of the common wealth ; of which nature they esteemed these slips in government to be proceeding from their youth, and want of experience, which might be redressed by calme and fair means. Duke *Hamilton* himself did like of their moderation, but the rest of the *Hamiltons* refused to assist them upon these terms ; wherefore they departed all of them, save the Duke, with some sixteen that attended his Person. By this departure they were so weakened, that not daring to abide the Kings coming, they went first to *Hamilton*, and the day following toward Edinburgh, but being shot at from the Castle, they took their way through Bigger to Dumfreis, to the Lord *Harris*, who had desired them to do so, and had made them many faire promises. But he failing them, they dismissed their Troupes, and fled into England. All this way the King with his Companies dogged them at the heeles, whereupon it was called, the Runne-away Rode (or runne-about) and, the wilde-goose chase. The King returned to Edinburgh in the latter end of October.

The Runne-  
about Rode.

All this while the Earle of Morton took part with the King and Queen, but he was suspected to favour the other side, which he did indeed so farre, as to wish that the matter might be so taken up, that none of their lives were endangered. Otherwise he was in a good place, and

Morton  
Chancellour.

removed;

*Rizio.*

removed, his house of Tantallon was seized, that it might not be a receipt and place of refuge for the Rebels, if they should happen to take it: But the true cause was, *Rizio* (commonly known by the name *Signior David*) had put the King and Queen in some jealousy of Morton; the occasion whereof was this; This Italian (or *Pied-montaise*) was of a Musician, risen to such favour, that he was become Cabin-Secretary to the Queen; and Sir *William Metellan* (Secretary of estate) finding himself prejudiced by him, who had encroached upon his office, as also out of the love he bare to Murray (to whom *Rizio* was a professed enemy) bethought himself how to be rid of him. Wherefore he appointed a meeting with Morton, and the Lord *Harris*, in which he used all the persuasions he could to induce them to cut off that base stranger, who took upon him to disturb the Countrey; did abuse the Queens favour, and set all in a combustion, to the dishonour of the Prince and Nobilitie; telling them, that it belonged to them, and such as they were, to have a care that such disorders were not suffered unpunished. And the more to incite them thereto, he alledged the examples of former times, omitting nothing which he thought might move them to undertake it. But Morton (as the Proverb is) was as wise as he was wilely: He told him flatly, he would take no such violent course, he would do what he could by fair meanes for Murrays peace and restitution: but as for that way, it would offend the Queen highly, and therefore he would not meddle with it. *Metellan* seeing that he could not draw him to it by persuasion, casts about how to drive him to it by necessity. He betakes himself to *Rizio*, makes shew as if he were very desirous of his friendship, and proffers him his service so farre as he was able. After he had so insinuated with him, that he began to have some trust with him, he told him that the place he had (to be the Queens Closet-Secretarie) was neither gainefull, nor usuall in this Countrey, and that he might easily come by a better: *The Lord Chancellours office* (sayes he) *is the most honourable, which is in Mortons hands, a man no wayes fit for the place, as being unlettered and unskilfull. Do but deal with the Queen to estrange her countenance from him, as one that favours Murray a Rebell, and with the King to insist in his right to the Earledome of Angus; Morton will be glad to sue to you for your favour, and to obtain your friendship; will be content to demit his place of Chancellour in your behalf: Onely, in regard that the place (being the chief office in the Kingdome) must be possessed by a Scottish Nobleman, you must first be made a free Denizen, and naturalized, and have the title of an Earle, which the Queen may conferre upon you of her self.* This *Metellan* thought would incense Morton against *Rizio*; and force him to do him a mischief. *Rizio* began to follow this advice, in so much that the Castle of Tantallon was summoned, and delivered into the Kings hands. Likewise the King entred heir to his Grandfather *Archbald* Earle of Angus. The Queen also intending to create *Rizio* an Earle, would have bought Melvin Castle with the Lands belonging thereto for the first step of his preferment, but the owner would by no meanes part with them. And it is very probable, that he would have prosecuted the rest of the Plot, if he had not been interrupted, and dispatched before he could bring it to passe: for his credit increased so farre

farre with the Queen, that like too big a Saile for a small Barke, he was not able to bear his good fortune, but being puffed up therewith beyond measure, he forgot his duty to the King, and carried himself so insolently toward him, that the King resolved to rid himself of him upon any terms. So he imparts his minde to his friends, that *Rizjo* must needs be made away. Those whom he first acquainted with his purpose, were *George Douglas* (commonly called the Postulate) a naturall brother of his mothers, an understanding and active man; the Lord Ruthven who had married a naturall sister of his mothers, and the Lord Lindsay, who was his Cousin German, and had to wife a sister of the Earle of Murrayes; and his own father the Earle of Lennox. These had concluded to lay hold on him as he came from the Tennesse Court, where he used much, but he having gotten some inkling hereof, kept a Guard about him of some fifty Halbards, which constrained them to think of a new course. And because their power was neither sufficient to effect it, nor to bear it out when it were done, they thought good to joyne the Earle of Morton. He being somewhat alienated, and discontented with the Kings insisting in his claime to the Earledome of Angus, they sent to him *Andrew Ker* of Padunside, and *Sir John Ballindine* Justice-Clerk to deal with him, who prevailed so farre, that he was content to come to Lennox Chamber where the King was. There they came soon to an agreement, the King and his father for themselves, and undertaking also for Lady *Margaret Douglas* (whose consent they promised to obtaine, and that she should renue and ratifie what had been done by her self before) renounced all title, right, interest, or claim they had or could make to the Earledome of Angus in favours of *Archbald* sonne to *David*, sometime Earle thereof. Having obtained this, he consented to assist the K. with all his power on these conditions. 1. That nothing should be altered in the received Religion, but that it should be established as fully, and in as ample manner, as it was before the Queen came home out of France. 2. That the banished Lords should be brought home and restored. 3. That the King would take the fault upon himself, and warrant them from whatsoever danger might follow thereon by the Queens displeasure. These Articles were given him in writing to subscribe, lest afterward out of his facilitie or levitie he should either deny it, or alter his minde, which he did very willingly, and even eagerly. Presently hereupon Lennox went into England to acquaint the banished Lords herewith, and to bring them near to the Borders of Scotland, that when *Rizjo* were slaine, they might be ready to lay hold of the occasion for their restitution. And now the day of the Parliament drew near, in which they were to be forfeited; and *Rizjo* did bestirre himselfe notably to bring it to passe. He went about to all those that had vote in Parliament, to trie their mindes, and to terrifie them, by telling it was the Queens pleasure to have it so, and that whosoever voted to the contrary should incurre her high displeasure, and no waies do any good to the Noblemen. This made them hasten his death, to prevent the sentence which the Parliament might have given out against the Lords by *Rizjo* his practises. Wherefore that they might take him, when his Guard was from him, and that it might the more clearly be seen, that the King

*Rizjo* his death plotted by the King.

was



*Rizjo killed.*1566. Martii  
8.

was the chief authour of it ; they determined to take him along with them , who should bring him out of the Queens Chamber, from whence he should be carried to the City and have his triall by assise, and so legally and formally ( for they had matter enough against him ) condemned and executed at the Market-Crosse of Edinburgh. So Morton assembled his friends, and going to the Abbey of Halyroodhouse ( the 8. of March 1566 ) in the evening , he seized the Keyes of the Palace , and leaving a sufficient number in the Inner-Court below , to keep in the Noblemen that were lodged in the Palace , and were not on the Plot , he himselfe went up to the presence, and there walked up and down. The King went directly to the Queens Chamber by the privie staires , and with him the Lord Ruthven , and some five more all armed. The Queen was at supper , and there was with her , her naturall sister the Countesse of Argyle, and *Rizjo* with some few other servants. She was at first somewhat amazed to see them come into her Bed-Chamber being armed ; but because the Lord Ruthven had been sick of a burning fever , she thought he had been distracted with the vehemencie of the fit, so she asked what the matter was. Ruthven made no answer , but laid hold on *Rizjo* , and told him it did not become him to be in that place. He ranne to the Queen , and clasped his hands about her to save himself, but the King taking her softly in his arms, told her they had determined to punish that villaine ; who had abused both them and the Countrey , and withall unclasping *Rizjo* his hands , he delivered him to Ruthven, who carried him from thence into the Privie-Chamber , and then to the Presence. In the mean time the Earle *Bothwell* and *Huntley* ( who were opposite to this course ) being lodged in the Palace , and hearing how things went on the Queens side, would have made resistance, by the help of the under-officers of Court, Butlers, Cooks, Skuls and suchlike, with Spirs and Staves, but they were quickly rambarred , and beaten back by those that had been left of purpose in the Court by Morton. So *Huntley* and *Bothwell* fled out at back-windowes. *Athole* was perswaded to keep his Chamber by Secretary *Metellan* , who was on the Plot, and supped that night with *Athole*, partly to keep him from stirring , lest he might have offered or suffered violence ; partly and chiefly that he himself might not be suspected to have a finger in the Pie, having *Athole* to be a witnesse of his behaviour therein. He had given order to his followers , that they should remaine quiet till it came to be acted , and that then they should arme themselves , and runne hastily, as it were to an unknown and sudden fray and tumult , but if there were need, to assist Morton and those that guarded the Court. The noise of the scuffling which *Huntley* and *Bothwell* made below in the Court, coming to the eares of those that were above in the presence , and had *Rizjo* in their hands ; they not knowing what it might import, but fearing that he might be rescued from them, they fell upon him, and stabbed him with their daggers, sore against the will, and besides the intention of Morton, and the rest of the Noblemen, who thought to have caused execute him upon the scaffold , so to have gratified the common people , to whom it would have been a most acceptable and pleasant sight. It is constantly reported that he was advised by one *Damitote* ( a French

French Priest, who was thought to have some skill in the black Art) that now he had gotten good store of means and riches, it was best for him to return home to his native Countrey, where he needed not to feare the Nobilitie of Scotland, whose hatred he could not be able to stand out against long; but he contemned his counsell, saying, *The Scots were greater threatners, than doers*. They say also, that one *Signior Franceſe* admonished him to carry himself more soberly, and not to irritate the Nobilitie; for as he understood they bare him no great good will, and would not faile to do him some mischief one time or another; but he answered him in Italians, *Parole, parole*; all was but words, he feared them not, they were no body, they were but like Ducks, which if some of them be stricken down, the rest will lie in. To whom the other replied, *Take heed you finde them not rather like Geese, of which if you stirre but one, all the rest will flie upon you, and so plume you, that they will leave you neither Feather, nor Down*. So when he was desired by some Diviner, or Sooth-sayer, to beware of the Bastard, he said, *That Bastard should not have power to do much hurt in Scotland, so long as he lived*; understanding it to be spoken of *Murray*, who was Bastard-brother to the Queen. But the Bastard that slew him, was *George Douglas* (as is the most received opinion) who stabbed him with the Kings dagger; having none of his own then about him. This brought Morton into great trouble; for the next day being the day of the Parliament, the banished Lords compeered in the Parliament-House, as they had been summoned, where finding no accuser, now that *Rizio* was gone, the Parliament was deserted, and the Queen reconciled unto them, intending to use their help against the slayers of *Rizio*. Wherefore she went first to Seton, then to Dumbar, where she assembled a sufficient number of men, so that Morton, Ruthven, and their partners, were faine to flee into England, but some of them lurked in the High-lands. Their Goods were confiscated, their places and Offices disposed of to others. Their friends, who were no wayes accessarie to that fact, were committed to prison. Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne, onely because he was Mortons kinsman, was sent first to Dumbar, then to the Ken-moore in Galloway. It is true, it was his brother-in-laws house, and Loghen-varre was indeed a loving brother, yet was it farre from home, neither was he set free without bail to re-enter when he should be required.

Morton flees  
to England.

Thus were the dice changed. Morton was at Court, when Murray and his complices were banished: now they are in Court, when he and his associats are dis-courted, and forced to flee. He had favoured them, but had not joyned with them: they favour him, but think it not good to take part with him. Yet had they more reason to do it, for his fact had wrought out their Libertie, theirs had made him to be suspected. But whether they would not, or could not do him any good, or that they thought the time was not fit, and a better time was to be expected, the King (who was the chief authour and first mover of it) having forsaken him, he was constrained to with-draw himself into England, as we have said. There he did not remain long in ease and quiet, for about the beginning of May, the Queen sent Master *John Thornton* (Chanter of Murray) desiring that he and the rest, might not be suffered to harbour within the

Qq

Queen



292 *Of Archbald the ninth Earle of Angus,*

Queen of Englands Dominions. She sent the same *Thornton* also to France with the like message, but it needed not, for they never meant to go thither. Queen *Elizabeth* sent one of her servants (*William Killigrew*) and by him promised to cause them voide her Realme before Mid-summer. It was so done in shew, they were warned to depart, and did depart from Newcastle, abstained from conversing in publick, but they lurked privately in a place not far from Anwick. No search was made for them, and the Messenger had whispered them in the ear, when he commanded them to be gone, that England was broad and wide. Before they came from Newcastle, he lost his good friend the Lord Ruthven, whom God called to his rest in mercy. Thus was he banished from Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, yet did he lurk still in England.

The Lord  
Ruthven dies  
there.

Bothwell the  
Queens fa-  
vourite.

But he lurked not long; for matters were in brewing at home, which gave occasion to his returne. The Earle Bothwell was now become the Queens favourite, all men followed him, all preferment came by him. His thoughts were high, his ambition no lesse than to enjoy the Queen, if she were free from a husband. To bring this designe to passe, she was content to forget all private quarrels with Morton, and he presumed that Morton being abandoned of the King, and ingaged to him for his return and restitution, as also being led with hope of his further goodwill, to gratifie him in any thing that might be procured from the Queen, would be induced either to become his friend, or at least not to be his enemy, nor to raise, or to side with any Faction against him; which he esteemed a great point, & of much importance. There was amongst Bothwells followers, one *M. Arch. Douglas*, a brother of the house of Whittingame, by his mediation all former quarrels were taken away on both sides, & Mortons peace procured from the Q. on condition he should not come within a mile of the Court. This restraint he reckoned to be rather beneficiall, than hurtfull to him; seeing that by that mean, he should be the farther off from whatsoever should happen amisse. Wherefore being returned before the Q. was brought to bed of her son *James* the 6. (which was the 19. of June 1566) he becomes a spectatour, beholding a farre off what would be the issue of things. To sit on the shoare, & to behold others at sea tossed with winde and wave, though it cannot but stir our pity and commiseration in common humanity, yet when we reflect upon our selves, and consider how happy we are that are on firme land, free from these fears and dangers, the joy and contentment we have in our own safety, doth swallow up the former consideration of anothers danger. So it was with Morton, he saw what a fearful tragedie was like to be acted at court, but not being able to hinder it, he chose to keep at home. He was the Kings kinsman, yet could he do him no good, having had experience of his weaknes and inconstancy in his forsaking of him, after the killing of *Rixio*. He was beholding to Bothwell for his restoring, and therefore bound not to oppose him, in honesty and dutie he could not aid nor assist him in such courses. Wherefore he useth the benefite of his confining, and becomes a looker on.

Morton re-  
turnes.

King *James*  
borne.  
1566. 19. June.

To declare the estate of those times, and to dilate it, let them do it that can delight to blaze the weaknesse of those, whom they ought to love  
and

and honour, and who have that task imposed upon them, by whatsoever necessitie. For my self, neither am I any way necessitated thereunto, neither could my soul ever delight in the reproach of any. I wish I could cover the sins of the world, they should never be uncovered, or known, but where necessity did require it, that so they might be taken away by order. My endeavour should rather be with the blessed sons of *Noah*, to overspread, with the mantle of silence and oblivion, the nakednesse of those to whom we owe even a filial dutie & pietie. Concerning that Princeesse, my heart inclineth more to pitie; I see good qualities in her, and love them: I see errors, and pity them: I see gentlenesse, courtesie, humilitie, beautie, wisedome, liberalitie, who can but affect these? If they be carried to inconvenience, who can but lament it? In that sex, in that place, in that education, in that company: a woman, a Princeesse, accustomed to pleasure, to have their will, by Religion, by sight, by example, by instigation, by soothing, and approbation. Happie, yea thrice happy are they who are guided through these rocks without touch, nay, without shipwrack. I do advert more than I finde set down by Writers, while I search into all the causes which might have drawn on these lamentable events. Besides the secret loathings in the estate of marriage (which who knows but the actors?) bringing forth dislike, then quarrels on both sides, then crossing & thwarting, then hatred, then desire to be freed, besides all this, impotencie, and desire of revenge, being seconded with shew of reason, and backed with a colour of law and justice, what wil it not do? Her husband had killed a servant of hers, whom he had dragged violently out of her bed-chamber. Behold him therefore (as Lawyers, or such as pretended skill in law would alledge) guiltie of death in their judgment. He was not crowned, but proclaimed King only by her sole authority, never acknowledged by a Parliament, so was he but a private man, & a subject to her his Sovereigne, as are the wives and children of Kings. Wherefore his Fact (in slaying *Rixio*) was flat treason, for which he might have bin arraigned, and suffered according to law. But bearing the name of a King, & having many friends and kinred, a legall proceeding could hardly be attempted without great difficulty, and might have caused an insurrection, and much blood-shed with uncertain event. Wherefore in wisedome the most convenient way was to do it privatly and secretly, secret justice, is justice notwithstanding; formalities are but for the common course of things. This was an extraordinary case. Justice is absolutely necessary, the form (whether this, or that way) is indifferent, it may be altered, or omitted; the Princes power may dispense with forms in case of necessitie or conveniencie, so the substance be observed. Well, I conceive that a Prince upon such suggestions, upon dislike, in anger and indignation, might be drawn by his counsellours, neither can I but conceive, that these colours have been here represented to perswade, or to sooth. To be short, that fact so lamentable, and (which I can never remember without affliction) every way in her own, and her husbands person; done by the Earle *Bothwell*, he murdering her husband, she marrying him, the matter seemed extreame strange and odious in the eyes of many. It is true, *Bothwell* was cleared, or rather not filed by an Affise; but the Nobilitie judging

The King  
murdered by  
*Bothwell*.

The Nobilitie  
bands a-  
gainst Both-  
well.

him not to be sufficiently cleansed, but rather being fully perswaded that he was the authour of the murder, thought themselves bound in duty to bring him to a further triall. And howsoever he had married the Queen, yet did they not take themselves to be so farre bound in obedience to her, as in that regard to desist from all further inquiring into that Fact. Nay, it did rather move their indignation to see him who had committed so vile and execrable a murder, not onely to escape Scot-free, but to reap so large and rich a reward, as was the Queens own person. Besides, they thought the consequent might prove dangerous, if he who had massacred the father, and married the mother, should also have the son (the onely barre and lett of his ambition, to establish the Crown to himself and his posteritie) in his power and custodie: These were given out as the causes of their taking arms, which were very plausible to the vulgar, especially the safetie of the young Prince *James*. There is no question, they had also their own particular respects, which are seldome wanting, and do commonly concur with the publick cause: wherefore there joyned together the Earles of Argyle, Glencairne, and Marre, the Lords Lindsay and Boyde. These bound themselves to pursue Bothwell, and to assit one another against whosoever would oppose them, especially to keep the young Prince from coming into Bothwells power. But Argyle repenting him, went the next morning to the Queen, and revealed all the matter, and the Lord Boyde also was at last perswaded with many fair promises, to forsake them, and joyn with Bothwell. The rest notwithstanding remained firme, with whom Morton took part. He thought he could do no lesse, being so near a kinsman to the late King, and so to the young Prince. It is true, he had been beholding to Bothwell, but no benefit could binde him to assit him in this case: for by so doing, he should have given some colourable ground to that report, which had so spread it self, that it was believed a while about the Court of England, that Murray and he were authours of the Kings murder. To have remained neutrall, would have been but ill taken on both sides. The Lord Hume, Cesford, and Balcleugh, though they had not subscribed with the other Lords, yet did they hate Bothwell, and were suspected to incline to the contrary Faction. The year preceeding, Bothwell had made an in-rode upon Liddisdale, for the suppressing of thieves, and apprehending of out-lawed Borderers with bad successe, for he was wounded, and hardly escaped with his life. This year he resolves to repair his honour, and by some notable exploit, to gain the good-will of the people, which that he might the more easily do, the chief men of the name of *Scot*, and *Ker*, who were likely to hinder him, were commanded to enter into prison in the Castle of Edinburgh, and there to remain till his returne. But they fearing some worse meaning, went home to their houses. The Lord Hume also being summoned to enter, would not obey. Notwithstanding Bothwell goeth on with his intended journey, and so to the Queen and he come to Bothwick Castle, there to make all things ready for this expedition. The adverse party thought this place was not unfit to surprise him in it: and therefore they appointed their Rendezvous at Liberton; whither Morton only came. The Earle of Athole (whither

(whither through his naturall slownesse or fearfulness) by his not keeping that appointment, caused the rest to break also, and to stay still at Stirling. The Lord *Hume* in hope to have been seconded, went directly to Borthwick, and lay about the Castle, but seeing no appearance of their coming, he kept such negligent watch, that the Queen and *Bothwell* escaped, and went back to the Castle of Dumbar. The Lords thus frustrated, went to Edinburgh to practise the Citizens there, and to draw them to their side, which they easily effected. The Castle was kept by Sir *James Belfoure* (whom *Bothwell* had made Captain thereof, and who had been his intimate friend, and privie to all his secrets: But upon some distaste or distrust, *Bothwell* had sought to put him out of the place, which he finding, had made himself full Master thereof: and he was now entered in terms of agreement, and capitulation with the Lords to put it into their hands, but had not yet concluded and transacted with them. There were in the City at this time of the other party, *John Hamilton* Bishop of S. Andrews, the Earle of Huntley, and the Bishop of Ross *John Lesly*. These when they heard that the Lords were come into the Citie, came forth into the Street, hoping the Citizens would assist them and help them to expell the Lords; but when they saw that few or none did resort to them, they fled to the Castle, where they were received (the Captain thereof not having as yet agreed with the Lords) and some few dayes after were let out at a posterne, and so escaped. In the mean time the Queen had sent abroad to assemble her forces. There came to her out of Lowthian, the Lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick, small Barons, Waughton, Basse, and Ormeston. Out of the Merse, Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne, with his Uncle *Blackader*, notwithstanding their Chief the Lord *Hume*, and his Cousin German Morton, were on the other side. Besides these, they had 200. hired Souldiers under the leading of Captain Anstrudder, mounting in all to 2000. and 500. with these they set forward from Dumbar, with intention to go to Leith, that so they might be nearer the enemy, and lose no opportunity of taking advantage of them. A wrong course, and ill advised: Whereas if they had but stayed a space in the Castle of Dumbar, the Lords not having sufficient forces to assault them there, nor Ordnance, or any other necessary provision for a seige, had been constrained to disperse themselves, and retire home to their own houses. Which if they had done, they might easily have been overthrown being separated and scattered, before they could have joyned their forces again. But there is a directour of all things, who had not ordained that *Bothwell* should prosper in his wayes; which fell out also by his own temeritie, and the counsel of Master *Edmond Hay* (his Lawyer) who is said to have advised him thus, alledging that the Lords neither would nor durst abide their coming, but would presently flee upon the first noise of their approach; and that if they did but once shew themselves in the fields, the Commons would all come flocking to them. But it fell out clean contrary, for neither did the people concurre with them (because they hated *Bothwell*) and the Lords having once taken Arms, were enforced by necessity to fight for their own safety. Their number was about some 2000. most part Gentlemen of good quality

The Queen  
and Bothwell  
at Borthwick.

Castury Hill.



quality and ranke; of the which, the chief were Morton, Marre, Athole, Glencairne, Montrose; the Lords, Hume, Lindsay, Ruthven, Semple, and Sanwhere; Small Barons, Cesford, Drumlenrigge, Tillebardine, Grange. They had no Artillerie, neither any Muskietiers, save a few from Edinburgh. They caused to be drawn on their ensignes, the late King lying dead, and his young son the Prince *James* sitting on his knees, with his hands heaved up to Heaven with this Motto, *Judge and revenge my cause, O LORD*. While they were in Edinburgh, word was brought to them about midnight, that the Queen and *Bothwell* were come to Seton and Salt-Preston, within six miles of them. Whereupon they made haste, and having armed, went speedily toward Musclevburgh, lest the enemy should seize the Bridge and Foords of the River which was within two miles of Preston. So having passed it without disturbance a little after the Sun-rising, finding that the enemy did not stirre, they took their refreshment, and broke their fast at leasure. Not long after, those whom they had sent before to currie the fields, and to give notice what the enemy was about, having perceived a few horsemen without the village, drove them back again, but not daring to follow them for fear of some ambuscade, could learne nothing else, save that the enemy was ready to march. Hereupon the Lords also began to set forward toward them, and being now without the Towne of Musclevburgh they perceived the enemy, ranged in order of battell all along Carburie hill, ready to encounter them. The hill was steep, and the ascent difficult on that side, wherefore they turned a little to the right hand, where they might with more ease and lesse disadvantage ascend, the hill being there much plainer, and the ground more levell. This deceived the enemy, who seeing them turn aside, supposed they had fled to Dalketh, which belonged to Morton, and lay on that hand. But they being come where they would have been, set their men in order, having the Sun on their backs, and in the face of the enemy, which was no small advantage, for the day was exceeding hot, being the fifth of June 1567. besides, the Townes-men of Dalkeith did furnish them sufficiently with drink, together with other villages that lay on that hand. But on *Bothwells* side it was not so, there was no such alacrity and readinesse in the people to supply them; no foresight in themselves to provide, no chearfulnesse in the Army, but most of them wavering between their duty to the Queen, and their suspicion of *Bothwells* guiltinesse. Yet did they not offer to forsake her, neither would they have done it for any thing we hear of, if *Bothwell* durst have stood to it. But his self-accusing conscience, struck his minde with such terrour and dread, that knowing what he had deserved, he judged other mens mindes to be accordingly affected toward him; and seeing head made against him beyond his expectation, he began to doubt of the fidelity of those that were come to take part with him. Especially he distrusted Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne, in regard of his friendship and Kinred with the Lord *Hume*, and Earle of Morton. Wherefore he moved the Queen to ask him whether he would abide constantly by her, and performe his part faithfully. He answered freely, that he was come to serve her, as his Sovereigne out of duty, and in sincerity, which he would

The buttell  
of Carburie  
hill.

1567. June  
the 5.

would do to the utmost of his power, against whomsoever, without respect of whatsoever friendship or kindred with any. *Blackader* said the like, and added withall, speaking to *Bothwell*, *I wish my Lord, you stay as well by it, as we shall*. That which made them the more to fear Sir David was, because a servant of his, as he went to drink at a well not farre from the enemy, was taken, and brought to Morton, who hearing whose man he was, dismissed him, and bade him tell his Master from him; *That if he were the man he should be, he alone might put an end to that dayes work, which is like enough he might have done, if either he would have revolted to the Lords, or forsaken Bothwell, and gone home*. The rest of the Nobles and Gentlemen being in like manner exhorted by the Queen to fight valiantly, promised that for their own parts they would do it faithfully, but they said, the hearts of the common Souldiers were averse from *Bothwell*; and thought it more reasonable that he should adventure his own Person in his own quarrell for maintaining his innocency, then that either her Majestie, or so many of her good Subjects should adventure or endanger their lives for him. But if she were resolved to trie the hazard of a battell, it was her best to deferre it till the next day, that the *Hamiltons*, who were on their journey, might joyne with them. As they were about to joyne battell, the French Ambassadour (*La Croque*) would have mediated a Peace, and came to the Lords, promising to obtain their pardon at the Queens hands for what was past, and that none of them should ever be called in question for their taking Armes against her, so that they would now lay them down, and proceed no further: Morton made answer, that they had not taken Armes against the Queen, but against *Bothwell*, who had murdered their King, whom if her Majestie would be pleased to abandon, they would quickly make it appear, that they desired nothing more than to continue in all dutifull obedience and allegiance to her, as became Loyall Subjects; but so long as *Bothwell* remained unpunished, they could not in duty and conscience be so forgetfull of their late King, as not to avenge his murder. *La Croque* not being able to perswade them, retired to Edinburgh. All hope of peace and agreement being cut off, *Bothwell* being jealous of his Souldiers, and either intending in good earnest to fight, or for a Bravado, sent a Trumpet to the Lords to declare his innocency, in confidence whereof, if any would accuse him, and stand to his allegation, he was ready to maintain his cause against whosoever would attach him, in Duel, and single Combate. There were two of the Lords faction that undertook to make it good against him, *William Kirkadie* of Grange, and *James Murray* brother to Tilliberdine; but he rejected these as not being his equals, and Peeres, he being an Earle, and they but Gentlemen onely. Wherefore he challenged Morton by name. He accepted of the challenge, and appointed the Weapons two-handed Swords, and to fight on foot. But the Lord *Lindsay* stepping forth; besought Morton and the rest, that for all the service that ever his Predecessours, or himself had done, or could do unto the country, that they would do him that honour as to suffer him to undertake that Combate, which he said did also duly belong unto him, in regard of his nearnesse in blood to the defunct King. They condescended, and

and *Bothwell* having nothing to accept against him, they prepared on both sides. Morton gave *Lindsay* the Sword which had been Earle *Archbald's* ( called commonly *Bell the Car* ) wherewith he cut asunder *Spenses* thigh, as is shewed in his life. With this ( which *Lindsay* wore ever after ) and a buckler, as the manner then was, he presents himself before the Army, to attend *Bothwells* coming. But the Queen would not suffer him to fight, and interposing her authority, commanded him to desist. Then she sent a Herald to the Lords, requiring them to send Grange to her, that she might conferre with him, and that in the mean time the Army should stand quiet. While the Queen did Parley with Grange, *Bothwell* ( as it had been fore-plotted ) conveyes himself secretly out of the Army, and fled to Dumbarr. When the Queen had talked so long with Grange, as that *Bothwell* had time enough to escape, and be out of their reach, free from all danger of being overtaken, she went with him to the Lords; and desiring them to suffer her Army to depart in safetie ( which they easily granted ) she dismissed them. Then she requested, that she might go to the *Hamiltons*, who were not farre off, at Corstorphing, to give them thanks for their good will, promising faithfully to return, whereupon she desired Morton to passe his word, and be suretie for her. A strange request for her to ask in such a case; farre stranger for them to have granted; or for Morton to have undertaken that which lay not in his power to see performed. *Bothwell* had escaped to their great grief and discontentment; the Queen onely remained, the pledge of peace, and foile of their enenies, who wanting her did want a head. Therefore her suite was denied, and she brought to Edinburgh.

There a consultation was held, what were fittest to be done with her. Amongst great diversitie of opinions; Morton would by no means yeeld to have her life meddled withall; desiring onely that some such course might be taken, as that the professed Religion might not be prejudiced, and that they themselves might be secured from future danger. Yet there were some that pressed the matter very hard against him, alledging that there was no possibilitie, either to preserve Religion, or secure themselves, so long as she were alive. Promises were to no purpose, and of no value. They might be easily eluded, as proceeding from a just fear, and compulsion, as they would call it. And to imprison her were no better; seeing there would not want a party ere long to set her free. And though there were no party, yet she her self might use means to escape, and others might help her; yea, without all these, time and occasion would work her delivery. Nay some went so far with him, as to denounce G O D S judgements against him, as a hinderer of the execution of justice, which he himself should feele upon his own person, because he would not give way to it in the person of another. *For it is but justice (said they) else if it be unlawfull, so is this detaining of her unlawfull; and whatsoever we have done is unlawfull, and flat treason.* All this notwithstanding, Morton would not consent unto it, but made answer, *That howsoever they had gone thus farre being drawne to it by necessity, for the preservation of Religion, the good of their Countrey, their own honour and credit, and even led by nature to look to their own safetie, yet they ought not to meddle with the life of their Sovereign.*



*reigne.* To secure themselves, it was sufficient to have her kept in some place of suretie and strength, which he thought even too much, if he could see any other remedie. And so it was concluded, that shee should be sent to Logh-leven, there to be kept by *William Douglas* owner thereof, a very honest Gentleman, and who had sided with neither Partie.

And although the same matter was agitate again, while she remained in Logh-leven (the 25. of August, at a solemne meeting of the Estates, after Murray was come home, and had accepted the Regencie) and many did incline to have her executed, ( some out of zeal to Religion, and love of Justice, as they deemed it ) some out of love to the *Hamiltons*, (who by her death would be but one step from the Crown ) yet Morton stuck to his former opinion and resolution : Shee was no sooner committed, but some began to plot her deliverie ; supposing that undoubtedly she would get out at last by one mean or other, they strove to anticipate her favour, and make her beholding to them for that which could not faile to come to passe. Neither did they fear the consequent, if once she were set at libertie ; for they made no question to make their partie good. The authoritie was hers, time would make the peoples heart to relent and fold to their naturall Princeesse; the Faction that was against her, was the weaker, and diversitie of opinions would bring forth division amongst them.

Of those that sought her favour, Sir *William Metellane* Secretarie was one. His dis-like and hatred of Bothwell ; had made him joyne with the Lords : being now rid of him, he returned to his old byas again, and bent his course toward her. But not daring to do it openly, he wrote privately to her, and assured her of his good-will, and promised his best endeavour to serve her, and that howsoever his power were none of the greatest, he shewed that he might prove steadable to her by the Apologue of the Lion, which being taken in a net, was delivered from thence by the help of a Mouse, that did shear the net, and cut it in pieces with her teeth.

Morton did constantly prosecute the course begun, with great courage and wisdom, over-coming all difficulties before the Earle of Murrays returne (who had gone to France in the beginning of these stirres) which were neither small, nor few. His Associates found them more than they had expected. They had promised themselves the approbation of all men, and that all would joyne with them, at least, the best affected. It fell out otherwise ; time diminished envie, change of their Princes estate begate pity, fear of the event kept aloof ; doubt of dutie restrained some, and desire of rest and securitie, others. So that no new Forces came to them, but on the contrary, some of their own side forsook them, and went to the other ; new hopes not onely cooling, but even changing their affections. Wherefore they were much perplexed, and had it not been for Morton, they had quite deserted the cause. But he perswaded them to keep together at Edinburgh, and to write to the other Lords that were assembled at Hamilton, to desire them to come to Edinburgh, that so they might consult together what were fittest

to bee done for the good and peace of the Kingdome. But they would neither receive Letter nor Message, saying, It was great presumption in them to have possessed themselves of the chief City, and to offer to send for them, and not to come to them, who were (so they thought) the stronger, and had the better cause. The others to give them satisfaction in that point, caused the Ministers of Edinburgh to write to them jointly, as also severally to their particular friends and acquaintance; both to excuse that which they took exception at, (which they told they had done, not because they did challenge or claime any preeminence or prerogative to themselves beyond them, or for any other cause, save onely the conveniencie of the place for both parties to meet in) and withall to exhort them, that in so perillous a time, setting aside all particular respects and quarrels, they would have a care of the common good of the Countrey. But these Letters prevailed no more than the former. Yet though they would not concurre with them, they did nothing against them; whether because they were not able (they being within the town of Edinburgh) or, because they did not agree among themselves, or that they wanted a Commission, and a sufficient Warrant from the Queen, they dissolved, and returned every man to his own home. This their attempt to have kept some forme of meeting and Parliament in the Queens name, admonished the Lords to take away that which would beare greate st shew against them, the Queens authoritie. Wherefore they deale with her to resigne it to her sonne, which she was very loath to do; yet at last shee consented to it, and having subscribed a formall renunciation and dimission: shee made also, and signed a Procuration, or Letters of Attourney, to cause crown her sonne at Stirling, or where they pleased. She named likewise his Cürators, Murray (if he would accept of it at his returne) failing him, these seven; The Duke (*Hamilton*) Lennox (the Childes grandfather) Argyle, Morton, Glencaime, Marre, and Athole. It was presently put in execution, for within two dayes (the 26. of July) the Prince was crowned at Stirling, being then thirteen moneths, and eight dayes old. Morton and the Lord Hume took the Oath for him, that he should observe the Laws, and maintain the Religion then professed. Master *Knay* made the Sermon, the Coronation was also performed by him, and two Super-intendents.

King *James*  
crowned.  
1567. July 26.

Murray Re-  
gent.

Having gained this point, they had now this advantage of the others, that not only were their enemies deprived of the countenance and colour of authoritie, but they themselves were armed therewith. And thus they remained till Murrays returne, who at first would not accept of the Place, which by the Queens direction was reserved for him, but being pressed by the rest, that they might have an established and certain Head, he yeilded to their requests, and took the Place and charge of Regent upon him. From this time forward, Murray being Regent, according as did belong unto his place, hee was chief Commander in every thing; yet was hee assisted by Mortons faithfull counsell and advice, who did also many times supply the publick want with his private meanes, in times of greatest necessity.

Especi-

Especially when Bothwell was to be pursued, who having put forth to sea, and being turned Pirate, lay about Orkney, robbing all that came in his way, without fear of being followed, knowing well that there was no money in the treasure (he himself having emptied it) to rig out any shipping against him. Then did Morton on his own charges provide Vessels, hire Mariners and Souldiours to go out after him. This was the fruit of his good husbandrie, and the good use he made of his parsimonie and menagerie. Grange was sent Admirall, who came so suddenly upon him, that he had well-nigh taken him before he was aware, yet he escaped in a light Pinnace over a craig in the sea, with such hazard, that it is thought to have grazed upon it. The Lion which followed after, being a Ship of greater bulk and burden, and which drew more water, stuck fast upon it, so that the men were constrained to betake themselves to their Cock-boat. The Bishop of Orkney (*Bothwell* to his name, who was father to the Lord Halyrudehouse) was last in the Ship, and seeing the Boat loosing, called to them to stay for him; but they being already sufficiently laden, would not hear him. He seeing no other remedy, leapt into the Boat, having on him a Corselet of proof, which was thought a strange leap, especially not to have over-turned the Boat. Thus the men were all saved, and the Earle Bothwell sailed to Denmark. There being examined what he was, and whence he came: when he did not answer clearly and distinctly, he was cast into prison, and having lien there ten years, at last he died mad.

Is pursued.

Flees to Denmark.  
Dies mad there.

The 15. of December, a Parliament was held at Edinburgh, where most part of the Nobilitie were present, and amongst others, the Earle of Huntley, which when the Queen heard of, she said, *Bothwell might as well have been there, as he*; meaning that they were both alike guiltie. In this Parliament, the Queens resignation of the Crown, the Kings Coronation, and Murrays Regencie were confirmed, their Fact was approved that had taken the Queen at Carburie, and *William Douglas* was authorized to keep her still in the Castle of Loghaven.

Things being thus settled, the Regent being acknowledged of all, and his authoritie ratified, Religion established, & the fear of Bothwell removed, they seemed to be in great suretie, yet were they never less sure; for these very things which seemed to make them strong and sure, were the causes of change, for many did envie the Regent, some hated Religion, and others there were, that being rid of Bothwell, applied themselves to the Queen, whom only out of hatred to Bothwell, they had forsaken. Of the last sort was Secretary *Metellane*, of the second Tillebardin, who had also some particular against the Regent, which Writers do not specify. The *Hamiltons* were of the first Rank, who thought themselves injured by him, and esteemed his Office due to them, together with Argyle, whose mother and Huntley, whose wife was of the house of *Hamilton*. These had some hopes from France, where *Beton* Archbishop of Glasgow, lay as Lieger for the Queen, and fed them with faire promises of men and money. Yet they carried things very closely, and made shew of friendship to

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those

The Queen  
escapes out of  
Logh-leven.  
1568, May 2.

those of the Kings side, till such time as the Queen escaped out of Logh-leven, by the means of *George Douglas* brother to *William* of Logh-leven, and to the Regent also by his mother. This *George* had corrupted a naturall brother of his who was often trusted by *William* with the Keyes of the Castle. One day *William* being at dinner, this man desired the Keyes of him (as he had done divers times before) to let out the Queens waiting Gentlewoman; and having gotten them, he let out the Queen herself in her Gentlewomans apparell, and masked. He also went out with her, and having locked the Gates, threw the Keyes into the Lake, and rowed the Queen over in the Boat to the Lake side, where *George* and *Tillibarne* were staying for her with nine horse onely. Our Writers say, it was without the mothers knowledge; but others affirme, that she had a hand in it, being moved with pity and commiseration to see her Princeesse in such estate; and upon the Queens promise to preferre her sonne *George*, and pardon her other friends that were on her contrary faction; amongst which we hear no mention of *Murray*. Morton also was left out; onely it was agreed upon that his forfeiture should not prejudice their right to the Earledome of Morton. This fell out the second day of May 1568.

She went that night to Niddrie, where by the way the Lord Scroon, and *John Hamilton* of Orbiston did meet her: and the next day they went to *Hamilton* with 500. horse. The Regent was then at Glasgow, keeping of justice Courts. When these news were brought to him, some counsell'd him to go to Stirling, where the King was, and where he would be the stronger. But *William Douglas* of Drumlenrig, not having the patience to stay till it came to his turne to speak, and before his opinion was asked: *If you do so my Lord* (sayes he) *I will get me straight to the Queen, as Boyde hath done.* For *Boyde* indeed was gone to her, with intention (as he would have made them beleieve) to play *Husha's* part; for he wrote back to Morton by his sonne, that he would be more steadable, and do them better service being with her, than if he should remain with them. There is a Proverb, *a foot backward, a mile backward, a mile a million, and so never forward*: Whereby is signified, that there is much moment in the beginnings and first efforts, and great danger in recoiling, and letting slip the present opportunitie. So thought *Drumlenrig*, and the Lord *Semple* also was of his minde. Morton did confirme their opinion, and reduced at large how necessary it was for them to stay still in Glasgow, shewing that it was their best to make all the haste they could, & that their safetie did consist in celeritie; in regard that so soon as it were known that she was at libertie, the opinion of her authoritie and name of a Queen would daily draw more and more followers to her: especially feeling the most remote parts of the Kingdome were most affectionated to her service. *We are enough here* (said he) *together with the Townsmen (who being enemies to the Hamiltons, we need not doubt of their fidelittie) to keep this place, and make it good against them.* The *Cunninghames* and *Semples* (potent families) are hard at hand, and so is the *Lennox*; the Kings own patrimonie: Neither is *Douglas* dale very farre off, nor *Stirling* Shire, and the Earle of *Marres* Forces. These will suffice to oppose the enemye till such time as our friends that dwell further off, be advertised. Mortons judgement was respected,

spected, and his opinion followed; whereupon messengers were immediately dispatched, and sent into Lowthian, and the Merse, and other parts which lay farre off, to give them notice of their danger, and of their intentions; and to desire them to make all the haste that possibly they could to come to their aid, and assistance. The first that came was the Lord *Hume* with 600. horse the ninth of May; upon his arrivall, they intended to go directly to Hamilton, and dare the enemy, and force him to fight. But that same night (ere morning) word was brought them, that they were gathering their forces, and mustering their men to take the fields; for having gotten together 6000. men, and knowing by certain intelligence, that they were not above 4000 with the Regent, confiding in their number, they purposed to carry the Queen to the castle of Dumbarton, where she remaining in a place of safety, they might manage, and prosecute the warre according to their pleasure; and either use expedition therein, or draw it out at length, and linger as they should see cause, and finde it most for their advantage. The Regent ghesing what their aime was, led also his armie forth into Glasgow-Moore, supposing they would have gone that way: but when he saw them on the South side of the river of Clide, he made haste, and crossed the river at the Bridge and Foords, to be before them in their way. I have heard it reported by those that live thereabout, that the Queens Souldiers did essay to passe the river, and come to that side where the Regent was, but one or two of the foremost being slain by his men, the rest refused to go on with such hazard and disadvantage, and therefore they took the way of Rutherglen, which leads to Dumbarton. The Regent perceiving their intent, commanded the horsemen to hie them quickly to Langside Hill, which they did, and the rest of the Army followed them so fast, as that they were all got thither, before the enemy understood their meaning. Two things made for the Regents advantage; one was Argyles sicknesse, who being overtaken with a sudden fit of an Epilepsie, or Apoplexie, the Army halted, and thereby gave the Regent time to choose his ground, though he came a further way about. The other was, their confidence in their number, and despising of the small number of their enemies, who were indeed fewer than they, yet were they more than they were aware of. For having marched over hills and dales, they never had a full view of them to know their number aright and perfectly. When they came within a little of the hill, perceiving that it was already taken by the Regent, they retired to another little hill just over against it, where they drew up their Companies, and put their men in order. Argyle was Lieutenant, and led the Rere-ward. With him there was the Earles of Cassils, Eglington, and Rothuse, the Lords Seton, Somervale, Yester, Borthwick, Sanwhere, Boyde, and Rosse, with divers Gentlemen of good quality. The Vant-guard was committed to *Claude Hamilton* of Pasley sonne to the Duke, and Sir *James Hamilton* of Eyendale, consisting most of *Hamiltons*, together with their friends and followers. *James Stuart* of Castleton, and *Arthur Hamilton* of Mirrinton, were Commanders of the Musketers, which were some 300. The Lord Harris commanded the horsemen, which were most part Borderers, dependers and servants to his

The field of  
Langside the  
10. of May.  
1568.

his brother the Lord Maxwell. The Regent did likewise divide his men in two battels, the Vant-guard was conducted by Morton, with whom were the Lord *Hume*, and *Semple*. The Regent himself was in the Reer, and with him *Marre*, *Glentairne*, *Monteith*, the Lord *Ruthven*, *Ochletree*, and *Kirkart*, with the small Barons of the Lennox, and the Citizens of Glasgow. The horsemen were committed to *William Douglas* of Drumlenrig, and *Alexander Hume* of Manderston, and *John Carmichell* of Carmichell. They were inferiour in horse, and therefore upon the first encounter they retired, and fell back to the footmen, who made out to succour them, and drave back the enemies horse by the means of the High-Landers, especially who bestowed a flight of arrowes amongst them, and so galled them, that they could no longer endure it. The Queens Vant-guard coming to joyn battell with the Vant-guard of the enemy, marched through a narrow Lane, near unto which the Regents shot were placed in the Yards, Gardens, and Orchards of the Village of Langside so conveniently, that they being at covert did annoy the enemy, and shoot at them as at a mark without any danger, or hurt to themselves. In this Lane many were slain before they could get through; and having passed it they were assaulted by Morton very fiercely with Pikes and Speares, and other long Weapons on both sides of the Lane. They fought very eagerly a while, in so much that when their long Weapons were broken, being so close together, that they could not draw their Swords, they fell to it with Daggers, and Stones, and what so came readiest to hand. In the midst and heat of the fight, *Mackfarlane* with his High-Landers fled out of the last Ranks of the Regents Companies (as our Writers say) but indeed it was from this wing where they were placed, as I have heard it of those that were present. The Lord *Lindsay*, who stood next to him in the Regents own battell, when he saw them go away; *Let them go* (saith he) *and be not afraid, I shall supply their place*: and withall stepping forward with his Company, charged the enemy afresh. Their long Weapons being broken, and themselves well nigh overcome before, they were not able to sustaine a new impression, but turned their backs, and fled. The Regent and his Squadron stood still and kept their Ranks and places, till they saw that the victory was clearly theirs, and that the enemy did flee disorderly; then they also brake their order and followed the chase, in the which moe were killed, than in the fight; and that most part by the High-Landers: who seeing that their side had the day, returned and made great slaughter to make amends for their former fleeing. There were many wounded, and many taken; but 300. slain, who had been many moe, had not the Regent sent horsemen throughout all quarters with command to spare the fleers. There were taken of note, The Lord Seton, and Rossie, Sir *James Hamilton*, the Sheriff of Aire, and Linlithgow with others. On the Victors side one man onely slain, *John Balenie* of Preston in the Merse, a servant of Mortons: few hurt, the Lord *Hume* with a stone on the face very ill: and *Andrew Stuart* Lord Ochletree, by the Lord *Harris*. The Queen, who stood as a spectatour about a mile off, seeing the field lost, fled away with the Lord *Harris*; and his horsemen:



men. For after he was repulsed by the Regents Vant-guard, and the High-landers, he went to her, and stayed by her. From thence she fled to England, suspecting the Lord Harris his fidelitie. Some do reckon amongst the causes of this victory, a contention which fell out between *John Stuart*, and *Arthur Hamilton*, two Captains of the Queens Musquetiers, who that morning before they set out, strove for precedencie, and the matter being referred to the Queens decision, she adjudged it to *Stuart* for the names sake and because he had been sometime Captain of her Guard. *Hamilton* took this so ill, that when they came neare to the enemye, he cryed out aloud, *Where are now these Stuarts that did contest for the first place, let him now come and take it.* The other hearing him, answered presently: *And so I will, neither shalt thou, nor any Hamilton in Scotland set his foot before me to day:* whereupon they rushed forward unadvisedly, and were followed as inconsiderately by *Claude Hamilton* of Pasley, with the Vant-guard, which was the occasion of their disconfiture. The battell was fought the 13. of May, eleven dayes after the Queen came out of Loughleven. The Regent returned to Glasgow, and after publick thanksgiving for the victorie, and mutuall congratulation, the rest of the day was spent in taking order with the prisoners. Morton sought to have had the Lord Seton in his keeping, but he was withstood by *Andrew Ker* of Fadunside, whose prisoner he was, whether out of fear of hard dealing towards him, or lest he should lose his thanks in saving of him, wherefore Morton modestly desisted.

Langsideford.  
May 13. 1568.

The day after they went into Cliddesdale, and cast down Draphan, and some Houses that belonged to the *Hamiltons*. Afterward there was a day appointed for a Convention of the Estates at Edinburgh, for staying of which the other faction did use all possible means. They caused rumours to be spread of some help to come out of France, which had come indeed under the conduct of *Martige* ( of the House of Luxemburg ) but that the Civill Warres at home made him to be called back again. The Earle of Argyll came to Glasgow with 600. horse, and had some conference with the *Hamiltons*, and others of that faction, but they not agreeing, he went home again and did nothing. Huntley also with 1000. men was coming toward Edinburgh, and was on his journey as farre as the water of Erne, but the Bridges and Foords being guarded by the Lord Ruthven, he went likewise home again. Last of all they procured Letters from the Queen of England, in which she desired that they would delay the meeting till such time as she were informed of their proceedings, and justnesse of their cause, why they took Arms against their Queen her Cousin, of whose wrongs she behooved to take notice, and be sensible. It was hard to offend her, but harder to suffer their adversaries to gain the poynt they aimed at, which was in the Queens name, and by her authoritie to keep a meeting, and to forfeit all those who were on the K. side, having already appointed a day for that purpose. Wherefore they go on with their Convention, and punish some few for example to terrifie others. And for suppressing the daily incursions of the Niddisdale, Annandale, and Galloway men, they raised an Army of 5000. horse, and 1000. Musketers; which expedition, because it was memorable for this  
extream



The Roade of  
Hoddam.

extreame scarcitie of victuals when they came to Hoddam, was called, The Roade of Hoddam: They set forth from Edinburgh the 11 of June, and returned thither againe the 26.

The chief thing that they did in that journey, was, that they seized the houses of Bog-hall, Crawford, Sanwhere, Logh-wood, Hoddam, Logh-Maban, and Annand. Logh-Maban is a house of the Kings, and was then in the Lord *Maxwels* keeping: but now being surrendered, *Drumlenrigge* is made keeper of it, who was also made Warden of the West Marches. Assoone as the Regent was gone from thence with his Armie, *Maxwels* folks, who had hidden themselves in some secret corner of the Castle, turned out *Drumlenrigges* men, and re-possessed themselves thereof again. Logh-wood belonged to *Johnston*, Hoddam to the Lord *Harru*, and the rest to their severall Lords and Owners, which were all spared, on hope of their promised obedience: Onely *Skirlin* was razed, and *Ken-Moore*, a house of *Loghen-varres*, who was obstinate, and would not yeeld upon any condition. The Regent and *Morton* sent Sir *David Hume* of Wedderburne to him, who was brother to his wife, but no entreatie nor threatning could prevail with him, or move him to submit himselfe: When they threatned to pulldown his house, he said, They should by so doing save him a labour; for he meant to take it down himselfe, and build it up again better: Which was performed on both sides: for it was cast down (the 16 of July) and he did afterward re-edifie it much better. Many yeelded, divers stood out, of whom there came a thousand within a mile of the Regents Camp. Who were their heads, is not mentioned, but as yet *Maxwel*, *Johnston*, *Loghen-varre*, and *Cowehill* were not come in; and whether it were any of these, or some other, we have not learned. *Morton* and the Lord *Hume* with a thousand horse went out against them, but they were gone before they came neere, and fled to the Bogs and waste Marishes.

The Regent  
goes to Eng-  
land.

In their return, at Peebles they received Letters again from the Queen of England, wherein she renewed her former request to them, that they would send some up to her to inform her of the equity of their cause. The Regent himselfe undertakes the journey, with whom went *Morton*, *Lindsay*, the Bishop of Orkney, Master *Pisoarne* Abbot of Dumfermeling, Sir *William Metellan* Secretary, Master *James Mackgill*, Master *Henry Banaves*, and Master *George Buchanan*. The Queene having heard their Justification and Defences, made answer, That she saw nothing for the present to object against their proceedings, yet she desired them to leave some of their company behinde, to answer to such things as might be objected afterward by their Queens Ambassadors. While they are there, Duke *Hamilton* came over out of France, and desired the Queene of England to cause *Murray* give over the Regents place to him, being (as he alledged) his due, seeing he was next heire to the Crowne. But the Queen perceiving that he intended to make some stirre, and to raise new troubles in Scotland, commanded him to stay, and not depart till he were licensed. The Regent with his company was dismissed, and returned into Scotland the 2 of February. Within a while after, the Duke returned also, being made Lieutenant for the imprisoned Queene, and

and adopted to be her father. He sent forth his Proclamations, commanding that no authority should be obeyed, but his; which no man would obey: And that none might fear him, the Regent went to Glasgow with an Armie, and there *Hamilton* came to him, and promising to acknowledge the King and Regents authority, he gave pledges to be kept, till such time as he should do it, prefixing a day when he would come in. When the day was come, he came to Edinburgh, and began to shift, and desire a longer day; while he might have the Queens consent. Then being asked what he would do if the Queen would not give her consent, he answered, that he would do nothing, and what he had done already, he had done it out of fear. Hereupon he and the Lord *Harris* were sent to prison in the Castle of Edinburgh. The next to be taken order with, were *Argyle*, and *Huntley*. Both had been busie in the Regents absence; but not alike. *Argyle* had onely shewne himself in the fields, but had done hurt to no man. *Huntleys* case was worse, he had vexed the *Mernes* and *Angus*, made *Lieutenants* about the water of *Dee*, and behaved himself in all things as if he had been King. After much debate, *Argyle* was onely made to take an oath, that he should be obedient in time coming, and *Huntley* was also pardoned, save that he was ordained to make satisfaction and restitution to the parties who were robbed and spoyled by him and his followers. For the performance of which, the Regent and *Morton* went to *Aberdene*, *Elgin*, and *Inner-ness*, with two Companies of *Harquebusers*, and *Musquetiers*; where having received hostages and sureties of *Huntley*, they returne to *Perth*, to hold a Convention of the States.

Thither were brought two Packets of Letters from the two Queens. The Queen of England made three Propositions. First, that the Kings Mother might be restored to her former Place and Crown. Secondly, that if they would not yeeld to that, yet that her name might be used in all Writs, and joyned with her sonnes, and that the Government should continue in the Regents hands. The third & last was, that if none of these could be granted, she might be suffered to live a private life, as another subject, with as much respect and honour as could be given to her, without prejudice of the King. This last was accepted, the rest rejected. Queen *Mary* in her Letters desired, that the Judges might determine of her marriage with *Bothwel*, and if it were found to be unlawfull, that they would declare it to be null, and pronounce her free from him. To this they answered, that they saw no reason of such haste. He being absent, and out of the Countrey beyond sea, the laws allowed him threescore dayes after he was summoned at the shore and Peet of *Leith*; before which time were expired, the Judges could not give out any sentence. But if she had such a mind to be rid of him, her shortest cut were to write to the King of *Denmark*, to excuse him for his murder and Piracie. The reason why they would not have her marriage with *Bothwel* dissolved, was, to hinder her matching with the Duke of *Northfolk*; who would not adventure upon uncertainties; & he could not be sure, so long as her marriage with *Bothwel* stood firm, he being alive, & no legal divorcement having yet obtained. So they thought by this dilator, they would gain time, & time might

1569.  
A Conventi-  
on at Perth.

Sf

work

work out some better effect than did appear for the present. For the Regents friends in England had written to him, That Northfolks Plot and the Queens, was so laid, so strong and cunningly conveighed, that no power, wit, or wisdom was able to resist it; yea, though all the rest of Brittain would oppose it, yet he remained steadfast, and sent to the Queen of England one of his Domesticks, to acquaint her with Queen *Maries* Petition, and their answer. But she not being satisfied with the Bearer, *Robert Piscarne* (Abbot of Dumfermling) was sent to her from a Convention holden at Stirling for the nonce. About the very same time that he came to London, the Duke of Northfolke was committed to the Tower (the 11. of October) and the conspiracie discovered, the partie still remaining so strong, that she not daring to meddle with Queen *Mary*, was purposed to have sent her into Scotland by sea; but things beginning to settle, she altered that resolution. Now in confidence of this so strong a partie, Secretary *Metellane* had taken himself to that side, and stirred up all he could against the Regent. He had so dealt with the Lord *Hume*, and *Grange* (Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh) that he had brought them over to that party. Hereupon he is sent for to Stirling, whither he came, and brought along with him, the Earle of Athole to intercede for him, if need were. There *Thomas Crawford* (afterward Captain *Crawford*) a follower of the Earle of Lennox, accused him of being accessarie to the late Kings death; whereupon he was committed to a close chamber in the Castle. Sir *James Balfoure* (one of his Complices) was also sent for, and the Convention were of opinion, that both of them should be used as enemies to the King, and guiltie of treason. But the Regents lenitie marred all; he pardoned Sir *James*, and sent *Metellane* to Edinburgh, to be kept by *Alexander Hume* of North-Berwick. *Grange* counterfeiting the Regents hand, brought a Warrant to *Alexander*, to deliver *Metellane* to him, which he did, and so *Grange* carried him up to the Castle.

Convention  
at Stirling.

After this, the Regent went to the Merse, and spake with the Lord *Hume*, whom he found to be alienate from the Kings side, and inclined to the North-folcian Faction. From thence he went to Jedburgh, where Morton and others came to him. He past with them to Hawick (the 20. of October) and from thence he rode through the whole Dales, he tiding on the Scottish side upon the Borders, and a Company of Englishmen on the English side, that they might not flee from one side to another, nor any of them escape. He lay two nights at Cannabee, one at *Cophae-holme*, two on the water of Milke, and so came to Dumtreis. In this circuite he constrained the Borderers to put in pledges and hostages (to the number of 72.) for keeping of the peace and good order, whereby he gave great contentment to the whole Countrey, and gained great reputation and admiration, even of his very enemies. He returned to Edinburgh before the 11. of November, the day appointed for the triall and arraignment of Secretary *Metellane*. There finding that he had assembled so many great men that were for him (*Hamilton*, *Huntley*, *Argyle*, and others) he adjourned the arraignment, and deferred the judgement. That Faction was now become very powerfull, many were fallen off

off from the Regent ; many had joynd themselves to the North-folci-ans, relying mainly on the Dukes power. And although he were now committed, yet the Faction held good , and the plot went on. The Earles of Northumberland , and Westmerland , with six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, came with displayed Banner to Durham, and there burnt the Bible and Service-Book, heard Masse in Darnton, and besieged Bernard-Castle, which was rendered upon composition. But being pursued by the Earle of Warwick , with an Army of twelve thousand, and Suffex with another of seven thousand men , they were forced to flee into Scotland about the 22. of December , and put themselves into the hands of theeves that lived on the Scottish Border , with whom they abode and lurked a while , but not very long. For Morton dealt with one *Hector Arme-strang*, by Sir *John Carmichael*, and got the Earle of Northumberland into his hands , and delivered him to the Regent ; hee sent him to bee kept in Logh-leven a prisoner , being an enemy no lesse to him and the Kings side, than to *Queen Elizabeth*.

The Earle of Northumberland taken, and sent to Logh-leven.

This made her give the better ear to *Robert Pitcarne*, Ambassadour from the Regent, and to desist from requesting any more, that *Queen Mary* might be restored again to her former place and estate. Shee declared also, that she took that which the Regent had done very kindly in pacifying the Borders, apprehending Northumberland, and imprisoning of him, pursuing Westmerland and his Faction , as enemies , his offering his best aid and assistance to her Captains and Governour of Berwick. She promised to be ever mindefull of these his good offices , and good-will shewed towards her, and that she should be readie to aid him when he should need ; yea , that he might use and command all the Forces in England as his own. Thus by the over-throw of the English Rebels, by the favour of the Queen of England , and the love of his Country people at home, the Regent was more strengthened , and the Kings side became the more powerfull. His adversaries therefore seeing no other remedie, resolved to cut him off, and make him away by treachery. *James Hamilton* of Bothwell-hawke, ( one whose life the Regent had spared before, when he was taken prisoner in the field bearing arms against him ) under-took to kill him. Wherefore having watched his opportunities, when the Regent was at Lithgow, he placed himself in a house there, by which the Regent was to passe as he rode out of the town , and shot him with an Harquebuse out at a window, the Bullet whereof , after it had gone through the Regent , killed the Horse of *George Douglas* of Park-head, a naturall brother of the Earle Mortons. This fell out the 21. of January 1569. The Regent finding himself hurt, alighted from his horse , went to his lodging , and died ere midnight. Bothwell-hawke , who had done the deed , having mounted upon a horse which hee had standing ready for him of purpose , escaped untaken.

The Regene Murray shot at Lithgow.

He was much lamented of all, but especially of Morton, who had best reason to be sensible of this losse , seeing by his death the common cause did want a main pillar and supporter thereof , and the Kings side which

he followed, was deprived of a sufficient and able leader. He himself also had lost a dear friend, with whom he had so long entertained honest and faithfull friendship, and who had borne so great a part of that heave burden, and weight of State affairs with him. For now the whole burden of guiding the Kingdome and managing the State lay upon him almost alone, and that even in the time of the two succeeding Regents, for the space of some three years, or thereby. They indeed bare the name, and the authoritie, but he was the man by whose advice and counsell, by whose travels and paines both of body and minde, yea and upon whose charges also (often times) most things were performed, till at last he himself was chosen Regent, and did then all things alone without a helper. This was well known to all, and was plainly spoken in the time of Lennox his Regencie. A staff under a Hood (so they termed Lennox.) Morton rules all. Yet was it not so altogether, neither was Lennox so devoid of judgement, but behaved himself very well, very judiciously, courageously, and courtiously (even in Mortons absence) in the taking of Pasley and Dumbartan, and in his courteous usage of the Lady *Fleming*, who was within the Castle of Dumbartan. Onely because matters seemed to rely most upon Mortons good advice, action, and means; the ruder interpreters made that hard construction of it, as if Morton, because he did much, had therefore done all, as commonly men are wont to judge and speak. And it is very true that is said of Lennox in that Epitaph of him, *famam virtute refellit*. Yet it cannot be denied, but that even while Murray was Regent, Morton did very much; and though he were not equall with him in place and dignitie, for there was but one Regent, yet he was such a second as might well be esteemed a yoke-fellow both in consulting and performing, being a partaker with him in all perills and burdens. So that of all that is set down here of Murray, Morton was ever an equall sharer, and may justly challenge the one half as his due. And therefore it is that we have been so particular, and insisted so long in Murrayes actions, because of Mortons perpetuall concurrence with him in all things, and his interest in every businesse. Wherefore we hope it will not be thought impertinent to our Historie thus to have handled them, although Morton were not the sole actor, since he was a prime and maine one. For whoso will rightly consider, shall finde that laying to be true of these two, which *Permenio* said of *Alexander* and himself (*Nihil Alexander absque Permenione, multa Permenio absque Alexandro*) being applied to Morton. For Morton did many things without Murray, but Murray nothing without Morton. And thus it went even when Murray was alive, when all acknowledged his authority.

Now he being dead, many swarved, many made defection; and, as if they had forgotten what they had promised, became open enemies. The Kings party was weakened, the adverse party strengthened both by forrain and home-bred power. Fear might have terrified him, ease sollicit, honour and profit allured him to have left it, and joynd with the other side. But he shrinks not for any perill, hatred, or envie, for no pains or travell to be sustained, no ease or security could allure him, no hope of favour, of riches, of honour could move him to abandon it, Which doth

doth evidently justifie , and clear him of all the imputations which the wit of man can devise, or imagine against him. Whether it be that he conspired with Murray to make him King : he was now dead , and that hope with him : Or if it be any particular end and aime of his own , what appearance is there that he could have any private end , which he followed forth with certain danger , and uncertain event, or profit ? For clearing of which , let us weigh the parties , and the forces and meanes at home and abroad on both sides. First there were of the Queens side Duke Hamilton , Argyle, Athole, Huntley, almost all pettie Princes in their severall Countries and Shires. Also the Earles of Crawford , Rothuse , Eglington, Cassils , the Lord Harris , with all the Maxwels , Loghenvarre, Johnston , the Lord Seton, Boyde, Gray , Oglevie, Levingston, Flemin, Oliphant, the Sheriff of Air, and Linlithgow, Balcleugh , Farnihast , and Tillibardine. The Lord Hume did also countenance them , though few of his friends or name were with him , save one meane man , *Ferdinando* of Broom-house. *Metellan* the Secretarie (a great Polititian) and Grange an active Gentleman , who was Captain of the Castle and Provest of the Town of Edinburgh ; they had the chief Castles and places of strength in their hands , Edinburgh, Dumbartan , Logh-Maban. France did assist them , Spain did favour them , and so did his Holinesse of Rome, together with all the Roman Catholiques every where. Their faction in England was great , all the North-folcians , Papists ; and malecontents had their eye upon Queen *Mary*. Neither was she (though in prison) altogether unusefull to her side : for besides her countenance, and colour of her authoritie (which prevailed with some) she had her rents in France , and her Jewels , wherewith she did both support the common cause , and reward her private servants and followers ; especially they served her to furnish Agents and Ambassadors to plead her cause , and importune her friends at the Court of France , and England , who were helped by the banished Lords, Dacres, and Westmoreland , to stirre up forraine Princes all they could. Thus was that partie now grown great, so that it might seeme both safe, and most advantageous to follow it. The other was almost abandoned , there were but three Earles that took part with Morton at first ; Lennox , Marre, Glencairne. Neither were these comparable to any one of the foremost foure. In Fyfe there was the Lord *Lindsay*, and Glames in Angus , no such great men, and no wayes equall to Crawford, and Rothuse. The Lord Semple was but a simple one in respect of Cassils , Maxwell , Loghenvarre , and others. Methvaine in Stratherne a very mean Lord ; Ochletree amongst the meanest that bare the title of a Lord , and yet Kirkart was meaner than he , both in men and means. Neither was Ruthven so great , but that Tillibardine , and Oliphant were able to overmatch him. They had no Castles but Stirling and Tantallon , which belonged to Morton. The commons indeed were very forwardly set that way , but how uncertaine and unsure a prop is the vulgar ? England did befriend them some times , but not so fully as they needed , and even so farre as did concern their own safetie. So that when all is duly considered, we shall not finde any ground for one to build on, that would seek nothing else , but his own private ends of honour or preferment.

ferment. Wherefore it is no wonder if Secretarie *Metellane*, and *Grange* (men that sought themselves onely) did joyne with that partie which was likest to thrive and prosper, in all discourse of reason and humane wisdom. Neither can any man think that Morton did aime at his owne greatnesse, or that it was out of any self-respect that he followed the other partie with such disadvantage, if we will acknowledge that he was a wise and judicious man. And therefore if we search with an unpartial eye, what could have been the motives that made him cleave so stedfastly to this cause, we shall finde them to have been no particular of his own, nor any thing else besides the equitie and justnesse thereof (as he conceived) his love to the young King, as his King and Kinsman, together with the preservation of Religion, and the welfare of his Countrey, which he thought did stand, and fall with this quarrell and cause. This in all likelihood hath been his minde; which whether it was right or wrong, let them dispute who list: our purpose is onely to shew so farre as may be gathered by discourse of reason, what it was that did induce him to follow this course.

Now although he had bent all his power and endeavours this way, yet there lacked not some who did blame him, as not zealous enough to revenge Murrays death. His brothers *Uterine* (Loghleven, and Bachain) craved justice against the murtherers; so much the rather, for that he was not slain for any private quarrell or enmitie, but for the publick defence of the King and Countrey. When it came to a consultation, some were of opinion, that those who were suspected, should be summoned to appear against a certain day, according to custome, and order of Law. Others again thought that such proccess and legall proceeding needed not to be observed toward them, who had already taken arms to maintain by force, what they had committed by treacherie and treason, but that an Army should be levied against them, and not only against them, but also against all such as had been declared Rebels by the former Parliament. But Morton did not like of this last course, nor Athole: because neither was that meeting frequent enough to determine of those things: and besides, they foresaw that the joyning of many faults would take away or diminish, and make men forget the principall; and to mingle other crimes with the murther, were but to make all the guiltie, in what ever kinde, to joyn with the murtherers, and so raise a generall and open insurrection, and a most dangerous Civill Warre. Wherefore they deferred all till the first of May, the day appointed for a Convention, as also for choosing of a new Regent. These delays were motioned by Secretary *Metellane*, who (at *Granges* request, upon his oath that he was innocent of the Kings and Regents murther, and of the Rebellion raised in England, and having found sureties to appear, and answer whensoever he should be legally pursued) was released by the Nobility here convened. For what ever respect *Metellane* made this motion, Athole consented to it, and Morton also, because he saw there could be no orderly proceeding at this time. This was ill taken of the vulgar, who did interpret this delay, of which they knew *Metellane* to be authour, to be nothing else but a plot of his to gain time to strengthen his own faction; and that Murrays death might be forgotten, or at least the



the heat of revenging it might cool , and relent , which they thought should not have been granted, and given way to. This was done the 14. of February, the day after the Regents Funerall.

The 15. of February, Argyle, and Boyde, wrote to Morton from Glasgow, where the principall of the Queens side were convened, that they were willing to joyn with the rest of the Nobility against such as were guilty of the Regents death ; but because it was not yet perfectly known who they were, they desired that they might meet , and conferre about it, so that they of the Kings side would come to Lithgow, or Faw-kirk, or Stirling, for they would not come to Edinburgh. Morton did impart the businesse , and communicate these Letters with Metellane (as they had wished him to do ) but he refusing to meet any where else save in Edinburgh, there was no meeting at this time. But afterward the 24. of February, they came to Morton to Dalkeith , and laboured to perswade him to come over to their side , but he was so farre from listening to them , that he did assure them , he would stand to the maintenance of the Kings authority to the utmost of his power. It may be, some will think that this constancie did proceed from distrust , according to that Pseudo politick and Machiavillian maxim, *qui offensa, non pardona*, who once offends, never forgives : and that he thought his fault so great in opposing the Queen, that it could not be pardoned. But why should he have thought so ? His was no greater, than were some of theirs, who were pardoned, than the Lord *Flames* by name. And certainly by all appearance, he could have made a far better mends: he might have put an end to the controversy, and restored the Queen again to her own place , which might have sufficiently expiated all his former transgressions. Wherefore we may justly call it constancy , which was accompanied with courage, in undertaking so hard and difficult a task , and with wisdom in atchieving, and bringing of it through. In the beginning of March he went to Edinburgh, whither the principals of the other party came also, Huntley, Crawford, Oglebee, and the Lord Hume, Seton, and Metellane. There were but few with Morton, till Marre and Glencaine came in to him. The next day after, they met to consult of businesse ; but because Argyle was absent ( whose power was great ) they could conclude nothing. Wherefore Huntley goes to him, with intention to bring him along with him, but he came back without him , which every body thought was done by Metellans cunning, who hindred all agreement, that he might the better fish in troubled waters. The night following, these Lords, who were on the Queens side, took such a sudden apprehension, and panick fear , without any apparant cause , that having watched all the night in their Arms, they departed next morning , without order , and very dismayedly.

About the end of April 1570. the Earle of Marre set forth from Stirling to Edinburgh against the 1. of May, which was the day appointed for a Convention of the States, but the Lords of the contrary partie lay in his way at Linlithgow. Wherefore Morton goes forth to meet him with 500. horse, and 1000. foot, so that Marre having crossed the water of Aven a good way above Linlithgow , they joyned their Troupes , and came both safe to Edinburgh the 29. of April, about twelve a Clock at night.

Convention  
at Edinburgh,  
1. May.

night. Thus were the two parties, the one at Linlithgow, the other at Edinburgh; each accusing other and blaming other as authours of dissention; yet they at Edinburgh offered to yeeld unto any thing, and to come to any terms of agreement, which might not be prejudiciall to the K. authority, and upon condition that they would assure them of their concurrence to avēge the late Kings, and Murrays slaughter. But they were so farre from accepting of these conditions, that on the contrary they chose three Lieutenants for the Queen; Arran, Argyle, and Huntley; they appointed also a Parliament to be held in her name the 3. or 4. of August at Linlithgow. In this mean time, Sir *William Drury* with 300. horse, and 1000. foot came into Scotland to pursue the Queens Rebels, and such as received them (as was given out) but the Lords at Linlithgow fearing they might be brought against them; as soon as they heard of their coming, went toward Glasgow, and besieged the Castle thereof, which *Minto* had in keeping. But he being absent, and not above 24. of the Garrison Souldiers within, the Castle notwithstanding was so well defended, that having slain moe of the besiegers than they were themselves in number, after six dayes stay, hearing of the approaching of the contrary partie, they raised their siege, and went every man unto his own home. The Kings side with *Drury* (and the English) went into Cliddisdale, and cast down *Hamilton*, and other Houses belonging to the Queens faction. After this the English returned to Berwick, and Morton did go along with them the 3. of June, having stayed some 20. or 22. dayes, from the 2. of May:

1570. July 13.  
Lennox Regent.

The 13. of July 1570. they chose Lennox to be Regent, in a Convention holden at Stirling, and gave him the oath to observe the Laws, and to maintain the professed Religion. His first care was to stay the Parliament, which the contrary partie had appointed to be kept at Linlithgow in August. Wherefore he sends to Grange for some pieces of Ordnance but of the Castle of Edinburgh: but he refused to send any, pretending that he would be a procurer of peace, and not an instrument of War, and shedding of Scottish blood. Notwithstanding hereof, the Regent goes to Linlithgow with 5000. men the 3. of August, where he could see no appearance of a Parliament, nor of any meeting, nor hear no news of them at all, save that Huntley had been at Brechin, and placed a Garrison there of some hired Souldiers, and that he had also commanded them to provide victuals and lodging for some thousands of men against the 10. of August. Hereupon the Earle of Morton made haste to go to Brechin, to surprize them before they were aware, and sent word to the Lord Ruthven and Lindsay, to go with him, or before him, because they lay nearer. But the Souldiers having gotten some inkling of their coming, fled, and retired, some to the Steeple, some to the Castle, where they thought themselves to be in safety. Morton therefore lay about these places, and not long after, the Regent came thither himself in person, and the Gentlemen of the Countrey about came all to him, so that his Army did now amount to the number of 7000. men. Those that were in the Steeple, yeelded presently: but they that were in the Castle stood upon their defensive at first, and wounded some that approached

Morton goes  
to Brechin.

The Regent  
also goes  
thither.

to

to have assaulted the castle; but hearing that the Batterie was to be planted, and that Huntley, who they looked should have come to their relief, according to his promise, had abandoned them, offered to yeeld, their lives only safe; but when they could not obtain that, they came in the Regents will, simply, without condition. Thirty of them were hanged, who had bin taken divers times before, and bin pardoned, upon their promise never to bear arms against the King; the rest, with their Captains, were let go free. This being done, they returned to Stirling the 15. of Aug.

The Garrison yeelds.

Morton sent into England.

The Winter following was quiet, and free from trouble. In the beginning of February, Morton was sent into England to Queen Elizabeth at her desire, with whom went *Pitcarne*, Abbot of Dumfermling, and Master *James Mackgill* Clerk Register. Being come to the Court the 18. of February, he was remitted to seven of the Councel, who were appointed to treat with him. These propounded two heads to be spoken of; one was, that the Queen might be better informed of their proceedings, and the equity of their cause, then as yet she was, and that their reasons and proofs might be so clear, and such, that both she her self might be fully perswaded thereof, and that she might be able to satisfie others, who should require her help against them. The other point was, to make some overture of Peace, and to finde out some way of reconcilment, that so the Kingdome of Scotland might be quieted and settled. For the first point, they gave in their Reasons in writing, the last of February; which when the Queen had read, she answered by her seven Counsellours, that she was not satisfied therewith fully, and therefore desired them to come to the second point, what course was to be taken for pacification. She propounded the first Head onely for a shew, she knew well enough before what they could say, and was sufficiently satisfied, but would not be so, at least she would not seem to be so. As for the second Head, they answered, that their Commission was limited, and that they could not consult of any such thing as tended to the diminution of their Kings authoritie, neither would they take it upon them (though they might) nor use any such power, although it had been given them. The Queen was at Greenwich, whither she sent for them, and in a manner, chid them for their obstinacie, that they would not listen to a Treatie of Peace, but did rather avoide that which did concerne their good so much, and made large Protestation of her good-will toward them and their King, willing them, at least, if they would do no more, to hear what her Counsellours would say unto them. On the morrow her Counsellours propounded many things, for deciding the Title of the Crown betwixt the Mother and the Son, Morton craved the Propositions in writing, in regard there were many Articles, and of great importance. Which being given him, after he, and the others that were with him, had considered of them, they found them to be such as did diminish the Kings authoritie, and were without the bounds of their Commission; wherefore they returned answer, that these were things of so high a nature, that they belonged onely to the three Estates, and could not be medled withall by so few as they were. This answer the Counsellours craved also to have in writing, which was done accordingly the day following. The 10. of March, they had pre-

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sence

sence of the Queen, and were again importuned to come to some proffers of agreement, but they absolutely refused. Again, the 20. of March, they were brought before the Queen, who confessed that these matters belonged to a Parliament, *which (sayes she) seeing it is to be shortly, go home to it with Gods blessing, and take such order, as that there may be men chosen of both sides, to consult how to put an end to these controversies. And for the furthering thereof, I will send my Ambassadors thither, and will now presently deale with the Ambassadors of the Scottish Queen, and move them to go thither also, if it be possible.* And so she did, but they could give her no present answer, untill such time as they had acquainted their Queen therewith, and received some direction from her thereabout. So they were forced to stay till Letters were sent, and brought again from her: which being come, the 4. of April they got presence again, and the Queen told them, how Queen Mary had rated her Ambassadors for their boldnesse, in daring to go so farre, as to enter into any terms of agreement. *Wherefore (sayes she) seeing she is so averse from this way, I will stay you no longer; but if afterwards she shall repent her, and be contented to hear of it, she said, she hoped they would be ready to follow the way of peace.* And so they were dismissed very lovingly the 8. of April, and came to Stirling the first of May, where having given an account of their Ambassage in the Convention assembled there, their proceedings were allowed, and approved by all.

He returns  
and comes to  
Stirling the 1.  
of May, 1571.

During Mortons absence in England, Lennox the Regent had taken Paisley, and the Castle of Dumbarton; but on the contrary, the other Faction (by Granges means, and their own Forces) had made themselves Masters of the town of Edinburgh, with intention to keep out the Lords, & to hinder them from meeting in Parliament. Wherefore Morton being come to Dalkeith, kept 100. Musquetiers about him, together with a Company of horsemen, both to be a Guard to himself (if they should happen to attempt any thing against him) as also to hinder their excursions, & to keep them from pillaging the countrey about. This company of foot, with some 70. horse, he sent to Leith to assist the Herauld in making a Proclamation in the Kings name, to discharge all men to relieve or support the city of Edinburgh with victuals, or munition, or any other necessary provision. As they returned out of Leith (out of a braverie, or because it was the nearest way) the footmen would needs go hard by the City gates, & the horsemen (though they liked it not) would not forsake them. They in the town not knowing what might be their meaning, armed themselves, and seeing so small a number, issued out at the two gates, (called the Nether Bow, and the Cow-gate-Port) and skirmished with them. Mortons men (though they were fewer in number) had the better of them, and beat them back again within the gates. This fight was called the Lowfie-Law (or hill) because it was fought near to a little hill (or Law) where Beggars used to sun and louse themselves. It was the first yoking or bickering they had, and the beginning of the Warre between Leith and Edinburgh; so called, because the Lords that were on the Kings side lay at Leith, and the contrary party at Edinburgh. And howsoever it was of small moment, yet it is not unworthie the observing, that this little essay, was, in manner, a preface and prognostick of the issue of the ensuing

The Lowfie-Law.

ensuing Conflicts, that they should be of answerable successe. And so indeed it fell out, that the Kings side, though fewer in number ( as at this time ) had ever the better, during the whole time of these warres.

Parliament  
the 14. of May  
1571. without  
the Gates of  
Edinburgh.

The day appointed for holding of the Parliament being come (which was the 14. of May) the Regent comes to Leith, and Morton with him; but not being strong enough to force the Town of Edinburgh, they went hard to the Gate, and having caused cast up a trench to keep the enemy from sallying out, they held the Parliament, though without the Gates, yet within the liberties of the Citie, which Lawyers said, was as good, as if it had been within the walls. In this Parliament, Secretary Metellane, with his two brethren (*John* and *Thomas*) and the Abbot of Kilwinning were declared Rebels, their Lands were forfeited, and their Goods confiscated. They sate five dayes, during which, the Ordnance from the Castle did play upon them continually, and the Bullets did often fall amongst them, yet not any man was slain, or hurt, as if by speciall providence they had been protected. Afterward they adjourned it, and transferred it to Stirling against the 4. of August. They in Edinburgh also kept their Parliament, where they had the Crowne, Sword, and Scepter (which they had gotten from *Grange* out of the Castle) and declared some of the Kings side Rebels, and in end adjourned it likewise till a new day.

The Regent returned to Stirling, and Morton went with him to bring him on his way as farre as Corstorphin: As he returned to Dalkeith, they of the Citie issued out, as if they would have fought him, and the Castle at the same time did shoot at him; but he being without their reach, and the Enemy not daring to go farther from the Town, than the Cannons could shoot, he went home without fighting. His house being near to Edinburgh, he kept all those that lay about him, or offered to come that way, from bringing any victuall thither. Wherefore they issued out of the Citie to the number of 220. Foot, and 100. Horse, with intention to surprize him, and either to burn his town of Dalkeith, or at least to brave him at his own gate, supposing that hee durst not come out to fight them, now that his Friends were all gone home to their own houses, and not above 200. or few more of waged souldiers left with him. So they march, and carry with them two Field-Pieces, and were come to Lugton (within half a mile of him) before they were espied. But alsoon as the Alarme was given in Dalkeith, Mortons men (about 200 foot, and 60. horse) came forth, and having put themselves in order in the open fields, offered them battell. After some little skirmishing; they of Edinburgh seeing themselves disappointed of their expectation (who thought to have found very small or no resistance) began to retire toward the City in good order, and keeping their Ranks unbroken. The Dalkethians did follow them in the same manner, til they came to the castle of Craig-Miller, then some of Mortons Foot getting before them (by running about on the other side of the castle) & rising as it were out of an ambushment, fell upon them in a narrow Lane which leadeth from the Castle; & having broken their Ranks, made them flee. When they perceived from the Castle of Edinburgh, that the flight was towards the City, and that

A fight at  
Craig-Miller.  
the 2. of June  
1571.

their men had the worfe, they sent out 30. Harquebusiers to their aide, and a barrell of Powder on horseback. By this new supply, they drove back Mortons horsemen as fast as they had followed them before: but while they are in filling of their measures out of the barrell, the Powder being fired by some of their Matches, killed and hurt some 24. or 30. amongst whom was Captain *Melvin*, that did keep the barrell, and distribute the Powder. By this mean, the losse on both sides was almost equall, save that there were moe killed of the Citizens, and more of Mortons made prisoners, having followed too eagerly at a straight place, called the Queens Bridges. This fell out the 2. of June.

Not long after this, Morton was advertised, that they of Edinburgh were gone to Leith, to intercept Captain *Weemes*, and 100. Souldiers who had served in Denmark; and now being come home were waged by the Kings side. They had gone to Fyfe, and having refreshed themselves there a little while, were now coming over to Leith, to enter into the Kings service, and some 24. of them being in a little Ferrie-Boat, were taken by the enemie, and carried to the Castle of Edinburgh, the rest being in a prettie good big Barke, arrived safe at Leith. Morton came thither too late, for the men of Edinburgh were all gone ere he came, save some 10. or 12. whom he took, and kept for the Souldiers that were carried away. Morton lay long at Leith, during which time there fell out a notable conflict, and the most memorable that happened all the time of that Warre. The Queen of England laboured to mediate a peace between the parties, and for that purpose had commanded Sir *William Drury* (Marshall of Berwick) to deale with them, and trie what conditions of agreement he could bring them to. *Drury* went to Stirling to the Regent, he did also speak with Morton, and was now come to Edinburgh to take his leave of them there, seeing he could do no good, nor prevaile with either side. Morton in the mean time being wearied with watching, and excessive paines and travell, tormented also with a vehement fit of the Colick, kept his bed, which they at Edinburgh having notice of, either to take advantage of his sicknes, or to brave them of Leith in the presence & sight of *Drury*, to make him beleeve that they were the stronger, and hardier, they issue forth of the Town, and march toward Leith, having ordered and ranked their men as ready to give battell. This was the 10. of June in time of their Parliament, where the chief of their faction was present, and did make Huntley Lieutenant for Queen *Mary*. He with the Abbot of Kilwinning, and Master *John Macellane* Priour of Col-dinghame, had the leading of the foot, Balcleugh and Farnihaste were Captains of the horse. These came as farre as the hill where the Gibbet useth to stand (called commonly the Gallow-Law) not farre from Leith. Morton understanding hereof by the watch, esteeming it a great indignitie and affront, that they should offer to come so near to the place where he was, forgetting his own sicknesse and infirmitie, rose out of his bed, and caused sound the Trumpets, and beat up the Drummes, and marching out of the Town, set his men in order within halfe a mile, and lesse, of the enemie. Sir *William Drury* rode betwixt the Armies, and made them promise not to fight that day, but then there arose a question which

Morton at  
Leith.

Conflict with  
the Lords of  
the Queens  
Faction.

The 10. of  
June.

At the Gal-  
low-Law.

of



of them should retire first. Morton alledged that those of Edinburgh ought to do it, because they came out first, and were in a manner the provokers. But *Drury* to decide the controversie desired, that when he standing in the mid-way betwixt them should give a signe, they should both retire together at the same instant. Morton was content, but the other partie refused flatly, threatening withall, that unlesse he retired first, they would make him do it with shame, and would scarcely forbear till *Drury* withdrew himself; who when he could not prevaile with them, went aside, and looked on, saying, *G O D shew the right*. Morton, who had yeelded before not out of fear, but onely to satisfie the English, thinking that he had done enough to show his moderation unto them, began to march toward the enemy. There were with him 3. Companies of foot, which were Mercenaries, under the leading of Captain *Thomas Crawford*, *David Hume* of Fishick, and Captain *Weemes*, who was come out of Denmark, all expert and valiant Captains. Besides these there were some Voluntiers of the Townsmen of Leith, and of Edinburgh also, who had left the City to follow the Kings side. The horsemen about 130. were conducted by *William Douglas* of Drumlenrigge, *James Hume* of Coldknowes, and one *Jordan* of Aplegirth. Morton had about himself a Company of Pikemen, and such as carried Speares, and long Weapons. The fore-named Captains began the fight, and made the enemies shot quickly to give ground, and drave them back. The horsemen in like manner beat the Rebels horsemen, and routed them, which *Huntley* perceiving, fled also as they did. There was no head or resistance at all made against them, save onely by a few of the foot men in the Abbey Churchyard, who made shew as if they would have defended that place of advantage, but they were quickly forced to leave it, and flee with the rest. For some of them being slain, some trampled under foot, and divers crushed to death in the throng and crowde, the rest ran away so disorderly, and fearfully, that they forgot to shut the Citie-gates, and fled straight to the Castle. And so great was their fear and confusion, that if the followers had not been too much bent, and eagerly set upon the pillage and spoyle, they might easily have entred, and taken the City. There were slain in this fight about some 30. of whom *Gavin Hamilton* Abbot of Kilwinning was one: there were 150. taken prisoners, the chief of which was the Lord *Hume*, being a little hurt by the falling of his horse, *James Cullen* Captain of a foot Company, and a Kinsman of the Earle of *Huntley* had hid himself in a poor wifes Aumerie, and being found, was drawne out from thence by the heeles, and brought to Leith: There so soon as the people saw him, they made a great noise and clamour, desiring that he might not be spared, but punished according to his deserts. For in the time of the Civill Warre at home, hee had behaved himself both covetously and cruelly, more like a thief and robber, than a Captain or generous Souldier: and abroad in France, he was very infamous for many vile and base pranks he had played there. And in the Warre betwixt Sweden and Denmark, he had taken Money of both Kings to levie men, and promised to aide both, but performed to neither. For these things, besides many moe foule and horrible crimes which he had committed,



mitted, hee was publickly executed, to the great contentment of all the commons. Sir *William Drury*, when he saw how things went (contrary to his desire, as is supposed) being (as was thought) a North-folcian, went away to Berwick.

Parliament in  
Stirling, the 4.  
of August.

Contention  
about Bishops.

After this, the Regent came to Leith, and caused fortifie it, and make it as strong as he could, to hinder any victuall to be carried from thence to Edinburgh; and having appointed the Lord *Lindsay* to remain there as Governour, he returned to Stirling, and Morton went with him to hold the Parliament, which was appointed to be there in August. There was at this time no small contest and debate, betwixt the Court and the Church, about Bishops, and Prelates, concerning their office and jurisdiction. The Ministers laboured to have them quite abolished and taken away, and the Court thought that forme of government to be more agreeable, and compatible with a Monarchicall estate, and more conforme to the rules of policie, and Civill government of a Kingdome. Besides, the Courtiers had tasted the sweetnesse of their rents and revenues, putting intitular Bishops, who were onely their receivers, and had a certain Pension or Stipend, for discharging and executing the Ecclesiasticall part of their office, but the maine profit was taken up by the Courtiers for their own use. Wherefore they laboured to retain at least these shadowes of Bishops, for letting of Leases, and such other things, which they thought were not good in Law otherwayes. There was none more forward to keep them up than the Earle of Morton; for he had gone Ambassadour to England on his own private charges, and to recompense his great expenses in that journey, the Bishoprick of S. Andrews, being then vacant, was conferred upon him. He put in Master *John Douglas* (who was Provest of the new Colledge in S. Andrews) to bear the name of Bishop, and to gather the rents (till such time as the solemnity of inauguration could be obtained) for which he was countable to him. This he did immediatly after he came home out of England. Now he wil have him to sit in Parliament, and to vote there as Archbishop. The Superintendent of Fyfe did inhibite him to sit there, or to vote under paine of excommunication; Morton commanded him to do it under pain of Treason and Rebellion. The Petition given in to the Parliament, desiring a competent provision for the maintenance of Preachers, in which they complained of the wrong done unto them by the Courtiers, who intercepted their means, was cast over the Barre, and rejected; and by the most common report, Morton was the cause thereof. Afterward Morton in a meeting of some Delegates, and Commissioners of the Church at Leith, by the Superintendent *Dune's* meanes, used the matter so, that he obtained their consent to have his Bishop admitted, and installed. Wherefore the 3. of February, he caused affix a Schedule on the Church doore of S. Andrews, wherein he charged the Ministers to conveene, and admit him to the place, which they did accordingly, but not without great opposition. For Master *Patrick Adamson* (then a Preacher, but afterward Archbishop there himself) in a Sermon which he preached against the order and office of Bishops, said, there were three sorts of Bishops: 1. The Lords Bishop (to wit Christs) and such was every Pastour: 2. My Lord Bishop,

Bishop, that is, such a Bishop as is a Lord, who sits, and votes in Parliament, and exercises jurisdiction over his brethren. 3. And the third sort was (my Lords Bishop) that is, one whom some Lord, or Nobleman at Court did put into the place to be his receiver, to gather the Rents, and let Leases for his Lordships behoofe, but had neither the meanes nor power of a Bishop. This last sort he called a Tulchan Bishop, because as the Tulchan (which is a Calves skin stuffed with straw) is set up to make the Cow give down her milk, so are such Bishops set up, that their Lords by them may milk the Bishopricks. Likewise Master Knox preached against it the 10. of February, and in both their hearings (Mortons, and his Archbishop) to their faces pronounced, *Anathema danti, anathema accipienti*, a curse on the giver, and a curse on the taker. This much I thought fit to mention here, and to cast these things together which are of one nature, though done at severall times, yet which began at this Parliament in Stirling.

While the Lords assembled at Stirling lay there securely and negligently, without fear of the Enemy that lay so farre off as (they thought) at Edinburgh, they had well nigh been cut off all of them, and the whole cause overthrown. For there was in Edinburgh one *George Bell* (an Ensigne-bearer to a Company there, and a Stirling-man borne) who knew all the Town, and every Lane, and Street, every turning and corner in it. He had learned also in what particular houses everie Nobleman was lodged. This *Bell* knowing by intelligence how carelesse the Lords were, how few they had with them, and that there was either no watch kept at all, or else but very negligently, & the Centinels very thin placed, thought it possible to surprize them with a very few men; wherefore having imparted it, and acquainted the chief Commanders withall, they liked, and approved of it. So with all speed they prepare for the journey, and march from Edinburgh with 200. horse, and 300. foot; the Earle of Huntley, *Claude Hamilton* of Pasley, and *Walter Scot* of Balcleugh being their Captains and Leaders. They used such expedition, and were so fortunate, that having got thither undescried, they planted themselves in the Market-place, and setting men to guard all the Lanes, and narrow passages of the Town, they entred the Noblemens lodgings, and took them prisoners; the Regent, Glencairne, and others. Onely Mortons house made some resistance; which being so well defended, that seeing they could not enter otherwayes, they set it on fire, and he, seeing all filled with fire and smoak, one or two of his servants also being slain; yeeked himself to Balcleugh, who had married his Neece *Margaret Douglas*. And thus having made all sure, as they supposed, the Souldiers began to roame up and down the Town, and riste the houses, seeking for spoyle and bootie. In the mean time the Earle of Marre, and his folks, who were in the Castle, and had essayed divers times to break into the Market-place, but in vain, all the passages and entries being so well guarded, that they could by no means do it; at the last he sent some 16. of his men, with small brasse pieces of Founds (as they call them) to his own new house, which was then a building: and because no body dwelt in it (for it was not yet finished) the Enemy had not regarded it. These entering in

An attempt upon Stirling, and the Lords there.

in at a back-gate, got up to the top of the house, and to the windows which did look directly into that Street where the Enemy was, and began to shoot among the thickest of them. Hereupon they presently fled so fast, that they trod one upon another thronging out at the gate. Marres folks came presently down and pursued them, but the lodging-gate being shut, they could not get out at the little narrow wicket but one at once; and that very slowly, whereby the Enemy had time to flee safely. And now many that before kept within doores for fear, began to creep out of their corners, and come forth to the Street, and joyned themselves with the Earle of Marres men, so that the case was quite altered: For the Victours and Conquerours, leaving their prisoners and their spoyle, fled for life to save themselves, and divers became prisoners unto their prisoners, namely those who had taken Morton and Glercairne. The Regent was taken by *David Spense* of Wormiston, who was himself killed while he laboured to save the Regents life, and the Regent also received his death's wound. They might have utterly destroyed the Enemy, but that at their first entry the Tivdale men had taken away all their horses, so that they could not pursue them. And so they escaped (we may say) on both sides: for both were victorious, & both were vanquished in a few houres space. A rare and remarkable example, how available, and of what moment it is to use diligence and expedition; and how dangerous in time of Warre to be negligent and secure. But especially this accident doth make good that often repeated observation of that great Warriour *Julius Caesar*, *Multum in utramque partem fortuna potest*; that in all the exploits of Warre, fortune hath great power either to frustrate, or make successfull. But what he calls fortune, we know to be providence, and ought so to call and acknowledge it; which turns the wheele of humane affairs beyond, and contrary to their expectation. If we may judge of the justice of the cause by the perpetuall successe of the maintainers, and by their meeknesse and moderation therein, the Kings side have had the better and the juster. The Regent died that same night, and was buried in the Chappell of Stirling Castle, with such solemnitie as the Town and time could afford.

Lennox the  
Regent killed.

Buried.

1571.  
Marre Regent  
9. Septemb.

The Grand-father being dead, the next Regent was Marre, being chosen the 8. or 9. of September the same year 1571. There were three put on the list, Argyle, Marre, and Morton. It is strange, they should have made Argyle one, who had been all this while on the contrary faction, and was now but a reconciled Enemy at most, unless they were sure how to carry it. Many thought Morton should have been the man, but he nothing ambitious of the title, which was but matter of envie, helped to cause Marre be chosen, who was a very sufficient and trusty Nobleman, able to discharge the place, and who had the Kings person in keeping within the Castle of Stirling. The main thing that he did in his Regencie was, that he convened the Countrey, and lay about the Town, but wanting Artillerie to batter it, he returned again to Leith; where having divided the Kingdome into quarters, he appointed the severall divisions to come to him by turnes, with whom having broken the Mills about Edinburgh, he placed Souldiers in the villages and Gentlemens house

houses about it, to hinder all kinde of provision from it. In the South parts of the Kingdome, Balcleugh and Farnihaste did molest the Kings side, especially the town of Jedburgh. Wherefore Morton both for this cause, as also for a particular against Farnihaste; who claimed to be Bailiffe of Jedward Forrest (which belonged to the Earle of Angus) by inheritance, sent for the chief Gentlemen of the Merse, and desired them to subscribe a Band, by which all those that were by name insert therein, did binde themselves to assift other, and all of them to aid and assift the Warden Sir James of Coldinknows. In this Band were contained the townsmen of Jedward; the Laird of Badrule, together with the Trumbles and Rutherfords, and divers others:

The first that was called (they being all assembled together in Mortons lodging at Leith) was Sir David Hume of Wedderburne, who flatly refused to subscribe it; but said, Hee was ready to serve the King, as became a faithfull Subject, so farre as hee was able; but that hee would not binde himself in any Band to any man, further than hee was already bound in duty, especially such men, with whom he would not enter into any societie, fellowship, or combination. He understood chiefly the Trumbles and Rutherfords, which names were infamous, and most of them reputed theeves, and Badrule a notorious one. Morton seeing him thus resolute, lest the rest might by his example refuse likewise, caused him go aside into a back-room, and called in the rest.

The first of which was Patrick Hume of Polwart, who hearing of the Trumbles and Rutherfords, refused also to be joyned with them, or to subscribe. When Morton asked him his reason, he answered roundly, *Because, sayes he, it may be some of these men have helped to steal Wedderburnes cattell. And hath Wedderburne any cattell stolen from him, sayes Morton? Yes, my Lord, answered the other, that he hath. He did not tell me so much, sayes Morton. But it is true, my Lord, saith Polwart. Well, sayes Morton, will ye subscribe this Bond? I cannot, my Lord, saith he, as the case stands. If you do not, saith he, you shall do worse. Worse, my Lord, saith the other; nay, rather than do worse, I will do it. No, but saith Morton, I do not mean to compell you. No, but my Lord, saith hee, you have said enough; and so he signed it, accounting it threathning and compulsion, and so himself no whit bound by his subscribing. The rest of the Gentlemen being called, seeing Polwarts hand at it, made no more scruple, but set to theirs likewise.*

After this, Morton went to dinner, and being set, hee remembered himself, and sent one to call Wedderburne out of the back-roome, and when hee came, he asked him, *Why he did not come to dinner? I was, (saith he) lawfully committed, my Lord, and I would not break prison, but stayed till I was lawfully released.* These dealings made some that were rigid censurers think hardly of Morton, that hee would use such infamous men, and tolerate them for his own ends, especially being a publicke person; and in the place of justice; Yet others did excuse him; as being necessitated thereunto  
V v by

## 324 *Of Archbald the ninth Earle of Angus,*

by the times, there being no other way to counter-poyse the power of Farnihaste and Balcleugh, but by these *Trumbles* and *Rotherfords*; alledging withall, that it is not fit, or possible, to observe those School-rules precisely in Politick affairs, which it seemes hath been his opinion also.

Those of Edinburgh set fire in Dalkeith.

In February, Morton being absent in S. Andrews, about the installing of his Archbishop Master *John Douglas*, those in Edinburgh watching and laying hold on this opportunitie, went forth, and setting fire in the town of Dalkeith, burnt some twenty houses thereof, and having spoyled and pillaged it, returned safe to Edinburgh. There was little other thing of moment done by either side, during Marres time. And now by the Garrisons (which lay about Edinburgh) hindering Victuall to be brought to them, their scarcitie increased so much, that they sent to procure an Ambassadour from France, and another from Queen *Elizabeth*, to mediate a Peace. And for the preamble of a full Peace, the Ambassadours obtained a Truce in July, to begin the 1. of August, 1572. and to last till December, or January. The conditions were simple, that the Town of Edinburgh should bee patent to all the Kings Subjects; which was as much to say, as that they should render it up, since they could keep it no longer. And so it was done the first of August 1572. Before the expiring of this Truce, the Regent sickened, and died at Stirling about the twenty eighth of October, 1572.

A truce in August 1572.

Marre the Regent dieth the 28. of October.

Thus have wee waded through those times and actions of the Earle Mortons which were inter-mingled with those of other mens; in which though he were not the sole agent, nor the principall and first in place, yet had he a main hand in all of them, and in all the affaires of Estate, he was ever a chief Actour, during the reigne of the Queen-Mother, and Queen *Mary* (her daughter) in the time of the three Regents, Murray, Lennox, and Marre, to all whom, he was ever even more than a second. Now we are come to that time and those actions, which are absolutely and fully his own; where he is the deviser and executer, sole counsellour and sole commander of all, where there is none to go before him, none to share or partake with him in his praise, or blame. What hee doth aright, the honour thereof is due to himself alone; and if hee do any thing amisse, the blame thereof must lye upon him onely. The pain or pleasure, the gain or losse, touch and concerne him, and none else. For Marre being dead, wee do not finde so much as any question made, who should succeed him in the Government; mens mindes had by presage designed him to it, and the Lords meet to accomplish that presage, rather than to consult of it. Wherefore the twentieth fourth of November, he was by uniforme consent of all those of the Kings side, chosen to be Regent. Would you know the reason of their choice? Be pleased then to hear it in the words of a stranger, who is very impartiall, and farre from lavish commendation, that is, Master *Thom* (or *Bosville*) in his Scottish Chronicle, *They sought* (sayth he) *a new Regent to succeed in Marres place, that might in all respects defend the Kings Person, and the Realme,*

Morton Regent the 24. of Novem. 1572.

Realme, as he had done before. Wherefore the Noblemen assembling, did select by one consent, the Earle of Morton to that Office, a man no lesse wise than provident, and such a person, as both for the nobilitie of his birth, and service to the Realme and to the King, did well merit the same. By which it appeares, that he did neither ambitiously seek the Place, nor got it by faction, but was chosen to it for the good of the Countrey, freely and advisedly. He sayes indeed, that it was after long consultation, but it could not be very long, being little more than a moneth, which was short enough time to be spent in making the late Regents Funerall, and to convene the Nobilitie therein. For according to himself, the election was in December, but our Acts of Parliament (which are more authentick) say, it was the 24. of November. But how ever long their consultations were, we do not hear that he had any Competitour, or that there was any other mentioned or nominated with him; and seeing he sayes, it was done (by one consent) then was there not any contrary Votes, or contradiction and contesting; but a perfect and full uniformitie and harmonie of minde amongst all of that side. Nay, even of those of the other side also, who sent (as some Notes say which I have seen) Commission and Proxees to that purpose, and namely, the Duke and Earle of Huntley. Others say, these were at the Parliament, where this Regencie was confirmed, holden the 26. of January, in Edinburgh. They that delay it longer, cast their yeelding in February at Perth, where they name Huntley, Argyle, Athole, and in generall, the greatest part (say they) of the Nobilitie, and so we see his entrie was free and right, and duly approved by all; the rest of his Office we have to consider. It lasted the space of five years and three moneths, till the twelfth of March, 1577. which is the time of his dismission. All this time the Countrey enjoyed a full and perfect Peace, save so much warre as they had in recovering the Castle of Edinburgh out of the enemies hands. There were within the Castle (beside Grange Captain thereof) Secretarie Metellane, and his brother Master John, Priour of Coldinghame (afterward Chancellor of Scotland) who remained still in terms of hostilitie. I know not why, nor wherefore, whether it was, that they thought themselves so guiltie, as that they could not be pardoned; or that they had conceived such spleen and hatred against the other Faction, that they would not be reconciled; and so, out of despair, taking a desperate course, or that they were borne up with hope of some change, perswading themselves, that this agreement among the parties could not last long, being so ill cemented (as they conceived) but that some difference would soon arise upon some occasion or other, and that the rather, having their example for the present, and the Castle of Edinburgh for a place of refuge, when it should be needfull.

The Queens  
partie within  
the castle of  
Edinburgh.

Upon these, or such like considerations, being also not altogether forsaken of the French (who sent some small supply of Moneyes, but large promises by James Kircadie, brother to Grange, who landing at Black-Nesse, conveyed himself and it secretly into the castle) they resolved to be the last in yeelding, and to hold out so long as possibly they could, assuring themselves that they could make their peace

V v z

when

The Castle  
blocked up.

when they listd (if it should come to the worst) by surrendring the place upon good conditions. There were with these forenamed (as their followers) the Lord Hume, who was altogether led by *Metellans* counsell, and *Logan* of Rastarig, who depended upon Hume. *Pittadraw* was Lieutenant to *Grange* the Captain, and Sir *Robert Melvill* was Uncle to *Grange*. The Regent being resolved to pull this thorne out of his foot, caused the Castle to be inclosed with a trench, and Souldiers set to keep it, under the command of Captain Crawford, and Captain *David Hume* before mentioned. And because they of the Castle watered at a Well (called *S. Margarets Well*) Captain *Michell* was appointed to lie with his Company at *S. Cutberds Kirk*, who hindred them from fetching water from thence, and after a while, he found means to poyson it, and so left it without any Guard. While the Castle was thus blocked up, one Captain *Bruce* issued forth thereof, to bring in victuals, but he was taken by the Regents men, saith Master *Thin*: a thing very hard to be conceived, how he either durst, or could do it; neither is there any mention or memorie of his being there, any where else to be found. Now because the Castle did annoy the City with their Ordnance, so that none could walk in the Street (which lies open in a straight line from the Castle exposed to their mercy) without danger of their lives, the Regent caused make three Traverfes or Dikes, and ramparts of earth, turfe and dung, over-thwart and crossing the Street, so thick, as that they were Cannon-prooffe, and could not be pierced, and so high, that they took away the view of the Street from them of the Castle. One of these was raised hard by the Land-Market above the Tolbooth, and the other two (with proportionable distance one from another) nearer the Castle, so that the Citizens and others walked safely to and fro about their businesse, and the Lords also sate in Parliament without any hurt, notwithstanding that the very day of their sitting (the 26. of January, or as others the 16.) for their welcome and first salutation, they had bestowed on them 87. great shot; onely there was one poor dog killed before the Regents door. Neither was there any great hurt done before, though they had been still sending their vollies the 1. of January (at what time the truce expired) not above 6. persons hurt that kept the trenches, and as many within the City, but none slain. One night the Captain issued forth, and skirmished with the Regents Souldiers in the trenches, till he found means to set some houses of the City on fire, which, the winde being high, did spread through the City, and when any did offer to quench it, he caused the Ordnance to play so thick upon them, that none daring to come near it, there were some 100. houses consumed therewith being burnt down to the ground, but not any man either slain, or hurt. This fact made him, who was hated before, to be abhorred and thought abominable by all men.

Parliament at  
Edinburgh,  
the 26. of Jan.

Siege of the  
Castle of E-  
dinburgh.  
1573.  
20. April.

Wherefore the Regent determining no more to dally with him (not having sufficient store of Artillerie of his own, and fearing lest the Castle being well victualled, might hold out too long) he sent to the Queen of England to borrow of her, who sent him 30. pieces in all (*viz.* 9. Cannons, 6. Demicanons, 6. Sacres, and 9. Culverins) with all manner of needfull



needfull provision; together with 700. or ( as Master *Thin* saith ) 1500. men under the conduct of Sir *William Drury* Generall. With these and 500. hired Souldiers of Scots, besides the Gentlemen Voluntiers, and the Citizens of Edinburgh (after he had summoned the Castle, and they not obeying) he sate down before it the 20. of April 1573. They raised five Mounts or Terrasses, whereon to plant their batterie, in that place where now *Heriots* work is built. These ( being called by the severall names of the chief Commanders, First, the Kings, Secondly, *Mount Drury*; Thirdly, *Mount Leyes*, from Sir *George Leyes*, Fourthly, *Mount Carie*, from Sir *George Carie*, Fifthly, and *Mount Sutton*, from *Thomas Sutton* Master of the Ordnance ) were finished the 17. of May, with great toyle and labour, and not without some losse of men by shot from the Castle. They began their batterie the 17. of May, and continued it till the 26. The Castle is situate on a steep and inaccessible Rock, having a large utter Court beneath that Cragge whereon the Castle standeth. About this Court there is a strong Wall, and on that side which lieth towards the Town of Edinburgh, a Bulwark (or Blockhouse) ending in a sharp point, being made in form of a triangle. The use of it is to defend the entrance and gates of the Castle. The wals of this Blockhouse are subject to the sight and shot of the Castle; and so may be defended by those that are within, but the corner & sharp point thereof is not so, and if it be taken by the Enemy, those that are within the Castle cannot annoy them. There were within the castle at the inner end of the said Blockhouse, two turrets of ancient workmanship, but more high than strong; of which the one was called *Dauids Tower* (which stood nearer the Gate) the other without it nearer to the South, was called *Wallace Tower*, but I know not the reason of their names. Against these two Towers, and the side of the Blockhouse nearest to the Castle, they directed their first batterie. Thereafter they battered round about on every side of the Castle; and having dismounted some of the Ordnance within, and broken other some by shooting in at the mouth thereof; their Cannon did little hurt, being made unserviceable. Besides, *Dauids Tower* being battered, was beaten down, and fell in such sort, that the ruines thereof did damme up the gate and entrance betwixt the Castle and the utter Court and Blockhouse. The Blockhouse was also battered in that part that was over against the gate; and *Wallace Tower*, which stood above the gate within the Castle, was beaten down. There was a breach large enough, made not farre from the gate of the Bulwarke, and the ditch also was filled up with stones and rubbish, so that they might well enough have entred there; but because it lay so open in the very mouth of the enemies shot, it was not thought safe to give the assault at that place. Wherefore having provided Ladders, they went to the point of the Blockhouse, there to climbe up out of danger of the Enemies shot. The foremost in this service were Captain *Hume* and Captain *Crawford*. *Humes* Ladder being too short, and there being one of his men also shot upon the Ladder behinde him, he was forced to come down again, and so *Crawford* got first up, and *Hume* followed him upon his Ladder, and so did the rest of the Souldiers without any hurt done. So they went forward, and planted a Corps  
de

*de garde* before the Gate of the Blockhouse called *Humes* Porter-lodge, I know not why or how it got that name. They had no let or impediment, save that they had some small shot from the Castle, for the great Ordnance could not annoy them, being so high above them. And those that had kept the Blockhouse, had forsaken it, and were taken in to the Castle, being towed up over the Wall in the night. For it being sore battered, and the passage from thence to the Castle being so dammed up, that there could come no relief nor succour to them from within, they would not stay in it any longer, but abandoned it. While they were in scaling the Blockhouse, there was another Company sent to make shew of giving an assault at another place, but they having gone further on than they had warrant or direction, they were repulsed, and about thirty of them slain. And so they did (as it were) make an exchange, and recompense their losse of the Blockhouse, with the death of these thirty. But this taking of the Blockhouse, was a matter of no great consequence; for neither could they any wise annoy or harme them that were within from thence, neither was the Castle Wall any where scalable, but as hard and difficult to get up into it as ever. Onely they had taken from them the onely Well which was left them, and out of which had been furnished to each man a pint of water a day. For the other Well that was within the Castle, by the fall of *David's* Tower, was so filled with lime and rubbish, that it served them to no use. Besides, they were at variance amongst themselves; for the Souldiers were not well pleased with their Captain, in regard of his hard usage of them. For he had committed to his wife the charge of distributing their Vivers, so to please her in that, that she might be the better contented to bear with his untimely and unlawful love toward her maid whom he entertained all this while. It is true, the victuall began to grow scarce, but she made it scarcer by her niggardly disposition. They did not mutine, but they murmured so, that they within were content to Parley with the besiegers. Wherefore the 26. of May, *Grange* the Captain, *Pittadraw* Lieutenant, and Sir *Robert Melvill* came down over the Wall by a rope, and spake with Generall *Drury*; for they addressed themselves to him, as one in whom they did much confide as a favorer of theirs. They demanded that their lives, lands & honor safe, they might depart with bag and baggage, both he, and all that were with him. But when he could not obtain that, he returned to the Castle again. The Regent after this, found means to let the souldiers understand, that if they would render up the Castle, their lives should be saved, and they should have free libertie to passe with bag and baggage whither they pleased; else that they must expect all rigour and extremity. Hereupon they shew themselves unwilling to undergo any more paines or danger for him, and refuse to obey him; so that he was constrained to yeeld up the Castle the 28. or 29. of May, without any condition at all, but referring himself absolutely to the Queen of Englands pleasure. Her pleasure was to remit all to the Regents own wisdom and discretion, and so the 16. of July she called back Sir *William Drury* and her Souldiers, as also about the same time her Ships and Munition were sent home againe to her. Concerning the prisoners, the Lord *Hume* was committed againe to

The castle  
rendered the  
29. of May.

to the Castle, and the Castle to the keeping of *George Douglas* of *Parkehead*, brother naturall to the Regent. *Sir William Metellane* of *Lithington* deceased (the 9. of July at *Leith*, where he lay with *Drury*) before he was suspected, and reported to have poysoned himself. What fear, what guiltinesse, or what other occasion there was to move him hereto, or what information he got, or apprehension he took of the Regents minde toward him in particular, I know not; but after that he knew that he was to be left by the English in the Regents hands, he lived not many dayes. None of the rest were hardly used, save *Grange* the Captain, who being odious for his breach of faith to those of the Kings side (with whom he took part at first) and much more hated for his treacherous dealing with the first Regent *Murray*, who had been so kinde and loving a friend to him, and had trusted so much to him; but most of all for his obstinacie and unmercifull cruelty in firing the Town of *Edinburgh*, and not suffering them to quench it, the common people did so abominate and detest him, that they could not abstaine from reviling and cursing of him, as he was led along, after the Castle was surrendered; neither could they be hindred from stoning of him: so that they who were with him were faine (for saving of themselves and him) to take the house upon their heads. And now that he was in the Regents power, there was no way to satisfie them, but by executing of him: Wherefore being condemned for these things, he was put into a Cart, and drawn backward to the Market-place of *Edinburgh*, where he was hanged, and with him his brother *Master James Kircadie*, and two men of *Edinburgh* (*Messman* and *Cackie*) who had made false Coin in the Castle on the 3. day of August 1573. *Master John Metellan* was sent prisoner to *Tartallon*, and *Sir Robert Melvill* to *Lithington*, to be kept there by *David Hume* of *Fishick*, who then possessed it.

*Grange executed.*

This was the onely exploit of Warre which he atchieved, and by which he acquired great reputation; the former Regents having never been able to get this Castle into their hands: as also by his no-wayes rigorous dealing with those that were in it. The rest of the time of his Regencie, there was a generall peace in the Kingdome, and full obedience was yeelded to him by all men. No man of those times had seen the like before; no King was ever more dreaded and revered, nor did ever keep all sorts of people (High-Landers, Low-Landers, Borderers and all) in better order and greater subjection, even to inferiour Magistrates, both Civill and Ecclesiasticall. The chief mean hereof was the execution of the Laws. He made not many new ones, but what he made, he took care to have observed. Concerning Religion, there are these five Acts extant, which he made in his first Parliament the 26. of January 1572. before the besieging of the Castle. 1. The first of these is relative to an Act made by Regent *Murray* before. In it (being made for establishing of Religion) it had been declared: "That they were not of the Church, that did not approve the heads of Religion then received, and who refused to participate of the Sacraments as they were administred. Morton ordains (in this Parliament) such persons to be first searched, and secondly, admonished to recant their wicked errors; thirdly, to make

Parliament Jan. 26. 1572.

Acts concerning Religion.

" make confession of their faith according to the form prescribed; fourth-  
 " ly, to participate of the Sacraments; fifthly, submit to the Discipline of  
 " the Church within such a competent time; sixthly, if they fail to do this,  
 " that they be excommunicated; seventhly, then have their names printed  
 " in a catalogue; eighthly, divulged; ninthly, & affixed on the Tolbooth door  
 " of Edinburgh; tenthly, from thenceforth to be reputed infamous; ele-  
 " venthly, not to sit or stand in judgement, pursue, defend, or bear any  
 " publick office; twelfthly, not to be admitted as a proof or witnesse, or  
 " assessor against any, professing the reformed Religion, till they sub-  
 " mit, be reconciled, and obtain a testimoniall of their reconciliation.  
 " That to be in this Catalogue shall be a relevant exception against, first,  
 " Judges principall: secondly, or Deputies: thirdly, Members of Court:  
 " fourthly, Officers: fifthly, Parties or Procurators: sixthly, persons of  
 " inquest: seventhly, or witnesses, to decline them from, first, Judge-  
 " ment: secondly, Office: thirdly, Pursute: fourthly, Procuration:  
 " fifthly, Inquest: or sixthly, Bearing witnesse: That the Arch-bishops,  
 " Bishops, Superintendents, Visitours, Commissioners, Readers, shall  
 " give in their names within every one of their bounds, under pain of  
 " forfeiting a years rent in case they fail. 2. The second Act is: That  
 " all Ecclesiasticall persons (that is Ministers, or such as pretend any right  
 " to have, or brook and enjoy any, first Benefice: secondly, Life-rent;  
 " thirdly, Stipend: fourthly, Pension: fifthly, or Portion of Benefice)  
 " who shall not confesse, subscribe, and participate the Sacraments, as  
 " said is, shall be *ipso facto* deprived, and all his Ecclesiasticall promoti-  
 " ons and livings shall be void and vacant, as if he were naturally dead.  
 " 3. The third Act: That none should be reputed as loyall and faithfull  
 " Subjects to our Sovereigne Lord, but be punishable as Rebels; that  
 " gave not confession and profession of the reformed Religion: That such  
 " as had once professed it, and afterward made defection, should returne  
 " before the first of June next, and renew their former confession: first,  
 " Promise to continue in it: secondly, To maintain the Kings authori-  
 " ty: thirdly, The Preachers: fourthly, And Professours of the true  
 " Religion, against whomsoever and whatsoever enemies, especially  
 " against all (of whatsoever Nation or degree) that had bound them-  
 " selves to maintain the decrees of the Council of Trent, and were falsely  
 " called, *The holy League*. 4. The fourth Act: That whosoever were ex-  
 " communicated, and remained so 40. dayes, letters of horning should be  
 " directed to charge him to satisfie the decree of the Church pronounced  
 " against him, and to be reconciled to the Church, and submit to the  
 " Discipline thereof under pain of Rebellion: and if he did remain obsti-  
 " nate, that hee should bee put to the horne, and then letters of caption  
 " should be granted to apprehend him, &c. 5. The fifth Act was: That  
 " Ecclesiasticall persons (such as above) remaining year and day at the  
 " home, should lose their Life-rents. These Laws he procured to be  
 " made in Parliament, and being made, he saw them duely executed; by  
 " which mean it came to passe, that in his time, there was no man in Scot-  
 " land, that professed advowedly any other Religion than the reformed; or  
 " maintained any point of Religion, contrary to the doctrine of this  
 Church.

Church. Men do now wonder at it, how it could be : yet so it was , and this was the mean that procured it.

As for the Borders , hee tamed and daunted them by In-rides , and Justice-Eyres, executing some for terrour to others , taking pledges and hostages of the rest, and punishing them that transgressed according to their faults , most part by pecuniarie mulcts and fynes. The High-landers were kept in, by binding the chief of the Clans over to the peace, and partly by fear, partly by gentlenesse, he drew them to the obedience of the Laws. But the chief mean for all, was a solid and perfect peace established amongst the Nobilitie, the onely certain and sure way of keeping the Borderers in order ; as by the contrary, a stir amongst the States ( as themselves speak ) doth never faile to incite them to their theeyng and robbing. This he knowing well , partly by his wisdom compassed and effected it, partly it fell out of its own accord by mens inclination thereto, being wearied with so long troubles, and the turbulent heads that stirred up and entertained dissention, being now taken away by death. It is matter of laughter and sport, to consider mens judgements concerning this his government. I heard then, and have read since in some memorials of those times, his government mightily taxed, and reproached, and himself censured as covetous & greedie, as one that hanged some poor snakes for a shew of justice , but suffered the richer theeves to escape for their money. And yet the same men do not stick to say and write, Betwixt the 3. of March 1575. and the 4. of March 1577. the space of two years, there was nothing of importance to write of: All this time the Regent governed the Realme both well, and wisely : for during these two years , the common people had rest and quietnesse ; Not considering that his government in the former years had procured , and caused the rest and quietnesse of these years. Yea, these same things which they call ( hanging of the poor for shew of Justice , and letting the rich go for money ) they might call it ( if they would speak in proper termes , and give it the right name ) a just moderation and tempering of justice with lenitie ; punishing some ( lest impunity might breed contempt of the Law ) punishing the fewest and in the gentlest sort , lest too much rigour might drive them to despair , and so force them to desperate courses, and to stirre up new commotions. If this course did withall meet right with any natural inclination in him towards money, yet that inclination did rather concur with this judgement, than cause it. He knew the nature of his countrey-men, how they cannot easily endure to have their lives touched, or their blood medled withal, and how hard it is to over-master them by the strong hand, and a violent way, but farre more easie to be overcome and gained by fair meanes , and therefore out of his wisdom hee made choyce of this , as the best way for his purpose of settling Peace. The event and issue did justifie his choyce : for from hence did arise a full Peace, and perfect quietnesse , together with all obedience and good order in Church and State at home , and account and great esteem of Strangers abroad. His meanes ( indeed ) were also increased, yet that came not so much by publick fynes or forfeitures, as by his good husbandry and thrifty managing of the revenue.

of the Crown, and his own private estate. For no man knew better how to improve both the one and the other, and to make the best of them, and no man was more carefull and diligent in it, than he. He guided both himself, and imployed his own pains and industrie therein, as in all affairs whatsoever. His servants were ever particularly directed by himself, and they did but execute what he commanded. The chief men he used were *John Carmichael* of Carmichael, and *George Auchinleck* of Balmannoe. He imployed the former in all matters that were to be done upon the Borders, having made him even a warden, the other had a care to gather in his rents, and was (as it were) Stuart or Chamberlaine to him. His private delight was in planting and building, which hee did very magnificently, especially at Dalkeith; for which Drumlenrig admonished him that it was too sumptuous and stately for a Subject, and too near to Edinburgh. He built also an house in Tivdale, called the Drogh-holes, for his private retreat.

He grew so in esteem of wisdom and riches with all men, that it was no wonder though hee were a little touched with the opinion of it himself, being now past all emulation, and so accounted of by all men, he could not but esteem also well of himself. They who did envie him had little hope to hurt him by action, being above their reach; but by their tongues they sought to make him envied of all, saying, *He had all the riches, all the friendship, and all the wisdom of Scotland, Him alone.* This was Hyperbolically, and spoken to stir envie, yet thus far it was true, that he had more of all these than any other one man, and so much as all his enemies were not able to match or impaire. He had added to his friendship great parties, the Lord *Maxwell* and *Hamilton*. *Maxwell* married his Niece (a daughter of his brother *David*, and sister *Germain* to *Archbald* Earle of Angus) and the Lord *Bothwell* also had married her sister *Margaret*, Relict of *Walter Scot* of Balcleugh. The Lord *Hamilton* had been in great enmitie with him, for (besides the publick cause of Regent *Murray*'s death) he with his brother *Claud* of *Pasley*, had killed *Johnston* of *Wester-hall*, a follower and dependor of the house of Angus. At that time the Countesse of *Casills* (*Lyon* by name, of the house of *Glames*, and a near Cousin to the Regent) was a widow. Whether the love to that Lady brought on the reconciliation, or their reconciliation occasioned the affection to the Lady, it is hard to say, but so it was, that *Hamilton* suited her in marriage, and obtained his suit, and by this all quarrels, and more especially that slaughter of *Wester-hall* was taken away. And for the better satisfaction herein, both the brothers (the Lord *Hamilton*, and *Claud* of *Pasley*) made publick obedience to *Archbald* Earle of Angus, in the Palace of *Haly-rood-house*, by coming the whole breadth of the Inner-Court thereof bare-footed, and bare-headed, and falling down on their knees, holding each a naked sword by the point, delivered it to him to take hold thereof by the Pommel. This was in the year 1575. the seventh of March, being Monday. After this, *Hamilton* was married to the Lady. Yet may it be doubted, whether he acquired more friendship in private by them, than he furnished matter of obloquie in publick

to the countrey, because both these brothers were accounted authours or accessarie to the killing the Earle of Lennox, ( then Regent ) and the Kings Grand-father ; as also they had been of that of Regent Murray. These slaughters all the Nobilitie ( especially of the Kings side ) had solemnly sworne to avenge : and now by this hee seemed to neglect that quarrell, and his oath, and that he had more care to be satisfied in his own particular, for the slaughter of one mean man his dependor. It grieved particularly *William Douglas* of Logh-leven, who desisted not from the pursuit of those that had slain his brother Murray : after a privat manner, seeing he could not get publick justice executed, twice he set upon the Lord *Hamilton*, as he was coming from Arbrothe, and chased him so, that he was constrained to return to Arbrothe again. Another time as he was coming through Fyfe, he made him flee to Darcie, which he beset & lay about it, till the Regent sent to him, and commanded him to desist. However, by the alliance of these Noblemen, he seemed more strengthened & more secured. The Earle of Angus ( his Nephew ) was married to the Lord *Ereskins* sister, daughter to the late Regent, Earle of Marre, a Lady of rare beauty and vertue, and worthily made choice of by Morton who was author of the match, both because of the Ladies deserving, as also for that it not a little seemed to strengthen him, seeing her mother and uncles ( during the minoritie of her brother ) had the custody & education of the young Kings person, which was the only way to attempt any thing against his Regencie. Whether these things began in him security, and security bred carelesnesse to entertain mens love, from whence did arise a loathing of him in all estates, & coldnesse in particular friendship, or what ever the occasion was, certain it is, that he kept his place more by the estimation of all, than by the affection of many, on the occasions following. We shewed before, how in matters of Church-government, he ever inclined ( as the most politick course ) to the estate of Bishops. The name was yet retained by custome, the Rents were lifted also by them ( as we have said ) more for other mens use & profit, than their own. They had also place & vote in Parliament after the old manner, and he would gladly have had them to have kept their power and jurisdiction over their brethren. *M. John Douglas* being dead, he filled the place by putting in *M. Patrick Adamson* his domestick Chaplain, who then followed that course, though before he had preached against it. Many were displeased herewith, all the Ministers ( especially they of greatest authority ) & all men of all estates that were best affected to Religion. He endeavoured also to have put the charge and cure of more Churches into one Preachers hands, that there being the fewer to provide of stipends, the Kings revenues ( who paid them out of the thirds of the Church lands ) might be increased by the surplusage which remained to him. Hee did so eagerly presse this point, that some thought it necessary to write against this course, namely, *Master John Davidson* ( Minister at Salt-Preston ) then a Student at S. Andrews. Him he caused to be summoned to under-lye the Law, and to be indicted criminally, and being entreated for him, he shewed himself so animated against him, that he durst not under-go his triall, but fled to England, with the consent of those that were bail for him, of whom he



Generall Assembly in Edinburgh.  
1573.

exacted the summe to the full, and they willingly did choose rather to pay it, than to expose their friend to the hazard of his wrath. The Printer of the Book *Robert Lake-private* was convicted by an assise or jurie, and committed to the Castle of Edinburgh. It was also hardly taken, that he sought to diminish the authoritie of the Generall Assemblies of the Church, by refusing to be present (being desired) at an Assembly holden in Edinburgh the 6. of March, 1573. which was very frequently and solemnly kept almost by the whole body of the Countrey; the Nobility, Gentry, Commissioners from Burrowes, as the custome had alwayes been, and as he himself before had been present at them. Yea, he began to question their priviledge and libertie thereof, by asking the Commissioners (which were sent from them to crave his assistance thereat) who had given them power to assemble the Kings Lieges without his leave, who was in authority: With this unlooked for demand, they were dashed at first, but re-collecting and gathering their wits again, they answered: *He that gave power to preach and bear preaching, gave power also to convene in Assemblies: Neither doth it depend on man* (say they.) He said, *that was treason.* They answered, *That if so be, then all the Apostles were Traitors, and the primitive Church in time of persecution.* He said, *That they convened onely to preach the word:* They answered, *That they convened to advance, facilitate, and set forward the preaching of the word, and that was to preach also. But however, if to convene without the consent of the Magistrate were unlawfull, preaching was also unlawfull, unlesse they should preach to the Walls.* A little velitation thus passed, he in end refused to goe, which did so grieve them all, that a publick Fast was appointed to pray for diverting and averting of such things as he seemed by this to intend against the accustomed Assemblies. He propounded to be reasoned, *whether the supreme Magistrate should not be head of the Church, as well as of the common-wealth;* and there were Divines appointed to dispute it for the Church, Master James Lowson (Minister at Edinburgh) the Laird of Dun (Superintendent of Angus) and Master John Spotswood (Superintendent of Lowthian) and James (or Master David) Lindsay. For the Regent, there was the Justice-Clerk, Master David Borthwick, Sir James Balfoure, and William Douglas of Whittingame. These met at Edinburgh in the Abbey, and conferred for the space of 12. or 13. dayes; but hee finding no appearance of obtaining that point, dissolved the meeting till a new appointment.

The Commons, and chiefly the Town of Edinburgh were offended with him, because he had diminished the value of a certain brasse or copper coyne (called Hard-heads) and abased them from three half pence to a penny; and also the plack piece (another brasse coyne) from foure pence to two: which was done (notwithstanding) by the consent of a very frequent Convention; where the whole Nobility (no Earle, Lord, or great man in Scotland being absent, except the Lord Hamilton, nor then reconciled) was present the 25. of February 1573. He licensed also the transporting of Corn out of the Countrey, against which he himself had made an Act, but now he dispensed with the Act for money. He committed all the Butchers of Edinburgh for forestalling the Market, and afterward

afterward dismissed them, having paid a Fine. He held Justice Eyres, and raised a taxation under colour to cut down the Woods of Hair-law ( on the Borders ) which was a place of retreat and refuge to out-laws, theeves and rebels. These things were interpreted to be done rather as a pretext to get Money , than for any other good use or end. He was in his own person loosely given ( his own Wife being frantick ) and his household servants were not much better , as it commonly comes to passe by imitation. They were also not altogether void of envie for their great wealth : nor of hatred , in regard of the way that men thought they got it , which was by receiving and taking bribes from such as had suites to him for obtaining access to him , or his favour by their means , and some such indirect wayes. Riches are ordinarily accompanied with haughtinesse and disdain of others, either really, or in mens opinion ; which doth again beget disdain in those that think them disdainfull. This was the generall opinion men conceived of his servants , from the highest to the lowest, even of his door-keepers and grooms. One thing did marvellously offend men: *George Authenleck* of Bawmannow having ( I cannot tell what ) small quarrell against one Captain *Nisbet* , being come out of Dalkeith ( where the Regent kept commonly his residence ) and going up the Street ; he met this *Nisbet* , where drawing his Rapier , he thrust him through ; and leaving him as dead, he held on his way to the Tolbooth where the Lords of the Session sate , as though he had done no wrong, with great indignation of the beholders : and at night he returned to Dalkeith ; where he waited upon the Regent as before. This made the people to murmur both against him as the actour , and against the Regent as conniving thereat , who perhaps did not hear of it , at least for a certain space. This *Authenlecks* credit with the Regent was so great, that all suites ( for the most part ) were obtained by him : and therefore men of the best qualitie countenanced, and followed him, which was both observed and disdained. One day this man being in the Tolbooth within the Inner-Barre, *Oliver Sinclair* ( sometime Minion and Favourite to King *James* the fifth, who was now at Court ) standing at the Middle Barre, intreated earnestly to speak with him ; which having obtained with difficultie, when the other asked him what he had to say to him: *Oliver* answered, I am *Oliver Sinclair* , and without saying any more, left him ; as if he should have said , *Be not too proud of your courtship , I was once as you are , you may fall to be as I am.* This was matter of much talk a long time.

The Nobilitie grudged to see the Regent and his servants to ingrosse all matters of profit and commoditie to themselves alone. If any Writ were to passe, it passed through at the highest rate ; few casualities were given cheap, fewer gratis. The marriages of Wards, the gifts of escheit, re-abling, or naturalization, were bestowed all upon his Domesticks. They were neglected in these things, and in other things also of a higher nature, their advice was not often sought , nor themselves much employed , as if he had not stood in need of them. The Earle of Argyle was mightily incensed against him upon this occasion. He had a Jewell which had sometime belonged to *Queen Mary* , which was an ensigne of precious stones, set in forme of the letter H ( for *Henry* ) which his Lady had

had either gotten from the Queen ( who was her sister ) to keep , or some other way in a token perhaps ; the Regent re-demanded it as belonging to the King, and when he got it not by request, he sent an Officer of arms to him, and charged for it ; whereupon it was delivered to him, but with great alienation of his heart and affection ever after.

His most near and particular friends wanted not their own exceptions and grievances against him. In the East and middle March , he planted strangers amongst them, as *Arch. Auchentleck* ( brother to *George* ) and *Arch. Carmichael* ( brother to *John Carmichael* of Carmichael ) in the Merse. These he married to two Wards, the last to one *Hume* , Inheretrix of *E-drem* ; and the former to one *Sleigh* of Cumblege ; notwithstanding that she had gone away with *Patrick Cockburne* ( brother Germain to the Laird of Langton ) who had kept her certain dayes, yet he caused an Officer of arms to charge him to deliver her, and so she was exhibited, and married to *Auchentleck*. Both these march with the Lands of *Bonckle*, belonging to the Earle of Angus ; and therefore this planting of these men there, was not well taken ; but was interpreted , as if hee had meant to strengthen himself there by them, and to acquire dependers there for himself, not leaning or trusting sufficiently to those of the Earle of Angus, or his friends in that Countrey. The purchasing of the Lands of Spot to his naturall son *James*, wrought him both hatred and hurt (in the end) for it quite alienated *Alexander Hume* of Manderston. This *Alexander* had to wife a sister of *George Hume* of Spot, and by her divers children, of which one was *George* , afterward Earle of Dumbear. *George* of Spot having but one daughter , had taken to him, and ( in a manner ) adopted this *George* sonne to *Alexander* , with resolution to bestow his daughter on him in marriage , and with her his whole estate. It fell out afterward, that *John Cockburne* of Ormeston married a daughter of *Alexander* of Manderston. This *John* having some difference with Spot about some Lands , the very day before his marriage, rode with his Company ; and did eat up the Cornes that grew on the controverted Lands which Spot had sowne. The next day Spot being at the Wedding of his sister daughter , complained of the wrong done to him , but received small satisfaction , either of the Bride-groome , or of his brother-in-law, who was loath to offend his new Allie. Spot conceived such indignation hereat, that to be revenged of Manderston , he resolved to sell his estate, and to bestow his daughter somewhere else , and so to disappoint his sonne *George*. Wherefore he address'd himself to the Regent, and offer'd his daughter with his whole estate to his sonne *James*. The Regent, nothing slack to such an occasion , without more scruple or any question, transacted and contracted with him , and the marriage was accordingly accomplished betwixt *Anna Hume* , and *James Douglas* who got by her all the Lands pertaining to her father *George Hume* of Spot , his life-rent onely being reserved. By this mean *Alexander* of Manderston, and his sonne *George* were debouted and frustrate , which did so incense him, that from that time forward , he lay in wait ( as it were ) and watched for an opportunity to be revenged of the Regent. There lyeth near unto these Lands of Spot, the Lordship of Thurston, which belonged by inheritance

titance to Craigie-Wallace, but was possessed by Sir George Hume of Wedderburne, and had been possessed by his Predecessours of so long a time, that it is thought to have been their possession before they had Wedderburne, for eight or nine generations. The right they had was sometimes a Lease, sometimes (the Lease expiring) kindliness onely. At last, the King having given to Wedderburne the Lands of Dundonald (which lay hard by Craigie-Wallace Gates) Wedderburne puts him in possession of them, and retains his possession of Thurston, wherewith they rested both a long time well contented and satisfied. This ex-cambion being reall, and without Writ on either side, it fell out that the Kings Lands (which had not as yet bin set to feud) coming to be set out; they that were intrusted therewith, finding Craigie-Wallace in possession of Dundonald, gave him a legall right to it, and so he had the right both of it and Thurston. Hereupon he warnes Wedderburne to remove from Thurston, as having no right thereto, but he kept his possession. On this ensued no little trouble, by reason of Waughtons assisting of him, who had married Craigie-Wallace sister. Afterward Sir George of Wedderburne (Uncle to this Sir George) marrying a daughter of Waughtons, matters were taken up and accorded, and Wedderburne was no more molested. The Regent knew all this very well, and yet notwithstanding hereof, the nearness of Thurston to Spot, and his desire to enrich his sonne, made him to send for Craigie-Wallace, and buy his title and right from him to Thurston. Then he sends for Wedderburne, tels him what he had done, and that he did not mean to make him a loser thereby: and therefore desires to know what satisfaction he would have for his right and interest. He answered, *That he desired nothing but his own, and that onely could content him.* The Regent replied, *That he had now bought that:* And the other answered, *That he was the more unkinde to buy that which he knew to be his by so long and kindly possession. No other in Scotland (sayes he) would have bought it, nor you, my Lord, if you had not been Regent.* This he bore patiently, as a free speech of a justly offended friend; yet he still pressed him to know what contentation he would have; but the other persisted in his former answer, *That his own would onely content him.* So they parted, being divided in words and minds, concerning this particular; but without breach of friendship. After a while the Regent (to bring on the matter more freely, and to necessitate him thereto) makes warning, and no objection being made, obtaines a decreet of removing against him. Wedderburne to shew what little account he made of these doings, fals a building on it, that he might know he had no intention to remove. He had a Lease which was not expired as yet, and there were two or three years thereof to run; but he would not make use of it, but kept it up, partly to trie the Regents intention, partly reserving it as a ground of reduction, if it should need. Thus they continued all the time of his Regency; after his dimission the difference was taken away by William Douglas of Uogh-leven, after this manner; Wedderburne got one half of the Lands (the Manour-house, and what lay about it) and a full and perfect right thereof; and did quit the other half, which was let out in Tenantry. Sir James Hume of Coldenknows; and Alexander Hume

*Hume* of Huton-hall were also alienated from him, but I know not what the occasion of it was. In Tiviotdale *William Ker* of Cestford, and *Andrew Ker* of Fadunside were likewise displeased, and had fallen off from him for some hard usage. Hee had banished *William Ker* of Ancram, for the feud betwixt him and the Ruthertords, of whom hee had slaine one. His fathers house of Ancram was seized, and given in keeping to his enemies the *Trumbles*. His mother (a daughter of the house of Wedderburne, and the Regents Cousin Germane) had often sued to him, to have it restored to her and her husband, but could not prevaile with him. At last, she found means by her self and her servants, to get into the house (being negligently kept) and turning the keepers out of doores without doing them any harme, dwelt in it with her husband, and her other sonne *Robert. William* absented himself from publick view, and remained sometimes in England, but most part in Wedderburne, both in *Sir Davids*, and *Sir Georges* time; neither was the Regent very carefull to pursue him, or search after him (though hee knew of it, and they made no bones to confesse their receiving and entertaining of him in their houses) yet would he not release him from his banishment, being loath to displease the *Trumbles* and *Ruthertords*, whose service was very usefull to him. He tolerated also *John Hume* (sonne naturall to *John*, called of Crumstaine of the house of Wedderburne) who had been with *William Ker* of Ancram in all his troubles, so farre as at the meeting which the Regent had with the English (after the Red-swire,) he being in company with *Wedderburne*, the *Trumbles* and *Ruthertords* perceiving him to be there, went to the Regent, and complained that he was suffered to live in the Countrey, being a Rebëll, and one that had so much wronged them. Let him alone (sayes the Regent) and do not meddle with him at this time, when he hath so many of his friends about him: for if he were now challenged, it might trouble you and me both. Some few dayes after this, he went to Tantallon with *Wedderburne*, where having kept himself out of the Regents sight all the day long, at night (when the Regent was gone to bed) he fell to Cards with the servants in the hall. The Regents Chamber was hard by, and he, not resting well, arose and came forth to the hall in his night-gowne to look on their gaming: By chance *John* sate next to him, and he leaning with his hand on his shoulder a long time, without knowing who he was, at last going away to bed again, he perceived it was he, and smiling, said to him, *GOD make you a good man*; and so went his way. From thence forward *John* conversed in publick, and came ordinarily into his sight and presence without being challenged, as if he had been formally released from his banishment. The Earl of Angus himself had his own discontents, and thought him too carefull to preferre & provide for his natural sons, and not so careful of him as he should have been. Besides, these that thought themselves disgraced, he had professed enemies that hunted for all the advantages against him they could devise; at home the Castle faction (*Master John Metellane*, *Sir Robert Melvin*, *Pittadraw*) and abroad in France, the Lord *Seton*, *Farnhaite*, *Waughton* (who was not very busie) the Bishops of *Glasgow* and *Rosse*, Ambassadors, and Agents for the Queen. These things,

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like warts or freckles in a beautifull body, seemed to stain the lustre of his government, and though they may be thought but small slips and weaknes, yet they made impresion in the mindes of some, and in the own time brought forth hard effects, albeit in respect of his place, wisdom and power (like slow poyson) they were long ere they did shew forth their operation.

There fell out a businesse in the year 1576. the 7. of July, which men looked should have brought on warre with England. Sir *John Forester*, Warden of the middle March in England, & Sir *John Carmichael* Warden for Scotland, met for keeping of the Truce, at a place called, The Red Swire. There the Scottish Warden desired that one *Farsein* (an English man) who had been filed by a Bill of goods stolne from Scotland, should be delivered (as the custome was) to the owner of the goods, to be kept by him untill he were satisfied for them. The English Warden alledged that the man was fugitive, and so the Warden was not bound to answer for him, or deliver him, but the party endammaged was to seek redresse of any that should be found to receive or harbour him in their houses. Sir *John Carmichael* taking this not to be spoken in sinceritie, but for a shift to frustrate justice, urged and pressed the matter more hardly, desiring him to speak and deal plainly, without sparing any man for fear or favour, but regarding onely what was just and right, according to equitie and reason. Sir *John Forester* thinking himself taxed of partialitie, beganne to bee angry, and in a contemptuous manner bad *Carmichael* match himself with his equalls, and not with him, who was above him both in birth and quality; and therewith hee rose up from the place hee sat in, and walked a little away from thence. The English Borderers (chiefly they of Tindall) being all Bow-men, when they perceived their Warden displeased, glad of occasion to trouble the Peace, sent a flight of arrows amongst the Scots, whereby they killed one of them, and wounded diverse. The Scots who looked for no such thing, and were gone some to Cards, and some to other Pastimes, being scattered here and there, fled at the first many of them. At length some few (about twenty persons) taking courage, and calling to the rest to stay and stand to it, they joyned together, and charged the English so fiercely, that they slew divers of them, amongst whom was Sir *George Heron*, a worthy Gentleman, and well beloved of both the Countreyes, whom they would have been loath to have hurt, if the heat of the conflict had not carried them to it unawares. Sir *John Forester*, and the Gentlemen that were with him, were taken prisoners, and brought into Scotland to the Regent. He entertained them kindly, and honourably, but detained them as lawful prisoners, and breakers of the Peace, till the Queen of England sent for them. It was expected that this should have bin an occasion of warre, but the Regent was nothing afraid of the matter. He knew them, and they him; he entertained friendship with them after his wonted manner, and sent many Scottish Falcons for a present to the Courtiers of England, whereof one made a jest, saying, That hee dealt very nobly and bountiffully with the English, in

The Red Swire.

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that he gave them live Hawkes, for dead Hefons; alluding to Sir *George Heron*, who was slain. The businesse came to a treatie, and the Regent came in person to Foulden in the Merse, where the English Commissioners met him. They agreed on these termes, That the goods should be restored, and for satisfaction and repairing of the Queens honour, *Carmichael* should go to London, and come in the Queens will. He went as far as York, where being come the 28. of September, he was detained there some five or six weeks, and so was dismissed. Concerning restitution of the Goods, the Regent caused make a Proclamation, by which he commanded all that were on this side of Forth, to come to him at Edinburgh the 8. of October, with provision of victuall for twenty dayes, intending to go to the Borders. But he continued or adjourned the diet till he should give new advertisement; for the Borderers ceased from their stealing, and took order for restoring what they had taken. Afterward he held Justice-Courts at Peebles and Edinburgh, which was interpreted to be done, more for getting money, than doing of justice. The townsmen of Edinburgh were especially aimed at, & most carefully summoned; yet they were continued and cast over to another time; only they paid a thousand marks Scottish for Bullion, which the Merchants are bound to furnish to the Mint, but had neglected to do it. During the time of his Regencie, he met with one private conspiracy, of which *John Semple*, son to the Lord Semple was author; upon what ground or motive I know not. It was revealed by one *Gabriel Semple*, who being confronted with *John* before the secret Councell, avouched it, and offered to make it good by combat: But it needed not, for *John* confessed it, and was thereupon condemned to be hanged, quartered and drawn. Yet when his friends interceded for him, the Regent (nothing bloud-thirsty) did onely send him to the castle, there to remain during pleasure; which not being declared, he was kept there during his Regency, after which he was set at liberty. In the year 1577. the 4. of March, the Nobility assembling at Stirling, concluded that the King should take the government into his own hands, and should be guided by a Councell, and the Regent deposed. No cause was given out, nor could there be any sufficient reason pretended. The King was not yet 18. years of age, which was the time limited and set down in the Act of the Queens dimission for him to be governed by Regents. At most he was but 11. or 12. years old, When these newes were brought to the Regent at Dalkeith, being astonished therewith, he came to Edinburgh; but little countenance was made to him by the townsmen; few came from the countrey (no Baron almost of note, save Wedderburn) none of the Nobility, so far were they alienated from him in affection. And indeed though they had intended to have come in to assist him, he gave them no time to do it; for, ere they could have come (as my Lord *Boyd* only did) he had dimitted his Regencie; and was so far from making any impediment or let to the Proclamation, that he assisted a single officer with a trumpet, who came to proclaim the Kings authoritie, and publickly laying down his Office, he took instruments of his dimission. The next day when the Lord *Boyd* came to him, hee chid him soundly for this his haste; and even he himself, when he had thought better

Morton dimits his Regencie.



better on it, was angry with himself ; that hee should so rashly and unadvisedly have given way to his enemies, who used the Kings bare name against his authoritie, which was to last five or six years longer, and was established by the Laws of the Kingdome, and Act of Parliament ; unto which they themselves had consented and given their approbation. Whether or not hee did best in dimitting ; it may be disputed on both sides. The adverse party seemed strong, Argyle, Athole, Crawford; yea also (which did most astonish him ) his friends Glames, Ruthven, and Lindesay; his most cherished, *Pitcarne* (Abbot of Dumfermling) Secretary, and *Tillebardin* Controller ; he had the ill-will of the Burrows, especially Edinburgh. And yet having right and the law on his side, some would have regarded that ; the multitude (so mutable) might have been reconciled, and the Faction dissolved (being glewed together by nothing but common discontentment) by contenting some, and putting some in hope of having place in managing the affairs of the Kingdome. Neither could matter of division have been long wanting amongst themselves, where there were so many heads, such diversitie of judgement, and so many severall aimes and intentions.

If hee had but stuck to his right declared, and claimed it, and in the mean time kept himself safe by his own power and friendship in Dalkeith or Tantallon, it is possible, and not improbable that hee might have dis-appointed them. But hee left that way, and having dimitted the authority, he rendered also the Palace of Haly-rood-house, the Mint and Coyning-house, with the printing irons ; also the Kings Jewels ; and what else belonged to the Crown was delivered to the Lord *Glames* and *Maxwell*, who were sent from the King and his new Councell to receive them. And good reason he should do so, for now they were no more his, seeing he was no more Regent, having dimitted the authority, he could not retain them. Yet he did not so with the castle of Edinburgh ; which the same two Lords had also commission to receive. His brother (*George* of Parkhead, as we have said) was Captain of it, who not being well provided of Victuall before, he found that it was then too late to begin. For seeking to Victuall it both privatly and openly, hee was hindred by the Townsmen, whereupon ensued bloud-shedding and slaughter. The Town had placed a Guard about the Butter-market (where the Weigh-house now stands) and the Constable of the Castle *Archbald Douglas* (brother to *John* of Tillie-whillie) issuing forth, set upon the Guard before they were aware, and having killed two or three of them, retired to the Castle again. This did no good ; it procured hatred toward himself, but purchased no Victuall to the Castle. Wherefore the Guard being more warie, he was so straited for want of Vivers, that he was forced to surrender it to the Lord Ruthven and the Lord Lindesay the first of April 1578.

In this mean time (some fourtnight before, the seventeenth of March) the Lord *Glames* Chancellour, was slaine at Stirling. There had been some old quarrell betwixt the Earle *Crawford* and him ; but now both being on the Kings side, they were upon termes of agreement or assurance.

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The Lord  
Glames slaine  
at Stirling.

assurance. It happened so, that as the one was going to the Castle of Stirling, and the other coming from it, they rencountred in a narrow Lane. Both of them commanded their followers and train to give way, which they did, and were now all passed save two of their servants that were last, who having first jostled one another, drew their Swords, and flew to it. Hereupon both their Lords with their Companies turned, and began to skirmish; where the Lord *Glames* being a tall man of stature, and higher than the rest, was shot with a Pistolet, and so died. It is uncertain who it was that shot him, but many thought it was *Crawford* himself, because he was very skilfull in shooting with a piece. Wherefore he was committed to prison, but was released again soon after, without further triall or enquiry: Whereupon followed great enmity and mischief betwixt these two families of *Crawford* and *Glames*. It was observed with admiration, that the news of this slaughter, which was committed about five a Clock in the after-noon, was reported punctually and perfectly at Edinburgh by six, there being 24. miles distance between. It appears by this, that if Morton had not laid down his authority over hastily, other such things might have fallen out to have divided that faction, which might have furnished him with matter enough to have wrought out his own continuance therein.

But now having laid it down, he must play the after-game as well as he may. There were chosen to be of the Kings Councill, Argyle, Athole, Montrose; the Bishop of Caithness (Montroses Grand Uncle) the Abbots of Dumfermling, and Newbottle; the Lord Ruthven, Lindsay, and Oglebee. These coming to Edinburgh, he gives place, and withdraws himself, not to Dalkeith (it was too near) neither to *Douglas* (it was too farre off and out of the way) nor to Tantallon (it was a place of strength, and it might have been interpreted fear in him) but to Logh-leven to his Cousin *William Douglas*, who was also a near Cousin to the Earle of Marre; that from thence, and by him he might deale with them who had the Kings Person in keeping, and finde meanes to turne about the wheele againe, and to overturne them who had turned him (in a manner) out of his Regencie. There hee busied himself in making of Walks and Alleys, in drawing of Garden plots or knots, little minding any State affaires in appearance; or if any warie wit did suspect any thing of him, or any clear eyed *Lynces*, or well sighted *Argus* espied some designe (which was very hard for them to doe) yet most part saw nothing; and there were but few that suspected any thing, and none that could help or hinder it. For so hee brought it (as most men think) or so it came to passe, that *Alexander Ereskin* (brother to the late Earle) a man of a good easie nature, and no ill disposition, and who, though of himselfe hee were nothing factious or malicious, yet he had been an instrument, whom the other partie (Argyle, Athole, &c.) had used to turne Morton out of his Regencie, by admitting them unto the King, who was committed to his charge as Captain of the Castle of Stirling, and Tutor to the young Earle of Marre, was himselfe almost after the same manner turned out of his charge of keeping the King and Castle.

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For as the King had been moved to take the government upon himself before the time appointed, so the Earle of Marre was moved to take upon himself that his own charge ( of keeping the King and Castle of Stirling ) before his time, being not yet of age nor Major. The manner of it was this : One morning ( the 26. of April 1578. the Earle got up betimes to go a hunting, and sending for the Keyes of the Castle Gate, *Alexander* ( his Uncle ) came himself in person, and having opened the Gate to let his Nephew forth, he himself and his servants were thrust out at the Gate by the Earle, assisted by his own naturall brother, and his Uncles the Abbots of Cambskenneth and Driebrugh ( very worthie, kinde, upright, and honest Gentlemen ) and so he took the Keyes and keeping of the King and Castle into his own hands the 27. of April 1578. ( as my notes say ) and so not above 7. weeks after Mortons dimission of his Regency. Whether or not Morton employed Tillibardine in this work, and gave him Money for it ( he being Uncle to the Earle of Marre ) I cannot affirme it, though I know it was reported; neither indeed can I say confidently that Morton plotted this businesse, and that it was his doing, or what hand he had in it, or whether it were nothing else but division amongst themselves.

However it were, by this meanes the designes of the new Counsellours were turned to nothing. They had ( the 9. of April ) chosen the Earle of Athole Chancellour, and indicted a Parliament to be held the 10. of July, and had consulted of many Articles to be concluded therein. Upon the newes of this change, they go to Stirling, but the Castle was kept so close, that they were not suffered to come in, save one at once. There they had some meetings in the Town, and afterward returned to Edinburgh the 8. of May. Morton was come to Dalkeith a little before; wherefore they send to him, and desire to conferre with him. He came to Craig-Miller, and there spake with Athole and Argyle, and at last (after much tossing of businesse) they agreed so well, that they went with him to Dalkeith to dinner. On the morrow ( the 9. of June ) Morton goes to Stirling, and was friendly received by the Earle of Marre into the Castle. The rest followed that same day, so that the whole Nobilitie was assembled together the tenth day. By their advice the Counsell was changed, and Morton made Principal and President thereof. The Parliament by Proclamation was transferred to Stirling, there to be held the twentieth fifth day of July, whither the Lords of Parliament were ordained to come with their ordinary train. The other Lords, Athole, Argyle, Montrose, Lindesay, Oglebee, Maxwell, Harris, and the former Councell convened in Edinburgh, and sent Montrose and Lindesay, to excuse their absence, and to give the reason and cause of it, because (as they alledged) the Parliament was not free, being kept within the Castle of Stirling, and both King, Castle and all in the Earle of Marres power. All this notwithstanding the Parliament held, wherein there were not many things concluded. The chief things were a discharge given to Morton for his government during the time of his Regencie. An exoneration to the late Earle of Marre ( who had been Regent ) for his keeping

Morton  
President  
of the Coun-  
cell.

Parliament  
in Stirling  
Castle the 25.  
of July 1578.

keeping of our Sovereigne Lords Person within the Castle of Stirling. The Lord *Hume* was also restored from his forfeitrie, by the meanes and procuring of Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, with the consent indeed of Morton (whom he solicited for that end) but against his opinion and advice. For he told him freely, that he thought it was not his best course; for (sayes he) you never got any good of that house, & if it were once taken out of the way, you are next, and it may be you will get but small thanks for your paines: Sir *George* answered, that the Lord *Hume* was his Chief, and he could not see his house ruined; if they were unkinde he could not do withall, that would be their own fault; this he thought himself bound to do, and for his own part, whatsoever their carriage were to him, he would do his duty to them; if his Chief should turne him out at the fore-doore, he would come in again at the back-doore. Well (sayes Morton) if you be so minded, it shall be so, I can do no more but tell you my opinion, and so consented to do it: Yet Sir *George* had so ordered the matter, that he made no question to have carried it without Mortons consent by the Abbot of Driebrugh and Cambskenneth, to whom he was allied by his wife. Wherefore they are mis-taken that say Morton did all, and that there was nothing done but according to his pleasure; for hee was but accessary, and concurred (as one of the chief and prime Noblemen) but the house of Marre had the main sway at this time. At this Parliament, the wardenrie of the East march was taken from Coldinknowes, and given to Sir *George* of Wedderburne, and he thought it no robbery to take it, being given him. In August the other Lords (with whom were Coldinknows and Manderston, Cesford and Fadunside) assembled their forces, and having set forth a Declaration, that their purpose was to set the King at liberty, they marched from Edinburgh to Faw Kirk. Neither was Morton slow in gathering together his friends at Stirling, with resolution to have tryed the hazard of a battell. The Earle of Angus went out divers times, and skirmished with them, but there was no great hurt done. Onely in a single Combate or Duell (upon a challenge) which was fought on horse-back with Lances, one *Tate* (a Tividale man that belonged to Cesford) was slain by *James Johnston* a follower of Angus, he also being sore wounded. At last they came to an agreement, and lest they should seem to have done nothing, they condescended that the King should be brought to Edinburgh or elsewhere, as they pleased, by the advice of the Nobility, which served little for their purpose; for there was no time limited, and when he was brought to the palace of Haly-rood-house (the 30. of September 1579. a year after) yet was Marre and Morton the chief men about him, and had greatest credit with him.

Duell betwixt  
*Tate* and  
*Johnston*.

But before that time it was concluded in Councell that the Lord Aberbrothe and *Claude* of Pasley his brother should bee pursued as slayers of Lennox and Murray (late Regents) which was done accordingly. But they themselves having fled into England, their servants were taken, and some executed, others imprisoned, and their Lords Houses demolished. This motion is thought to have proceeded chiefly from the house of Marre and Logh-leven. Wee  
hear

hear of no new occasion given by them, for they remained neutrals, and did not side with either partie at this time. Mortons part was, that he remained a spectator, and was contented that mens minds should be taken up with some other thing, and not have leasure to think of him, and his late greatnesse, and that their furie should be powred forth on somewhat else.

While they remained yet at Stirling, the Earle of Athole died suddenly, which was matter of much talk, and gave occasion to Mortons enemies to lay that foule aspersiō upon him, that he had poysoned him. For all the Doctours did affirme that he was poysoned, save onely Doctour Preston, who said it was no poyson; but being desired to taste of it, and having onely touched a little thereof with the tip of his tongue, it had almost cost him his life, and he did never after fully recover, but languished and was sickly so long as he lived. Wherefore seeing it was certainly poyson, Who could give it him (said they) but Morton? And yet they could never tell how he could doe it. For hee was not in Mortons lodging, nor Morton in his, as they knew, and doe themselves confesse. Neither were any that belonged to Morton in his house, and though they had beene, they were neither Cooks, nor Cup-bearers, nor Carvers to him. So blinde is malice, or so malicious are impudent detractours. Morton cleared himselfe of this imputation at his death. And yet there are some to this day, that are not ashamed to report it.

Athole dies at Stirling.

In the next yeare 1579. in June, upon the Kings longing to be abroad, it was concluded in Councell that he should go to Edinburgh the 25. of September next, but he came not till the 30. day thereof. Morton and Marre were still with him as his chief Counsellours. They invited him to Dalkeith, where hee remained a certain space, and returned to the Abbey of Haly-rood-house the 16. of October: The day following hee made his entry through the City of Edinburgh with great solemnity and pompe; with great concourse and applause of people, rejoycing to see him whom they loved heartily and dearly, as they testified by their acclamations and prayers, powred forth for his safety and welfare. After this (on the 20. of October) he kept a Parliament, extant in the printed Acts. Hitherto wee have scene our Earle of Morton, though not an absolute Favourite of fortune, yet so cherished by her, that howbeit shee did now and then frown on him, yet shee seemed rather to try his strength whether or not he were able to endure a storme, and ride it out with resolution, than that she meant to over-whelme him in her waves; for the issue did ever prove advantagious to him, and he became rather a gainer than a loser by his sufferings. But now having raised him to the highest dignitie and pitch of greatnesse that a subject was capable of; according to her accustomed levitie, all of a sudden turning down that was up of her wheele, she brings him so low as to lose life and estate. There is nothing more deserves our observation, than these vicissitudes of great places, to see men of low made high, and than again falling from their height and greatnesse to become low, which is to be seen in this last Act and Catastrophe of his Tragedy.

The King comes to Edinburgh and makes his entrie the 17. of October.

## 346 Of Archbald the ninth Earle of Angus;

The beginning of Mortons fall.

Tragedie , so notably as is rare to be found elsewhere. Who could and would truly discover the depth of the mysteries of these times , and tell exactly who were the chief plotters and first movers of this work , and who were the instruments and executors thereof , as he should do a piece of good service for clearing of the truth of things to posterity, & the ages to come, so do I confesse for my own part, that it is too hard a task for my self to performe, and more than I will undertake or promise to do. All that I can do is to set down the actions which are evident in grosse, and to follow such conjecturall probabilitie in the narration as my weak judgement can lead me to. We have heard how the King & Queens factions did long contend, and how Morton had ever been on the Kings side , and how in his Regencie he had so handled businesse , that they that stood for the Queen had yeelded and acknowledged the King and him as Regent. The keeping of the Castle of Edinburgh was the last Act of opposition , and with the yeelding of it, all was whist. *Lithington* and *Grange* were taken out of the way, who were the strongest or the stoutest upholders thereof. Yet the Society was not quite broken or extinguished with them. Master *John Metellane* (sometime Priour of *Coldingame* , and brother to *Lithington* ) Sir *Robert Melvin* (uncle to *Grange* ) *Pittadraw* , the Bishop of *Dunkell*, and some others remained. These he had committed to prison for a short while ; afterward had pardoned them, and set them at liberty. They kept still their old minde, entertained mutuall friendship and correspondence, and wanted onely occasion to shew the effects of their former disposition : Especially Master *John Metellane* , and Sir *Robert Melvin* bore great hatred to Morton ; the one for putting his Nephew *Grange* to death, the other because he supposed Morton would have done as much to his brother, if he ( fearing so much ) had not prevented it by poysoning himself , as the common rumour was. Besides these private grudges, the publick cause did also egge them on and animate them against him, which they never forgot , and looked upon him as the man who had beene the bane thereof. Yet they set it on foot again, by commending of it openly, and advancing it ( all they could ) secretly and indirectly ; using all the means they could to make all things work for the Queenes advantage. She had her Agents and Ambassadors in France , together with her Uncles ( of Guise ) and wanted not her under-hand Favourers in England , that still had their eye upon her ( as upon the rising Sonne ) whom they esteemed the hope of their Religion. Their suite now was ( who would not think it so ? ) both plausible and modest ; to joyn the mother and the sonne in an equality of government, being so near joyned in nature. It could not but be for the good of the Countrey , and make much to confirme and strengthen their title to England. Thus they said ; but how can this bee done ? He is in possession of the Crown, how can it be taken from him again ? How can he be desired to dimit ? And though he would demit, yet those of his party will never be contented that he should doe it. On the other side , Shee is living and dispossessed ; but who that hath ever worne a Crowne , can live and bee content to want it ? What other mids then ; and meane can bee found out , but association in the Crowne ? So shall both have it , and both

both be satisfied, a happy society, from which will flow the sonnes love, and the mothers blessing. All shall so goe well, and it will bee easie to perswade a childe (though never so wile) being unacquainted with such things, especially one that is so gentle, and of so towardsly disposition: onely the difficulty will bee to move his old friends thereto; they will never consent to it; they will bee jealous and fearefull of any party or equalitie in ruling, though of never so neare and deare friends: they will choke us with that old saying, *Nulla fides Regni sociis, &c.* They will thinke it a diminution to the Kings authoritie, which ought not to bee admitted either in effect, or in appearance. The grounds of his Title will seeme to bee brangled and overthrowne; also his estate will bee made thereby more unsure, and doubtfull: The march (though with a mother) will bee too hard for him; shee is elder, and so wiler, and more experienced, and may soon steppe up from this equalitie to a Superioritie, by questioning her former dimission, by revoking and recalling of it, as being done in prison, and so not free, nor voluntary. Thus shall the King bee thrust out of his place, the Countrey, his old friends, Religion, and all quite undone.

Morton was too old a Cat, to draw such a straw before him, or to propound any thing tending that way: wherefore their best was to make him away, that so the plot might goe on. And much more good effect would come of that one stroke: Hee was rich, hee had faire lands and houses, a faire reward of all their pains and travell. And no question, his friends that should take his part, might bee involved, and insnared with him: Especially the Earle of Angus could hardly in this case of his Uncle, so behave himselfe, but occasion might bee found against him, which would bee a faire bootie.

The facilitie of compassing a businesse doth often draw men on, and doth greatly prevail in all consultations. The new factions against him were very strong, yet hee kept them downe, but it was meeerly by the Kings countenance; if that were once taken away from him, the rest would prove but easie. And now to facilitate all, there fell out such occasions, as they could have wished, or as they had made.

For in September, in the yeare one thousand five hundredth seventy and nine, *Monsieur d'Obignie* was come (or brought) home: his name, his kindred, his carriage, his commission from friends in France, his comeliness, his observance, his person did procure him credit with the King; and this faction did privately insinuate with him, and openly thrust him forward into the Kings favour; and put him out of conceit of Morton; and indeed quite alienated him from him, and so by him the King, whose eare hee now had, for Morton being such an adversary to the Queene, and so to France, *Obignie* to doe the Queene, and to doe France service, to pleasure the holy League (himselfe being a Papist) and to gaine the good will of this faction by whom hee was to rise to some great place about the King, was easily induced to promote their plotte and malice against him. Neither was there great difficultie in it: hee had lost many friends, of-

*Obignie comes home in September. 1579.*

Z z fended



Controversie  
betwixt the  
Lord *Ruthven*  
and *Olyphant*.

fended all sorts of men; the Burrowes, the Ministerie, and who so doth zealously affect them, so farre as that if they were not his enemies, they were but cold friends, and such as would bee but spectators, and no wayes actors for him. There fell out also (about this time) in October (1580.) an accident, which did him much hurt, and made for their purpose. The Lord *Ruthven* having beene in Kincarn (a house of the Earle of Montrose) at the marriage of the Earle of Marre, as he returned to Perth, his way lying neare to Diplin (which belonged to the Lord *Olyphant*) and there being enmitie, and deadly feud betwixt *Olyphant* and *Ruthven*: *Ruthven* notwithstanding, rode that way in view of Diplin. *Olyphant* tooke this as done in contempt of him, and therefore issuing forth with some horsemen, and some fire locks, followed them, and came upon them so unexpectedly, and with such advantage of weapous, that *Ruthvens* men fled presently, and their Lord was forced to doe the like. Onely one *Alexander Stuart* (of the house of Traquaire, and a Kinisman of *Ruthvens*) stayed behind the rest, partly to keep off the pursuers, partly to speake with *Olyphant* in fair termes, and was slain by a shot, from one that knew him not, sore against *Olyphants* minde, and to his great grieve and discontentment. The Lord *Ruthven*, seeking by order of law to repair his credit, and to be revenged for the killing of his friend, causes summon *Olyphant* to answer criminally before the Justice Generall. This *Olyphant* had married *Margaret Douglas*, daughter to *William Douglas* of Lough-leven, and now being pursued upon his life, was assisted by his father in law. The Earle of Morton would gladly have agreed the parties, but the fact being recent, and the Lord *Ruthven* (together with the friends of the Gentleman that was slain) having received such an affront and indignity, there was no possibility to take it away, save by law. Wherefore Morton joyned with the party that was pursued for his life, which hath ever beene accounted most Noble, most tolerable, and free from exception or quarrelling. Besides, *Olyphant* had not commanded his servant to shoote, neither did hee allow or approve (but was sorry for it) in his heart, but hee thought hee could not with his honour deliver one who followed him, and had done this rash fact, in and for his service, but was bound to defend him all hee could, and protect him from all danger, and harme, according to his power. Notwithstanding, of this, *Ruthven* was mightily displeased with Morton, for countenancing, and assisting *Olyphant* against him, and Master *John Metellane*, and Sir *Robert Melvine* (who tooke part with *Ruthven*) laid hold of the occasion, and blew the bellowes so, that they brought him to that point of unkindenesse, that hee could very well have beene contented to see Morton reduced to such an estate and condition, as that hee might neede his helpe, and bee sensible of the losse of so steadable and usefull a friend, as hee tooke himselfe to be.

Wherefore, when hee understood that his enemies were plotting against him (either for that he knew not that they aimed at no lesse then his death and finall overthrow, or if hee did know so much, because hee thought hee could give them a stop when hee pleased, and hinder them from

from attaining that point of their aime ) hee suffered the course to goe on, and perhaps helped it forward. The name of *Stuart* were also offended with him for assisting one who was accused of the killing a *Stuart*, and all this was aggreated and aggravated by those of his opposite faction. Besides this, hee had shewed that hee was not well pleased with the Courtship and favour which *Monsieur D' Obignie* had with the King ; because there was a generall suspition and feare, that hee was imployed, and would labour to corrupt and pervert him in his Religion. There was with *Obignie*, one *Monbirneau* ( who was thought to have been an actor and executioner of the Massacre in France ) extreamly dissolute in his conversation, and therefore much hated, feared and abhorred of all men, which did reflect upon *Obignie* for his entertaining, and familiarity with him. The Ministers spake and preached openly and plainly against them both, and the English Embassadour ( Sir *William Bowes* ) desired *Monbirneau* to be removed off the Counsell as such an one, and when it was refused, he likewise refused to deliver his message, or to shew his Commission, for so he had been commanded by the Queen and State of England. *Morton* withdrew himselfe as discontented, and retired to Dalkeith, either for dislike of the present estate of things, or out of feare and doubte of some danger, or inconvenient, or for both ; neither did hee come to Court or Counsell, but when hee was sent for by the King. This disliking of their wayes, made them to dislike the more of him, and his feare caused them to feare him more also : dislike and feare increased their hatred, and hastned their resolution to overthrow him. The way was laid, which was to charge him with the murder of the late King, the accuser (either made choice of by them, or who did willingly offer himselfe) was *James Stuart* (sonne to the Lord *Ochletrie*) a bold, venturous and aspiring young man. And so the last of December he was sent for, and being set in Counsell, he was accused by *James* to his face. The crime was, of being airt and part of the murder of the late King *Henry*. Being greatly moved herewith, he arose from the table, and purged himselfe with great vehemency, as innocent thereof : and offered to abide a legall triall, not onely of his Peeres, but of any Gentlemen whatsoever, though he himselfe were an Earle, and had been Regent. Hereupon hee was confined to his lodging, where he abode all the next day, which was the first of January, and the Sabbath day. So much leasure he had to bethinke himselfe of his case, and what were best for him to doe : he might have seen that it was a quarrell pickt against him of malice, seeing the crime laid to his charge was so hainous, as none but his mortall enemies would have broched, and such as sought his utter ruine. And hee might know that innocency is not alwayes a sure warrant and defence against such : and that it was dangerous to fall into their hands. On the other side, to avoid and shun a triall were halfe a confession of the crime, and would make him seem guilty ; nay it would make him truly guilty of contempt, disobedience and rebellion, which might (perhaps) bee the thing they sought, through feare to drive him to some rebellious act, and so to involve him in a true crime while he sought to eschew a fals accusation ; his friends & followers advised him to take the first way, but he him-

*Morton accused of the K. murder.*

## 350 Of Archbald the ninth Earle of Angus,

Imprisoned  
in the Castle.

helfe resolved on the second: for he supposed that they could not convict him by law, and that they would not proceed against him without law, having (as he thought) friends that would not suffer it, especially the Earle of Angus, being at liberty, and out of their power. But he had forgotten the old maxim of his predecessors, *That it was better to heare the Lark sing, then the Monke peep*; and their Proverb, *Loose and living*. On the second of January, hee had a warrant sent to him to enter himselfe prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, which he obeyed immediately. As hee went up the street, accompanied onely with his owne domesticks, *James Stuart* (his accuser) was coming downe, and as he passed by, hee said to him (in an insolent and insulting manner) fare well my Lord, goe on. His servants would faine have made an end of the accuser, if not of the accusation, but he would not suffer them by any meanes, but held on his way toward the Castle (without replying anything) and so entred there a prisoner. This obedience of his is liable to bee diversly thought of by diverse, and is diversely censured by men (according to that saying) *Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis*, it is commended by some, and discommended by others. They blame his wisdom, that he should have trusted, and relied so much upon his innocency, as to have put his life into the hands of his enemies, who used the colour and shadow of the Kings authority, for their owne private ends, and to fulfill their owne malice, and revenge. Others commend him, that being innocent, he obeyed the King, and submitted himselfe to the lawes. The evant gave judgement for the first, and all men since are of the former opinion; yet it may be he did not rely meerly on his innocency; and that he looked not to have had such a number of enemies, having never deserved such hatred of any; and that he thought the Nobility would never give way to such extremity, which was an ill precedent and preparative against themselves. But however, God had his worke to bring to passe, and meant to humble him this way; and therefore his wisdom (which appeared at other times) did now fail him, so that hee was confounded in his discourse and reason. There can nothing else bee said or alledged for this grosse error in so wise a man.

Morton is  
sent to Dum-  
barton.

This is the first evident step of his falling. They might now doe with him what they pleased, and yet scarce all that they pleased, with safety and security. His Nephew the Earle of Angus was at liberty, and remained at Dalkeith, who being sent for to come to Court, refused to come; yea, though he were charged under pain of treason by a Herald to come to the King, yet he would not obey, but was declared rebell. Also *Mortons* keeper *Alexander Ereskane* (master of Marre) being an honest and kinde hearted Noble man, they could not use any violence toward him, so long as he was in his custody. Therefore they thought it best to send him to Dumbarton: and that they might doe it the more safely, they set forth Proclamations, discharging all men that had any relation to him, or that they suspected to favour him, to come within foure miles of any place where the King was, or should happen to be. So in the 17. or 18. of January, he was brought forth of the Castle of Edinburgh to be carried to Dumbarton. There it did appeare, how the change of mens

for-

fortune doth change the minds and affections of people toward them. When *Morton* dimitted his office and authority of Regent, none of the Citizens would take notice of him, or looke toward him: Now that hee suffers for a good cause (as they esteemed it, to wit, opposing *Obignie*, and his courses) they flock to him, and accompany him out of the town in such numbers and multitude, that his keepers were afraid of them. And that the rather, because some of his well-wishers had (some nights before) called the Captain of the Castle, and desired him not to deliver him, or to let him come out, and had threatned, that if hee should deliver him, it should be remembered as an act of hostilitie, and hee reputed and used as an enemy. They that were his convoy were commanded, if any should come to rescue him from them, that they should kill him rather then suffer him to escape. The Queen of England by her Embassadour, Master *Randolfe*, interceeded for him, and told the King and Conncell, that she understood that hee was a true and good Subject, a worthy Noble man, and free of that he was accused of. Shee desired that he might be tried by an assise (or jury) and that his enemy (knowne to be so) *Mounſier d' Obignie* (now made Earle of Lennox) who was also an enemy to the reformed Religion (as being a Papiſt) might be removed off the Counsell. It was answered, that the King was not so farre bound to any forraign Prince, as to change his Counsellors at their request, or to trie his Subjects but where and when he pleased. The Embassadour discontent with this answer, gives up all bond of friendship, and having denounced warre, returned into his owne Countrey the 27. of March, 1581. Hereupon a taxation was imposed, and a company levied of 1000. foot, and some horsemen, to be a Guard for the Kings person. *James Stewart* (the accuser) was preferred to be a privie Counsellor, is made Baron of Bothwell-haugh (say the notes) Lord *Hamilton*, Earle of Arrain, and Captain of the Guard, with most ample Commission to apprehend whomsoever he suspected, and to banish and punish at his pleasure, especially any that favoured the Earle of Morton, of whatſoever degree, rank, or quality. But the English intended rather to threaten then to make war indeed, and they knowing that well enough, went on with their intended projects against *Morton*. He being still kept prisoner in Dumbarton, learned a lesson there, which he had not well learned till then. Let the prophane be silent, and let mockers leave off their mocking, and let all mortall men know that there is a happinesse which consists not in honour or riches, that there is a God who disposeth of all things, who is All-sufficient, and who is able alone to satisfie and content the mind: few there are that know, or consider it, but when they are brought to such a point; and happy is he that can doe it then. He had heard of it before, and beleevd it, but had not taken it so fully to heart, nor felt it by experience. Now he sees, now he feels and findes it really, and experimentally. He contemns the world; and his riches are vile in his eyes; his glory vanity, and all his delights madnesse. He findes that one thing is necessary, and is all that is of man, which is, to reverence God. Hee sees his over-sight, in that he had been so slacke and carelesse thereof before: now he goes about it as he can, and labours to amend his fault, hee reads the

Scrip-

Scriptures, and meditates on them ; he makes his use, and findes comfort therein : he sees his sinfulness, and repents him thereof ; sees Gods mercifulness, and layes hold on it. He acknowledges himselfe to have been miserable when he seemed to swim in happinesse, and that now hee was truly happy when he seemed overcharged with miserie, in respect that God had given him leasure to meditate and thinke of his end, and time and grace to repent, while being sequestrate from all worldly affaires, and restrained by his imprisonment, his minde had full scope and libertie to raise it selfe to those better and higher thoughts of the life to come, and of eternity : wherein he found such contentment and resolution, that now death was no more death to him, nor terrible, and that all the horrour thereof was swallowed up with the hope of those eternall joyes and pleasures which last for evermore. Thus being prepared for that last act, he was sent for to give prooffe how well he could practise and make use of this lesson. For on the 24. of May the Earles of Arran and Montrose, with some companies of horse and foot, brought him from Dumbarton to Edinburgh the 27. to *Robert Gourleyes* lodging, which was one of the strongest in the Citie. Before they tooke their journey ( on the 22. day) proclamation was made, commanding all that favoured him (in generall) to depart out of the towne, and not to come within ten miles of the King and his Court; and particularly some 52. Citizens by name were expressed, and strictly charged to goe forth of the Citie. After foure dayes respite (the first of June) he was called to the Tolbooth, and there empannelled, and convicted by a Jurie, and found guilty of the late Kings murther. The sentence was given out by the Earle of Montrose, who was Chancellour of the Assise, and it is said to have beene pronounced in these termes ; *The Furie (or Assise) doth finde him guilty of being airt and part of concealing the murther of our Sovereigne ( King James his father) the late King Henry.* When Morton heard it, he repeated these words twice over, *Airt and pairt, airt and pairt*, and without speaking farther, he held his peace.

He is brought  
back to Edin-  
burgh the 27.  
of May :

And there  
condemned  
of treason.

It is reported that the Jurie did finde him onely guilty of concealing the murther, and that Arran and Montrose, thinking that to be onely guilty of concealing was not sufficient matter of condemning him, did foist in these words (*airt and pairt*) to give it the greater sound, and to make it be thought and understood, as if he had beene found to be airt and pairt (that is, deviser, contriver, plotter, and partaker or accessary) to the Kings murther, whereas he was onely found to have concealed it. This made one that heard it, and perceived the sophistry thereof, to say, that they had stollen his head from his shoulders by sophistry. His known enemies (the Lord Seaton and Wauchton) were of his jurie, yet it is thought they did him no wrong in their verdicts. But however, it shewed partiall dealing, in that they would not suffer them to be set aside when he excepted against them as knowne enemies. Being asked at his death what he thought of the judgement ; he answered soberly, that he would leave them to God and their owne conscience: but he perceived that whether he had beene guilty or guiltlesse, as *Stephen*, or *Judas*, all had beene one, his death had beene concluded before ; for his lawfull and legall exceptions

exceptions were not admitted, his enemies were on his Jurie, (naming the two former) and such as were partiall, and not indifferent, who had given partiall counsell against him, by name the Earle of Argyle. He added also that it was not his death alone that would content them, and that they would not stay there, others should be put to it as well as hee, he was but made a precedent, and preparative to make way for the rest: the cause was the maine thing they aimed at. However it were, whether the sentence were thus involved and wrested, or if it were plaine and cleare; whether it were indeed so given out by the Jury, or if it were thus patched out by Arran and Montrose, he was conveyed backe againe to his lodging as a condemned man. There he carried himselfe after his wonted manner, his countenance was no wayes cast downe, or changed, he supped cheertully, and slept soundly, without any apperance or shew of feare, or sollicitousnesse.

About three of the clocke in the morning hee arose and wrote letters (for the space of three houres) with his owne hand to the King, and afterward laid him downe againe and slept till nine. These † Letters were sent by the Ministers who came to visit him, but Arran and Lennox would not suffer them to be received. When he was up, Master *Walter Balcanquell*, and *John Durie* (two of the Ministers of Edinburgh) came to him, and had long conference with him, which is set downe at length in the Historie of Scotland, written by *Francis Boteville*, called *Thin*, an Englishman, and joyned to *Hollinsbeds* Chronicle, so that he who desires to know it, may reade it there. The summe of it is his confession concerning such things as they questioned him of,

† It would be knowne what was in these Letters.

1. And first concerning the murthering of the King, he said he was neither airt nor pairt thereof, and that being prest by the Earle *Bothwell*, he would never consent to it. And although (say the notes) *Bothwell* alledged that the Queene had determined it, and divers Noblemen had given their consent under their hand-writing, and had sent to him to desire him to put to his hand also; yet he answered resolutely, that he would in no wise meddle in it, nor be guilty of innocent blood. As for the Queen (said he) though it be so, yet women will say and gain-say, she may in her anger doe or say that which afterward she will repent her of. Nay, when *Bothwell* promised to bring her consent thereto under her hand-writing, yet he refused to joyne with him upon any termes; and to avoyd his importunitie, he passed over to Saint Andrewes to visit the Earle of Angus, who was then a Student in the New colledge there; neither did he see or meet with *Bothwell* after that, untill such time as the fact was committed.

His confessions before his death.

2. As for poysoning the Earle of Athole at Stirling, he said he was neither author of it (if he were poysoned) nor any wise accessary or conscous to it; that he detested and abhorred all such formes of dealing even with enemies, and was sorry to think that so base, foule, and wicked practice should creep into this Countrey, which was already guilty of too many, too common other fins of its owne: he said also that he was not such an enemy to Athole, as that he would have done him any hurt, though he had found him lying asleep by the way side.

3. Touch-

3. Touching the Earle of Lennox, he said, he never wished him any hurt, so farre was he from conspiring against him. Onely it grieved him that he knew the estate of this Countrey no better, and that he saw not what danger the King was in, and that he was induced by perswasion to bring home such as were enemies to the true Religion, which he purposed to have let him understand, and hoped to have advised him better, when they had beene better acquainted, and more intimately familiar.

4. And as for carrying the King to England, he said, he would not have done it for a world, unlesse it had beene to have made him King of England: that there was never such a motion made to him directly nor indirectly by the Queene, or any other in England or Scotland: that he never had any pension of her.

5. As touching his setting up and maintaining the estate of Bishops (whereof there had ensued great debate and contention betwixt him and the Ministry) he said, it did not proceed of any ill minde, of any malice, or contempt of them, or their callings, but meerly out of want of better knowledge, thinking that form of government to be most conforme to the rules of policie, and to be fittest for the times. That if he had then knowne better, he would have done otherwise, and that he had intention (if he had lived) to have made amends.

6. Concerning his incontinenzie, and worldly mindednesse, he freely acknowledged and confessed it, seriously repented, and craved God pardon for it, and said, he firmly beleev'd to obtaine it: that he saw mercy, and had found more grace during the time of his trouble, then ever hee had done all his life before.

7. For his detaining of some Citizens of Edinburgh in prison, he said, he had not done it out of any spleene, or private quarrell against the men; but the matter of bringing in Bullion being then in hand, and he being informed that these men did hinder it, he thought it his best course to commit them till such time as the businesse were done: Wherein, if he had wronged them, he was sorrie, and craved them pardon, & forgiveness.

His counsell to the Earle of Angus (his Nephew) was doubtfull: for he said he durst not advise him in any particular for the present, because he thought it would endanger his life if he should come to Court; and not to come (if he were commanded) would hazard his estate. His best were to use what meanes he could to obtaine the Kings favour and leave, that (life and lands safe) he might serve God, and him, in a private retired manner, which he would wish him to doe in all humility, and to submit himselfe and all to the Kings will and pleasure.

To the King (his master) with all submission; yet in the name and fear of God, he would exhort him to beware of Papists, either protest, known or suspected, who (as he thought) were become too too familiar with him: that he would continue in the true Religion, and fear of God, & entertain in his company such as loved it, according as he had bin bred and brought up, & not to make defection from it, or slide back, else it could not be well with him: he feared there was danger, which men should see when he was gone. He remembred the admonition which master *Knox* gave him when he came to visit him on his death bed (or a little before) being newly made

Regent.



Regent: God hath (said Knox) blessed you with many blessings, he hath given you wisdom, riches and friends, and now he hath preferred you to the government of this Countrey; use these things well, and better than hitherto you have done; alwayes to his glory who hath given them you: first by advancing the Gospel, and maintenance of the Ministers, and the whole Church; next, by procuring the good and welfare of the King, the Countrey, and all good subjects; which if you do not, God shall rob you of them with shame and ignominie. This he spake (said he) and this I finde now, yet I doubt not, but God will be mercifull unto me.

He was much with them in prayer, and very earnest to have their aid & assistance therein; whereof he acknowledged that he received great comfort. He reasoned of the natural fear of death, which sticks and remains in men, even though they have assurance of the forgivenesse of their sins; wherein hee declared his own sense, and the collections he had made in "his reading, since his going to Dumbarton. He said, that in the History of the Bible, he had observed Gods wonderfull mercy toward the "children of Israel; who when they sinned against him, he chastised "them; when they repented, he forgave them; and though they sinned "again, and were corrected again, yet when they cryed to him again, he "forgave them again, he hoped so of himself, that God would forgive "him also. He shewed them a Book he had about him, which had been sent to him by the Lady Ormeston, when hee was first committed, which he had read, and made good use of it: it was M. Bradfords Meditation of Death; hee caused M. Baltanquell to read a passage or two of it, (which he had chiefly noted) and as he read, Morton discoursed thereof to his own comfort, and their great satisfaction and contentment. He professed, that now he heard with other eares, and read with another minde and sense than he had done in former times. This Book he sent back to the Lady by Master James Lowson, with many thanks, acknowledging he had been bettered by it. When break-fast was brought in, he desired them to take part with him, & spake very chearfully to them, telling them what a difference there was betwixt a man troubled with "cares, and him that is resolved and free from them. The last night (said "he) before I came to my triall, I could not sleep nor take rest for thinking "how to make my defences; but all this night I slept very sound, "having nothing to trouble me, but to make my peace with God. After noon, M. James Lowson, M. John Davison, and divers others of the Ministerie came to him. There he embraced M. John Davison, and said to him; "You wrote a Book, for which I was angry with you, but I never meant "any ill to you, forgive me M. Davison was so moved herewith, that he could not refrain from weeping. Then he repeated again before them the same things which we have set down before. The Ministerie hearing that the King was otherwayes informed of his Confession, than was true, sent John Durie, David Ferguson, and John Brand to his Majesty, who informed him rightly, and related things as they were.

They being returned, his Keeper (William Stuart, as I take it, brother to Arran) required him to come forth to go to the place of execution: To whom he said, They have troubled mee much to "day with worldly businesse, wherefore I supposed they would

A a a

"have

“ have given me this nights leisure to have thought of things which  
 “ concerne my soul: But his Keeper replied, I think they will delay no  
 “ longer, for all things are ready. If it be so (said Morton) so am I too, I  
 “ thank my God. And so ( after a prayer made by one of the Ministers )  
 he went down the stairs without any farther stay. The Earle of Arran  
 met him by the way, and brought him back to the chamber again, wil-  
 ling him to stay till his Confession were set down in writing, that hee  
 might signe it with his own hand. But he, and the Ministers that were  
 present with him, entreated that he might not be any more troubled  
 with that matter, seeing they had all heard it sufficiently. Then Arran  
 desired that he would forgive him for what he had done, seeing he had  
 no particular against him. He answered, that it was not time to remem-  
 ber quarrels; he forgave him and all others, as he desired they would  
 forgive him.

Morton  
brought to  
the Scaffold.

So he went to the Scaffold very resolutely, and repeated the same  
 things in audience of the people, which he had spoken before in private.  
 He added moreover: *The King ( sayes he ) shall this day lose a good servant,  
 who dieth professing the Gospel taught now in Scotland: and though I have not  
 walked worthy of that profession ( as by the grace of God I should have done, if  
 I had lived longer, to the hazarding of my Life, Lands and all ) yet am I per-  
 swaded of Gods mercie in Jesus Christ. And here I charge you all to continue  
 therein, and to maintain the same to the uttermost of your power, and God shall  
 blesse you, otherwayes you shall not escape his punishment.* Then while the prayer  
 was conceived by Master James Lawson, he fell down all along flat on  
 his face: during which he uttered great signes of being mightily moved,  
 which he expressed in his sighes and groanes, which many of the be-  
 holders saw evidently did not proceed from fear, but from the spirit  
 of grace working powerfully in his heart. Prayer being ended, he stood  
 up, and his friends came to take their leave of him, and after he had bid-  
 den them farewell, he saluted the Ministers, and took them all severally  
 by the hand, and bade them farewell in the Lord.

His death.

After all was done, he went without fear or dismayednesse, and laid  
 his neck upon the block, crying continually that happie song, *Lord Jesus  
 receive my spirit*, till the axe ( of the Maiden, which he himself had  
 caused make after the patterne which he had seen in Halilax in York-  
 shire ) falling upon his neck, put an end to his life, and that note together.  
 His body was carried to the Tolbooth, and buried secretly in the  
 night in the Gray-friers, his head was affixed on the Gate of the  
 City.

Thus he died the 2. of June 1581, proudly ( said his enemies ) and  
 Romane-like as he had lived: constantly, patiently, humbly and Chri-  
 stian-like, said the Pastors, who were beholders, and care and eye-  
 witnesses of all he said and did. These outward motions being so like to  
 other, are hardly discerned but by a skilfull and unpartiall eye. Where-  
 fore the judgement and testimony of the Pastors deserves best credit, they  
 being best able to distinguish nature from grace, and being free from  
 prejudice and partiality. His enemies censure may justly bee sus-  
 pected as coming from that same disposition which moved them to  
 plot.

plot and work his death. And certainly if we observe and consider his whole carriage and discourse, during the time of his imprisonment, and at the very point of his execution, he must be void of all charity that doth not judge the best of his confession, profession, and Christian disposition. So that it seems to be more than humane hatred and enmity, to be thus affected toward an enemy after his death, to kill him again by an uncharitable construction of his devotions, and piety towards his God. *Livor post fata quiescit*. Envy ceaseth after death, and so let it do toward him.

If a man would see a pattern of one, exercised in all the changes & vicissitudes of fortune, who had gone through & tried all the estates and conditions of humane life; let him cast his eye and look upon our Earl of Morton, in his child-hood, in his riper years & manly estate, and in his old age, in peace and in warre, in private and publick employments. In every thing he took in hand, in every estate and condition, he acquitted himself with credit, honour, and even admiration. When he was a serving-man, he was industrious, carefull and faithfull; when he came to an estate, and was a Nobleman, he behaved himself as if he had been bred such from his infancie. In Court, he acted the Courtier, in Councell, a States-man, abroad in England, being sent thither Ambassadour, he approved himself to both Nations, and gained great reputation of sufficiencie. While he enjoyed the favour of his Princessse, he was not puffed up; and being in disgrace and banished, he was not casten down. He was a faithfull Colleague and fellow-governour with others; and when he came to be sole and supreme, this Countrey never enjoyed greater peace, and a more flourishing Regencie. Being returned to the condition of a private Nobleman, he obeyed as well as before he had commanded. And last of all, when he was accused, condemned and executed, he shewed himself to be himself, and a good Christian. He was well skilled, as in politick government, so in oeconomie, from the shrub to the scepter, from planting of Cabbage in his Garden, to the weelding of the Sword and Scepter in the seat of Justice. The smallest and meanest points of husbandry did not escape him, and the highest and deepest points of State were not above his reach. So that the saying of the Hystorian concerning *Cato Major* (*In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingenique fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturum fuisse videretur*) is no lesse true, and may as well be applyed to Morton. And that also which followes; *Nulla ars neque privata; neque publica rei gerenda ei defuit, urbanas, rusticasque, res pariter callebat*. Hee was slow of speech by a naturall stayednesse and composed gravity. He was of a middle stature, rather square than tall; having the hair of his head and beard of a yellowish flaxen. His face was full and large; his countenance majesticall, grave and Princely; he was affable and courteous to all, yet so as to keep bold encroachers aloofe; and so familiar as not to forget to keep his distance. He was given to gather riches, yet without oppression or lordidnesse and basenesse: For hee was liberall upon occasion, and not unkinde or unmindefull of his friends. Of which disposition I remember this instance; when *John Halden* (of Gleneagles) with his friends of the house of Marre (especially the Abbot of Driebrugh) came to him to agree with him for his wardship (hee being Regent) told them that

hee had bestowed it on *Isabel Hume* daughter to Sir *David*, and sister to Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, and that hee might take her and it together, which hee did accordingly. This came meerely of himself having never been spoken to, and when there was none that belonged to the Gentlewoman near him, to motion or suggest it to him. He was also calme and not easily moved to anger, and apt to forgive and forget injuries or contentions, that had been betwixt him and any other. This appeared in his carriage toward Master *Knox*, who had used him roughly, and rebuked him sharply for divers things, but especially for his labouring to set up and maintaine the estate of Bishops. For howsoever he took it hardly for the time, yet when Master *Knox* lay a dying, he went and visited him, and after he was dead, was present at his buriall; where hee gave him this honourable and ingenuous testimonie; *Here lyest thou* (said he) *who wert never afraid of the face of man in delivering thy message from G O D.* Hee set a foot a great good work, and would (no question) have seen it perfected, if hee had brooked his Regencie a while longer, which was the reducing of our Lawes into a more easie forme and method, than now they are. The care of this was committed to, and the task laid upon Sir *James Balfoure*, and Master *John Skeene* Clerk-Register, and Master of the Rols. The work (as I am informed) was well advanced, but when hee quit his authority, they left off any further proceeding in it. And I have heard since some question it, whether or not it would have done good to the subjects, as if it were to be doubted whether it were better to have some order than none at all. So apt are men to calumniate any thing that hinders their particular emolument, or limites their unwarrantable power, and curbs them from doing what they list. Hee kept a Concubine or two, because of his Ladies being distracted and frantick, and was even too much set to heap up treasure. Yet his care was, that his enemies should not be enriched by it; and his luck was answerable to his care. For those on whom he would have bestowed them (if hee had had power and opportunitie to distribute them according to his minde) by good fortune lighted on it; I know not if they got all of it, or if it were divided according to that proportion, which he perhaps would have observed. *James Richisam* of Smeeton (his brother-in-law) got a share of them, having been trusted with the keeping thereof; *Fannet Sharpe* his Lemmon another share, *James Douglas* of Spot got some part thereof; and some very small portion (as is thought in respect of the whole summe) came to the hands of *Archbald* Earle of Angus, after his returne from his first banishment. A notable example of the uncertainty of these corruptible riches, and of worldly treasure, which cannot be preserved from the digging through of the thief, the eating and consuming of the moth or canker-worme, or the disperfing and scattering of an unfaithfull hand and heart. Though he employed himself much about it, and thought it a great point of wisedome thus to store up wealth; yet at his death hee saw and confessed it to be but vanity and folly.

If wee admit Morton to be a judge or witness (and what better either

either judge or witnesse can we finde ? ) he will decide the question betwixt the two ( both self pleasing ) parties, which do challenge ( each to himself , and derogates from the other ) that high honour and title of wisedome ; I mean betwixt him that seeks after, and labours for worldly honour , dignity and riches : and him that having his minde raised higher and pitched upon better things , flights these earthly things as trash , not worthy of his thoughts or care. The worldling cals , and thinks him a foole , and he esteems no better of the worldling , and each laughs the other to scorne. Who then shall be judge or witnesse ? Seeing all are parties ; and there is no man but is either of the one side or of the other. Certainly, we may judge best by the confession of the parties themselves. Of which the last never yeilded , never gaine-said or be-lyed their assertion ; while they live they avouch it , and at their death they do confirme it much more. Though *Chrysippus* tormenter do torture them , though the world ( for the want of it ) do afflict them with contempt and despising, still they stand fast , and stick to their point unshaken and unmoved. The worldlings , by the contrary , sometimes while they flourish in prosperity, ever when they are in adversity : Sometimes while they live and are in health, ever when they lye in dying, confesse against themselves, and cals all their labour and pains about it folly and vanity. So did Morton amongst others , which the wise will lay to heart, and make their use of it.

*Facetus Douglasius, Mortonius Comes, Prorex pro  
F A C O R O Sexto, Edinburgi securi  
percussus Anno 1581.*

*Hunc spectâ Heroem, calso cui spirat ab ora  
Majestas, tota & pectora varus hamo.  
Anguiles inter terrarum lumina, reges  
Pro Rege, & Domino, regia sceptrâ tulit.  
Censuram, imperium, virtus, facundia, census,  
Quaque homines capiunt, quaque dedere dii,  
Unus cuncta fuit. Nihil ad fastigia summa  
Defuit, æternum si sua fata darent.  
Sed vident ut subito fœtorum turbine versa  
Omnia, & in præceps pendere pressa suo ?  
Discite mortales mortalia temerè, & illa  
Quarere, quæ miseris non rapit aura levit.*

*Joh. Johnstonus in Heroibus.*

James

## 360 Of Archbald the third of that name,

James Douglas Earle of Morton, Regent, beheaded  
at Edinburgh, 1581.

Behold this Heros how his looks be grac't  
With Majestic, what honour's in his breast !  
How high his port may to the world appear !  
He rules a King, and doth his Scepter bear.  
Counsell, commanding, and perswasive Art,  
What ever men injoy or gods impart,  
Is found in him : If Fortune did remain  
Constant, no greater height he need obtain.  
But ah ! what sudden change is here ! this state  
Falne with its own weight lyes opprest by Fate.  
Observe it well, and learn those goods to prise  
Which never can decay, the rest despise.

Of Archbald ( the third of that name ) and ninth  
Earle of Angus.

**N**OW we come to *Archbald* himself ( the third bearing the name  
of *Archbald* ) son to *David*, as hath been said.

He was thrice married, first to *Margaret Ereskin*, daughter to  
*John* Earle of Marre, who was Regent of Scotland immediatly before  
Morton. Shee was a beautifull, chaste, and vertuous Lady. Shee lived  
with him but few years, and died without children.

After her, he was married to *Margaret Leslie*, daughter to the Earle of  
Rothus. She lived with him the space of years, after which he  
was divorced from her for her adultery. She likewise had no children.

His third wife was *Jeane Lyon*, daughter to the Lord Glames (Chancel-  
lour) and Relict of *Robert Douglas* of Logh-leven. She bare to him a  
daughter after his decease (named *Margaret*) who died about the age  
of fifteen years a maid unmarried.

His educa-  
tion.

He was bred and brought up with his Uncle Morton, as wee have said,  
who was his Tutor and Guardian. He studied in S. Andrews in the New  
Colledge with Master *John Douglas* Provest of that Colledge, and Re-  
ctor of the Universitie, till he was fifteen years of age. After that, he lived  
at Court with his Uncle, having with him his Pedagogue Master *John*  
*Provaine*, who endeavoured to instruct him in the Latine tongue, and  
taught him his Logicks & Rhetoricks, but with such successe as is custo-  
mable to youth and Nobilitie; nature, counsell, and example drawing  
them rather to the exercises of the body, which are more agreeable to  
their inclination, and are esteemed more fit and proper for their place.  
Whereas Letters are thought onely necessary and usefull for mean men,  
who intend to live by them, and make profession of some Art or Science  
for their maintenance, but no wayes either suitable or requisite in Noble-  
men, and such as are of any eminent rank or degree. For these they are  
judged

judged to be too base, and he that affects them, pedantick and of a mean spirit. Nay most men do accompt the studie and knowledge of them prejudiciall, hurtfull, and no small let and impediment to politick activenesse, and that it doth abate the courage of the minde and vigour of action, which is requisite for their charge and calling of being States-men and Warriours. A perverse and pernicious Tenent, and farre contrary to the practice of the most famous Captains, and Princes in all ages; such as were *Julius Caesar*, *Scipio Africanus*, *Alexander the Great*, and *Pompey* called the Great also; of *Trajane*, *Antonius*, *Charlemagne*; and almost of all the Grecian Worthies. And yet (we heare) that the Nobility (in France especially) accompt it a reproach to be called or esteemed learned, and deeme it honourable to be illiterate and ignorant.

Much good may this honourable ignorance do them, ere any wise-man envie it. As for the Earle of Angus, sore did he repent him of this neglect, and greatly did he blame himself for it. Especially in the time of his last banishment, during which he laboured to have repaired that losse and over-sight of his youth, by reading and hearing read to him Latine authours of all sorts, both Historians and others; chiefly *Junius* and *Tremellius* translation of the Scripture, which he took great pleasure and delight in. And though the defect of practice in his youth could not be altogether and fully supplied, yet such was his naturall judgement, that in expressing of his minde either by word or writ, none could do it more judiciously and sensibly; and in dictating of Letters or any other thing, he even equalled (if not over-matched) those who would challenge to be the greatest and most skilfull Artists therein. This was well known, and ingenuously acknowledged, and witnessed by Chancellour *Metellane* (of honourable memorie) who having lighted upon some letters of his written with his own hand, so well conceived and penned, that some who heard them read, supposed they had not been of his own penning, but that he had onely transcribed them, that they might seem to be his own; he on the contrary affirmed (and it was true) that they were of his penning; and that he did seldome use any mans help that way, being himself very sufficient and able to discharge it.

Concerning his actions in the time of his uncles Regencie, were have spoken of them above in his life (as the fittest place for them to be remembered in) and we need not repeat them here. After his death, finding no sure footing for him in Scotland (amongst these who were authours of it, and would seek to secure themselves from all revenge thereof by making him away in like manner) being commanded by the King, and summoned in his name to come to Court, he retired into England. There hee was kindly received, and honourably entertained by the bountifull liberality of that worthie Queen *Elizabeth*; partly in memorie of his uncle, but no lesse for his own sake, being of such great hope and expectation, conceived by the appearance of his person, wits, his wisdom, discretion, & towardnesse, which made him acceptable to all, and begot love and favour both from her Majesty self, and her Councillours

He fleeth into  
England.



cellours and Courtiers that then guided the State ; Such as Sir *Robert Dudley* (Earle of Licester) Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary ; and more especially, he procured the liking of him who is ever to bee remembred with honour, Sir *Philip Sidney* I mean ; like disposition, in curtesie, of nature, equality of age and years, did so knit their hearts together, that Sir *Philip* failed not (as often as his affaires would permit him) to visit him, in so much that he did scarce suffer any one day to slip, whereof hee did not spend the most part in his company. He was then in travell, or had brought forth rather (though not polished and refined it as now it is) that his so beautifull and universally accepted birth, his *Arcadia*. Hee delighted much to impart it to Angus, and Angus took as much pleasure to be partaker thereof.

There were with him at this time in England, of the name of *Douglas*, *James* Lord Torthorrell, and Sir *George* his brother ; two sonnes of Mortons, *James* of Spot, and *Archbald* of Pittendrigh: Also *James* of Maines, and Sir *George* of Langniddrie. There were besides these (of note) onely *John Carmichael* and his sonnes, together with *Hugh Carmichael* : the rest were but his ordinary servants and dependers.

He resided openly at Court, being no Rebelle, and not convicted or guiltie of any crime committed against his Prince or Countrey. No such thing was laid to his charge by his enemies ; otherwayes the receiving and entertaining of him had been a breach of the peace betwixt the Kingdomes. All that could be alledged was, that he had withdrawn himself from the furie of his enemies. And yet, as if he had been a Rebelle and forfeited, they intromitted with his rents and estate for their own use. He spent his time there, in learning to ride great horses, and handling of his Armes and Weapons, together with using such courtly and manlie exercises as became his age and place. But above all, he was carefull to observe the Government of the Countrey, and Policie of that State and Kingdome, making his own use thereof for his bettering, both in Christianity and civill prudence. He looked with an heedfull eye upon mens wisedome, and through that, upon Gods working by their wisedome; he noted the actions of those who were the guiders of that State, Court and Countrey, saw their aimes and designes ; and comparing them with his own affaires, and things fallen out at home, he called to minde what had befallen his Uncle Morton, who (like them) had no lesse flourished, but was soon cut down and withered : who had been so powerfull and honoured but a little before, yet in a moment (as it were) was overthrown and trod under foot. His thoughts also reflecting upon himself, and his own condition, how hee was forced to forsake his own Countrey, and depend upon the estimation of strangers ; that though for the present he were somewhat respected, yet it was uncertain how long hee should be so, no longer than they should think it profitable for their own estate and conduceable to their ends. From hence raising his minde to the contemplation of all humane affairs, and of all mortals, men of all degrees, even of Princes themselves, he learned that (which few will, and care to learne

learne of any ranke, and fewer doe practise that are in high places, whose places crave action, and action over-treads contemplation) hee learned (I say) truly to contemne all worldly things, such as riches, honour, dignities, and the like; and truly to long and seeke after heavenly treasure, which perisheth not, and bringeth with it no anxietie, or solicitude of minde; having the soule fully set and fixed on God alone. Many speake of it, and that very well, and not without some sense and feeling thereof, but it lasts not, save for a fit, and sudden flash. We are all of us too earthly, and savour too much of earth, from whence we were taken, and of which we were made, and thither also we bend, and tend ever down-ward, what through our naturall propension that way, what by example of the multitude, which like a violent stream of an over-bearing flood, carries us along, if we be not firmly built upon the rock of heavenly resolution, and unlesse we keep fast our hold by perpetuall and never-intermitted meditation. For him I dare avouch it, that howsoever he refrained from outward shewes, for feare of falling into ostentation, or whatever other wayes he was employed about in regard of his place and calling, yet his minde was ever (even in the midst of businesse) wholly bent to God-ward, and would have beene glad to have beene freed from all thoughts and affaires which had any mixture of earthly things. And this disposition wrought in him by his being exiled, he esteemed no small benefit and advantage of his sufferings; so that in private where he expressed himselfe freely, without all maske of ceremonie or nicenesse, he hath many times been heard to thanke God very heartily and seriously, with grave words, and settled countenance, saying, *That hee would not have exchanged the crosse of his first banishment for all the Crowns and Princes estates in the world: farre lesse for an Earldome, or Lordship, such as Angus, or Douglas.* So did God work with him by adversitie.

While he was thus working upon himself in England, and framing his heart after a new mould and fashio(n) (which few knew or dreamed of) God was preparing the way for his return to his place and honours in Scotland. The love which his Countrey-men bore to him was great, and likewise generall, and almost universall (as it did commonly follow that popular name of *Douglas*, to which it was in a manner hereditarie) even in regard of his owne courteous, milde, and towardly disposition, and of the great hopes and expectation of excellent fruit from so noble and worthy a plant. This being accompanied with his suffering, and innocencie, together with his harmlesse youth, age did move pitie, and stirre the affections of most men toward him.

As for particular friends, hee wanted them not (as few Noblemen in this Countrey doe, all the Nobilitie being linked and bound one to another by Kindred or alliance) his house having beene so eminent of a long time, and there being few of the Nobles, but were either descended of it, or tied to it by some consanguinity, affinity, or other relation. And therefore one would thinke it strange that he should have beene so long banished: yet when we looke upon his uncle Mortons case (who had the same friends or more) it is farre more strange that hee

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should

should have come to such an end. But as in this, when the appointed time came, nothing could hinder his fall and overthrow : so in Angus his case, untill the time appointed by God did come, nothing could worke his restitution. What the estate of businesse was at his departure, we have told already in Mortons life, ere that yeare came fully to an end ( or not long after he had beene a yeare in England ) there fell out a change at Court, which was thus :

Change in  
Court.

*Eſme* Lord Obignie (now Duke of Lennox) and *James Stuart* Earle of Arran, had ( with their great riches and honours ) acquired much hatred from all sorts of men. The Ministerie were offended at them for making master *Robert Montgomerie* Archbishop of Glasgowe, (an Office then odious and unlawfull, as being against the Lawes of the Countrey, and ordinance of the Church ) and were jealous of the one as a suspected Papist, and perswaded that the other ( to wit, Arran ) was a downe-right Atheist. The Nobilitie stormed and grudged at their extraordinary and sudden preferment. For *James* was made Lord Hamiltoun, Abercorne, Bothwel-haugh, and Earle of Arran, with a power almost absolute ( given or usurped, under the name of Captaine of the Guard, and the pretext of pursuing the *Douglasses* ) to apprehend, imprison, and put on the racke whomsoever he pleased. Obignie was made Lord of Dalkeith, Tantallon, Darlin, Torbouton, and Duke of Lennox, Keeper of the Castle of Dumbartane, and great Chamberlaine of Scotland.

Thus did they overtop and overshadow the rest of the Peeres, as tall Cedars doe small Shrubs, to their great discontentment and disdain. The Gentlemen were so used by them, that they esteemed themselves brought into a thraldome and slavery, none of them being sure of their estates, which were wrung from them by colour of law ( the cloake of their oppression ) and all fearing the rage and unlimited violence, especially of *James Stuart*, who was composed of nothing else, and whose actions were futable to his disposition.

The Burrowes were alienated by being cut short in their privileges, liberties, and immunities, which were quarrelled, retrenched, cancelled, and taken away, according to their humours of avarice, and desire of gaine, and according to the pleasure and suggestions of their informers and parasites.

With this their exorbitant increase of power and insolencie, as the hatred of others did increase toward them, so did variance arise betwixt themselves. The first occasion hereof was the carrying of the Crown at Parliament : this was proper, and is the hereditarie right and priviledge of the house of Angus, and he being now banished, and the Duke of Lennox having his estate, either for that regard, or because of his more honourable descent, or by the advantage of the Kings favour ( which he had in greater measure then Arran ) we cannot affirme ; but so it was, that he was preferred to bear it. Arran stormed at this, & protested that his bearing of it at this time should not be prejudicial to his claim, who being descended of the house of *D. Mordack* ( which was nearest to the King ) ought in reason to have carried it, yet he renounced all title to the kingdom, notwithstanding  
of

of this extraction of his pedegree, and challenging of this honour. This renunciation was derided by some, and disdained by others, as a great malapartnesse, and high presumption in him, who being but lately raised from so meane a fortune and estate, durst utter such speeches as bewrayed such vast and high thoughts, as to aime at no lesse then the Kingdome; if ever (the Kings owne race failing) the right thereto should come in question, and happen to be controverted. And indeed his designes are thought to have flowne to no lower pitch, which (perhaps) had beene no very hard or impossible taske for him, if he could as well have kept out the *Hammiltouns* (who could onely pretend right to it) and the *Douglasses* (whose power and authority was the greatest in the Countrey) as hee found meanes to cast them out of Court and Countrey. For then he had had no Competitor but the Duke of Lennox, and him, being a stranger, and subsisting meerely by the present Kings favour, he nothing doubted to supplant by his craft and violence, joyned with such a colourable claim. Another occasion of discord fell out by Sir *John Seaton*, son to the Lord *Seaton*, and Master of the Kings horses. As the King was about to goe to his horse to ride a hunting, Arran having something to speake to him in private, all men were commanded to remove, which all did saving Sir *John*, who being by his place to wait upon the King, and set him on his horse, stayed still, and did not remove with the rest. Arran seeing him to stay behind the rest, either threatned to throw his batton at him, or did throw it indeed; for hee carried a staffe or batton as Captaine of the Guard. Sir *John* would have requited this affront, but was hindred by the Guard, who carried him downe staires, and so parted them for that time. The next day Sir *John*, his brother Sir *William*, and the Lord *Seaton* himselfe, were all commanded to keepe their lodgings; which the Duke (who favoured them) tooke so ill, that he refused to come abroad that day. At last they were so divided, that the Duke carried the King with him to Dalkeith, and Arran abode in the Palace of Halyrood-hoofe. There were with the Duke, the Lord *Seaton*, *Maxwell*, (then Earle of Morton) with some others. *Argyle*, *Ruthven*, (then Thesaurer, and lately made Earle of Gowrie) the Secretarie, the Controller, and other Officers of State, stayed with Arran, and tooke upon them to make the body of the Kings Councell, and to sit as such. But all their Decrees and Conclusions were dashed by the King in person, which they wanted.

These broiles lasted from the end of October till mid-Februarie, about which time the King returning to Halyroodhouse (from whence Arran had removed before) and from thence going backe againe to Dalkeith, he sent for him, and reconciled him to the Duke, after which they became greater friends then ever they had beene before: so that Arran would doe nothing for any man but what hee knew stood with the Dukes good liking. But this union betwixt themselves divided them the more from others, and others from both of them; for now hee that had any businesse with either, behoved to sue to both, and hee that disliked, or bore ill-will to either, was forced to fawne on him also, or to hate both, and seeke

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1582. the overthrow of them both alike. At the Justice Aires in Perth 1582. in July, in some contest betwixt the Duke and the Earle of Gowrie, the Duke spake some reproachfull words to him in French, which Gowrie not understanding then; afterward, when he had learned what the meaning of it was, he upbraided the Duke for ungratefulness, telling him, that was all the thanke he got for having twice saved him from being killed. Thus was he alienated, or thus did he bewray his alienation of minde, which lay hidden till now it burst forth. Another time the Chamberlaine Aires being indicted to be kept (the 28. of August) by the Duke (then Chamberlaine) which was a Court very odious to the Burrowes, as being rather a legall robbery, then a Court of Justice, and upon which it is thought he was set of purpose that he might incur more hatred, which commonly falls out, when a former generall dislike doth meet with private grudges. This Court (I say) being indicted, while the Duke was busied in preparing for it, and he with Arran having left the King, were at Edinburgh and Dalkeith about such things as was necessary thereto: the foure and twentieth of August the King came from his hunting in Athole to Ruthven, where Gowrie, assisted by some of the Nobilitie, removed the Guard, that were under the command of Arrane, with no great adoe, and laid hold also of the Earle himselfe as he entered into the house of Ruthven, and conveighed him into a close roome, where he was kept, and not suffered to come neare the King.

The roade of  
Ruthven 1582  
August 24.

He had, upon the first furnishing of an alteration, come from Edinburgh with a company of some fourescore horse, but hearing that the Earle of Marre was at Kinross in his way, hee sent his company with his brothers (*Robert* and *Henrie*) and he himselfe with one or two taking a byway, came to have slipt into the Kings presence before they had beene aware of him. But Gowrie being advertised hereof, met him at the gate, and had straightwayes killed him, if *George Anthenlecke* (sometime servitour to Morton) had not held his hand as he was about to have pulled out his dagger to have stabbed him. His two brothers, with their company, were defeated by the Earle of Marre, of which *Robert* was wounded also, and taken prisoner.

There joyned with Marre and Ruthven openly, *Thomas Lion* (Master of Glames) *Lawrence* Lord Oliphant, together with Sir *Lewis Ballandine* of Achnowle (Justice-Clerke) and others. Before Marre came, the Guard made some difficultie to admit them, and grant them entrance into the Kings chamber: for they serving for pay, and being put in, and commanded by Arran, when they heard what had happened to their Captaine, made an offer to resist, and not to suffer any man to come neare the King, unlesse hee should signifie his pleasure to be such.

Sir *Lewis Ballandine* conceiving great indignation hereat, asked at master *David Hume* (who by chance was come thither, and stood next to him) if he had a pistoll about him, which he gave him, but with all said to him, "Be not too hastie to shoot, let them alone, you shall find that their fury will soone fall (lacking their Captaine, and a head)" and

“and that they will give way, when once they see the Nobility approach. And so they did indeed, for the Earle of Marre being come, and the rest joyning with him, they shranke away and gave place. When they came to the King, they shewed him the necessity of doing what they had done, in regard of the violence of *Arrane*, and their feare and suspition of the Duke of Lennox : “ That there was no other way to remove “ the generall discontent of his Subjects, and to prevent the dangers “ which would follow thereupon to himselfe, and his Crowne, then by “ removing of these men from about him, whose unjust actions, and “ violent oppressions, reflected upon his Majesty, to the great prejudice of “ his honour and estate, as also to the great disadvantage of Religion, “ and the good of his people. The King assented to what they said, either because he thought it to be the true, or rather, (as appeared afterward) that he might seeme to approve of that which hee could not resist. So they goe to Perth, then to Stirling, where their Proclamations were set forth; the one containing the Kings Declaration, concerning what was done at *Ruthven*, that it was for his service, and acceptable to him. In the other the Duke of Lennox was commanded to depart out of the Realmie of Scotland before the 24. of September. There was a third also, by which the Chamberlain Aires were discharged to be kept.

The Earle of Angus had (a little before these things) come down from the Court of England to Berwick, in expectation of this change; and now having notice given him by these Noblemen of what had passed, he stayed a while in the towne, and thereafter came into Scotland: yet did he not goe directly to Court, but came to Cumledge in the Merse, a house within eight miles of Berwick, which belonged to *Archbald Authenleck* (a follower of his Uncle Morton) and lay next adjacent to his Barony of Boncle. There he remained till Master *Bowes*, and Master *Cary* (Embassadors from the Queen of England) came into Scotland (the 11 of September) and did by their intercession obtain of the King, that hee might be assoyled from that crime of Rebellion, which his enemies had put upon him, because he had not obeyed their charges given out in the Kings name, to come to Court, which was indeed to come into their power. Neither did he presently after hee was relaxed come neare the King, untill he had assurance that the King was very well contented, and desirous that he should come to him; but stayed some five weekes, expecting his full and free consent therein, that his return might bee such as could not be excepted against. The King delayed him a while, that hee might be beholding to him for this favour, and he was contented to stay so long, that the King might see he was willing to receive it at his hands as a favour, and that by so doing, he might fully remove all hard construction that his Majesty could make of his withdrawing into England. He had presence of the King the 20. of October (about two moneths after he came home) in the Palace of Haly-rood-houfe, where hee was kindly and lovingly received, to the great contentment of all men, and with great commendation of his modesty; for that hee had patiently waited for his Princes pleasure so long a time, and had not abruptly rusht into his sight, which many would, and he might have done easily had he pleased

Angus returneth home.

## 368 *Of Archbald the third of that Name,*

fed to have made that use of the times and opportunitie which was offered : but his disposition was not that way set ; he was truly of a milde disposition, abhorring all turbulencie, every way towardly, inclining to peace, and to all submission toward his Prince.

Now being thus returned, gladly would hee have lived in quietnesse, and enjoyed the Kings favour still, as he had it at this time, and willingly would he have served him as a faithfull and loyall Subject according as he had been pleased to have imployed him, without further stirring or meddling with any thing, or any person. Neither (as I thinke) did the world ever know, or bring forth a more calme and quiet spirit, voyd of ambition and covetousnesse, as also of all envie and malice to any creature, which are the chiefe causes of restlesse and tumultuous practices. He was also mindfull of Mortons counsell at his death, who advised him to doe so : and being alreadie in so honourable a place (first of the Nobilitie) he had little or nothing else to desire or hope for, if hee could have been assured to possesse his owne in peace. But finding the Countrey divided, the dregs of the old faction that stood for the Queen, still working underhand, and by it the Romish party labouring to undermine the true reformed Religion, and such as had been instruments to establish it, upon whose ruine these new men (by their new courses) did indeavour to build their preferment, so that none could with surety live in any honourable place, as a good Patriot, but behoved to take part with them that stood for Religion, and undergoe the like hazard as they did. Besides, these Noblemen had (in very deed) wrought out and made way for his returne from exile, by removing of those who were (as common enemies to all honest men, so more particularly) his especiall enemies, having been authours of his Uncles death, and who had seized upon his owne lands and possessions. They were also his near kinsmen, and deare friends, *Gowrie* and *Glames* were come of his house, *Oliphant* was of his alliance (having married *Margaret Douglas*, daughter to *William* of *Logh-leven*) and *Marre* was his brother in law, and no lesse his brother in love and affection, which continued without the least breach or diminution, so long as he lived. These private and publick inducements thus meeting and concurring, he could not esteem that cause to be more theirs then his owne, and therefore could not choose but embrace it as his own, that is, to the utmost of his power.

He joins with  
the Lords a-  
gainst the  
Courtiers.

1583.  
Lennox dies  
in France.

Gowrie takes  
a remission  
for the fact at  
Ruthven.

Therefore he joyned with them in it sincerely for his owne part, but they continued not long undivided amongst themselves. For the Duke being divers times charged to voide the Realme, after divers shifts and delays, at last he went through England into France in the moneth of December, and not long after he died there the 27. of July 1583. After he was gone, they being rid of that feare, there fell out dissention betwixt the Earle of *Gowrie*, and Secretarie *Pitcarne* (made Lord of *Dumfermeling*) in April 1583. The King went to the Castle of *Saint Andrewes* in August, and there the Earle of *Gowrie* (having changed his minde with the change of affaires) tooke a remission for his fact at *Ruthven*, as being Treason, and so by his owne confession condemned himselfe, and all his partners therein, and by separating himselfe from them, overthrew



overthrew the cause, and them with it. All this while after Angus his returne, there was nothing done worthy of memory, save that he (out of his love and respect to his Uncle Morton) caused his head to be taken downe from the City gate, and honourably buried with his body, the 10. of December 1582. The chiefe instrument in this change, was *William Stuart*, a brother of the house of Goston, who had beene a Colonnell in the Low-Countreies, and was then Captain of the Kings Guard. *Gowrie* had brought him home, and preferred him to the Kings service, of purpose to counterpoise the greatnesse of Arran: but they were so wise, as not to crosse one another, but on the contrary, they did aid and strengthen each other all they could.

By this *Williams* means, the authours and actors of the fact at *Rathven* were strictly commanded to depart from the Court, and the Earle of Arrane recalled thither again. Angus had joyned with those of *Rathven*, yet because he had not been an actor there, and had had no hand in it, he hoped that they would suffer him to live in quietnesse at home. Secretary *Walsingham* (Embassadour from Queene *Elizabeth*) had gotten a promise of the King that he should be fully restored to all his lands and possessions, and hee had relied thereon, and waited long for the performance thereof, but finding nothing but delayes, he perceived they had no good meaning toward him. And so indeed it proved, for Marre, and the master of Glames were confined in Argyle, the Castle of Stirling (of which Marre and his predecessours had been keepers time out of minde) was committed to the custody of Arrane, and the Earle of Angus was confined beyond Forth.

Arran returns to Court.

Before his going to the place of his confinement, hee wrote to some of his friends to accompany him thither for his safety in his journey. This being knowne at Court, it was interpreted to be done of intention to surpris the King, who was that day to goe abroad to his hauking. It was alledged also, that Marre and Glames were to meet him at Achknowes-hill, and to joyne with him in his surprisall. Hereupon the King having risen bytimes that morning to goe to his sport, and being ready to take horte, was stayed that day, and curriours were sent out to try how matters went, and whether that report were true. Some of these scouts came to the Key-stone, (for that way Angus tooke of purpose, being furthest off from the Court, that he might be out of their danger, and they freed from all feare of him) and found him riding in a peaceable manner, accompanied with a small train of his domesticks onely, and those but halfe-armed (which was ordinary then, even in the most peaceable times) and no wayes prepared for warre. Hee desired them to tell his Majesty that he was going toward the place of his confinement, in obedience to him, and they did relate the truth very faithfully and honestly to the King. This rumour (of surprising the King) was said to have proceeded from one of his owne name, who having been in Tantallon the day before, and perceiving that there were letters in writing, which they did not communicate to him (as Angus did never impart businesse to any, but such as were his intimate friends, and there having been some difference betwixt him, and this Gentleman, he never used him after that

Angus confined beyond Forth.

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## 370 *Of Archbald the bird of that Name,*

so familiarly) made this conjecture of their secrecie, and whispered, it to the Courtiers, who were apt to beleave it: whether he did indeed suspect some such thing, or if it were raised onely by envious, and malicious persons, we cannot affirme, but fame laid the blame of it on him; for that he, having been so late over night at Tantallon, had made great haste to be in Edinburgh that night, and came to Court before day light: and that upon his coming, the Kings hauling was stayed; yet it is uncertain, for he was commanded also to depart out of the Countrey.

The Earle of Angus crossed Forth at the Queens Ferry, and went to his owne house at Aberdowre; but because there hee was too neare the Court, and so obnoxious to suspition, hee removed from thence to Kinross: and to secure them yet more, leaving his household there behinde him, he went almost alone to Lesely, a house belonging to his brother in Law, the Master of Rothuffe. Being there, he moved him, and the Earle his father to deal with the Courtiers to grant him so much favour as to suffer him to live a private and retired life, at one of his owne houses in the Countrey farre from Court, and State businesse: but they were so farre from yeelding to any such thing, that whereas he had been charged onely to remaine beyond Forth before; now hee is sent to remain beyond Spaye.

He is sent beyond Spaye.

He goeth to Elgin in Murray.

Wherefore hee takes his journey thither, and came to Dundie; and from thence toward Elgin in Murray. Master *Scrimger* of Diddup (Constable of Dundie) would needs bring him on his way, and as if he had intended no more, caused carry his haulkes with him, but by no means would leave him till he came to his journeyes end. By the way he being well knowne, tooke upon him to be the chiefe man, and gave out that Angus was his sonne in law, the Laird of Inshmartin. This hee did, least the Courtiers should have laid some ambushment for him by the way, hee being to passe through a Countrey, where their partie was strong, and where they had many favourers, having none of his owne followers with him, save *Robert Douglas* of Cavers, Gentleman of his horses. So he passed the Carne-Mont with great celerity and haste, the rest of his household following after by easie journeyes. Great was the care his worthy friend the Constable had of him; and many wayes did hee labour to keepe him from melancholy, and to divert his thoughts from too much dwelling upon his present hard condition: there was no kinde of sport or game, which he did not afford him with all the varietie he could devise to entertain him, and to cheare him up: till the court, envying even this small contentment to him, commanded the Constable also to goe off the Countrey; yet was hee never destitute of friends; such was the sweetnesse of his disposition, and of such power and force was it, that it wonne the hearts of all the Gentlemen in those quarters to him: such as the *Inneses*, *Dumbarres*, *Hayes*, and others, who did all strive who should shew most affection toward him, by inviting him to their houses, and feasting him by turnes, and using of him with all courtesie, and respect; so that hee could not have beene more honoured and regarded amongst his dearest friends, and nearest kinsfolkes. Nay, such was their love to him, that hearing some surmises

misses of no great good will borne to him by Huntley, they of their own accord came to him, and forbade him to bee afraid of him, for they would spend their lives in his defence, and for his safetie, if the Earle of Huntley should attempt any thing against him, Wherefore it was thought that they being thus affected, he durst not adventure to execute any Court plot against him, which he wanted no good will to do, and otherwayes would have done. Yet was this the place of the Kingdome, where all Huntleyes power and friendship lay very neare at hand, and where Angus had least acquaintance and fewest friends, all of them being meere strangers to him, without any other bond of obligation or tie of relation, but what his vertue and worth had gained in that short time of his being amongst them and conyerfing with them.

The Courtiers at this time were at no small contest and variance with the Ministers; chiefly with Master *James Lowson*, Master *Walter Balcanquell*, *John Durie* (Ministers at Edinburgh) and Master *Andrew Melvin*, Principall of the new Colledge of Saint Andrewes, and Professour of Divinity there. The occasion was this; they had at a Generall Assembly approved the fact of Ruthven by the Kings especiall commandement, and now being desired by the Courtiers to condemne it, they refused to doe it. Both sides alledged the Kings authority; the Courtiers pleading, that such was his will now: and the Ministers, that it was not such then. The Courtiers said that he was a captive then; and the Ministers replied, that (perhaps) he was so now: that they saw not any thralling of him then; and that it might as well be alledged hereafter that he was a captive now, as it was alledged now that hee was a captive then. As for the particular quarrels of either side, they said they knew them not; but one thing they knew, that they were as good men, as Noble, as worthie, as well affected to his Majestie who were with him then, as those were who were about him now; that they were as free from all suspicion of unsoundnesse in Religion; nay, much freer, the others being at least suspected.

Discord betwixt the Ministers and Courtiers.

In which regard they could not retract what they had done, and could not but allow of their fact who had removed from the King, men that were not altogether free of suspicion. What private ends or aimes they had, was unknown to them, as also they were ignorant what the respects were which they now had; both pretended the Kings will; but they were sure of this point, that the removing of suspected men was a good office, and made for his well being, and that the instruments thereof were instruments of a good work, whatsoever were their intentions. Thus most of them spake; Others expressed themselves more harshly, saying, that wicked men were removed, and such as were enemies to the Church, to the Countrey and to the Nobility, who sought their own preferment with the overthrow of all; that they might be built upon the ruines of all these. These speeches

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were

were very unfavourie to the Earle of Arran, to the Colonell *Stuart*, and the Prior of Pitten-weeme. It rubbed upon them, and (by consequent) as they would have it appeare) reflected upon the King. Wherefore they called it sedition, and stirring up of dissention betwixt the King and his Subjects. So they informe the King, and by their Information, animate him against them. Wherefore *John Dury* be-  
hooved to be removed from Edinburgh to Monroffe: Master *James Lowson*, and Master *Walter Balcanquhall* were rebuked onely. Master *Walters* Text was treason (against the Courtiers) and spake too much though hee had said nothing. It was that passage of Ecclesiastes [ *I saw Princes walking on foot, and servants riding on horse-back* ] that is, Great and worthie men displaced, and base men set up in their room; to which doctrine hee added an admonition, that they should look to themselves when the cup of their iniquitie should bee full. Master *Andrew Melvin* was dilated to the King and Councell by one *William Stuart*, that he had said in a Sermon of his, *That the King was unlawfully called to the Kingdome*; but he craved, that seeing he was accused of wrong doctrine, that hee might bee tried by a Generall or Synodall Assembly, who are the proper judges of doctrine delivered from the Pulpit. It was answered, that he should have no other than the King and Councell, who ordained him to enter himself prisoner in Black-Nesse. Whereupon hee fearing, and informed that Colonell *Stuart* and Arran had no good meaning toward him, fled secretly to Berwick. Before his departure, hee drew up his Apologie, of which it will not be amisse to set down the summe, as a testimony of his innocencie and equity of his cause, as also of the violence, and iniquity of those times, that so it may appear more evidently what just grounds and reasons the Noblemen had to labour to have things redressed, and such enormous insolencies repressed. “ First, He pro-  
“ tested solemnly before God and his Angels, that he never utte-  
“ red either in that Sermon or in any other, any one word which might  
“ import any disgrace or slander of his Sovereigne the Kings Maje-  
“ stie: but had ever exhorted all men to yeeld him all reverencie  
“ and obedience: that hee had ever, and still did acknowledge him  
“ his lawfull Prince and supreame Governour in civill matters; that  
“ he had ever; and even then prayed for his preservation and pro-  
“ sperity: Secondly, that his desire to bee tried by a Synod of the  
“ Church, did not proceed from any intention to call his Majesties  
“ authority in question, but onely because they were appointed to  
“ bee the ordinary judges of any thing delivered in preaching, *in*  
“ *primis instantibus*. He alledged for this a plaine Act of Parliament,  
“ and a conference betwixt certain Lords of the Councell, and some  
“ Ministers deputed by the King, who had agreed upon this con-  
“ clusion. Thirdly, hee said that Councels and Doctors of the  
“ Church did think that the triall of such things is most conve-  
“ niently and fitly to bee taken in the place where the slander is  
“ raised, and scandall given; which was *Saint Andrewes*, for there  
“ that Sermon was preached: Fourthly, hee pleaded, that the  
“ Priviledges

Melvin flees  
to Berwick.

His Apology

“priviledges of the Univerſity, granted and given to it by former Kings,  
 “and confirmed and ratified by his Majesties ſelf, made the Rector and  
 “his Aſſeſſors, Judges to all Miniſters, Maſters and Students that were  
 “Members of the ſame, and were accuſed of any offence committed  
 “within the liberties thereof. Fifthly, that he ſpoke nothing but what he  
 “had good warrant for from ſcripture. Sixthly, that he had for him, firſt,  
 “the teſtimony of the Univerſitie, ſigned by the Rector, and ſealed with  
 “their ſeal; ſecondly, the teſtimony of the Church-ſeſſion in S. An-  
 “drews, ſubſcribed by the Miniſters, Elders and Deacons; thirdly, the  
 “teſtimony of the Proveſt and Bailiffs, and town Councell, ſigned by  
 “the town Clerk by their commandement, and ſealed with their ſeal;  
 “fourthly, and laſt of all, the teſtimony of the Presbyterie, ſubſcribed by  
 “the Clerk thereof: which teſtimonies were of more value to abſolve  
 “him, than any one mans accuſation was to condemne him. Seventhly,  
 “he deſired that he might have the common priviledge of all the Sub-  
 “jects, which was to know his accuſer, and the prerogative of a Miniſter  
 “of Gods word, that an accuſation ſhould not be received (or put in pro-  
 “ceſſe) againſt him, but under two or three witneſſes. Eighthly, that his  
 “accuſer might be liable, and incur the puniſhment due to him by the  
 “Acts of Parliament, if his accuſation were found to be falſe. Ninthly,  
 “that the Defender might have place, and be permitted to object againſt  
 “his Accuſer: And that if *William Stuart* were the man, he would prove  
 “that the ſaid *William* had profeſſed hatred againſt him, and had threat-  
 “ned him to do him bodily harm; in which reſpect, his information was  
 “to be ſuſpected if he were the Delatour, or if he were a witneſſe his te-  
 “ſtimony was not ſufficient. Notwithſtanding of all this, yet he ſaid, he  
 “would ſimply declare the truth in the preſence of God and his Angels,  
 “ſo far forth as his memory would ſerve him. He ſaid, his text was, *Dani-*  
 “*els* expounding of the hand-writing on the wal to *Baltazar*. Here he ob-  
 “ſerved how *Daniel* in reprovng *Baltazar* for not giving glory to God  
 “for his benefits toward him and his father, and for abuſing the veſſels  
 “of the houſe of God, did apply the Text (of the hand-writing) to *Bal-*  
 “*tazar*. From hence (and other places of Scripture) he inferred, that  
 “application ought to be made of examples (whether of mercies or  
 “judgements) by the Miniſters of the Word (as *Daniel* was) to Kings,  
 “as was *Baltazar*: And that the nearer the example touched the party  
 “to whom it were applied (as that of *Nabuchodonosor*, who was father to  
 “*Baltazar*) the more forcible it would be. This (ſaid he) is the right  
 “way of application, but who doth it now-a-dayes? Or if any do it,  
 “who cares for it, or is moved with it? If a man ſhould now apply  
 “the example of our Predeceſſours to theſe times, as of King *James*  
 “the third, how his Courtiers and flatterers abuſed him, would they  
 “not ſay that he raved, and wandered from his Text? Nay, perhaps,  
 “accuſe him of Treason. Secondly, he ſaid, concerning theſe words  
 “which his accuſer did alledge to have been ſpoken by him (that our  
 “*Nabuchodonosor*, to wit, the Kings mother, had bin baniſhed twice ſeven  
 “years, & would be reſtored again) as it never came into his mind, ſo did  
 “he not remember the words, or any expreſſion tending to that purpoſe,

more

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or



“ or importing any such thing : Thirdly , As for that speech ( That the  
 “ King was unlawfully called to the Crown ) or any thing sounding that  
 “ way ; he protested before God, he never spake it, nor did he ever doubt  
 “ of the lawfulness of his Majesties authority, which the Church had e-  
 “ ver maintained, & he himself constantly avouched, as all that knew him  
 “ could bear witness. That it was true , that in speaking of *Nabuchodo-*  
 “ *nosor*, he had said ; That first , howbeit he had succeeded to his fathers  
 “ Kingdome , and that when he was of ripe years : secondly , though he  
 “ were endowed with wisdom, learning, liberality, and other vertues :  
 “ thirdly, though he had conquered and purchased divers Territories and  
 “ Countries, as a valiant Captain ( having been Lieutenant to his father )  
 “ in his fathers time : fourthly, And although he were made King ( after  
 “ his father ) by all the Nobility : yet *Daniel* maketh mention of none of  
 “ all these, but saith , That God gave him the Kingdome. From whence  
 “ he gathered as a firm conclusion, That, by whatsoever way Kingdomes  
 “ do come ( whether by election, succession, or conquest, whether by ordi-  
 “ nary or extraordinary means ) it is God that gives them, & he that makes  
 “ Kings. But ( alas ! ) men do forget this that are in high places, as experi-  
 “ ence doth shew : And not only Atheists and Idolaters, but even godly  
 “ Kings are subject to this forgetfulness. *David* extraordinarily called,  
 “ *Salomon* also extraordinarily , and *Josias* extraordinarily preserved and  
 “ crowned in his tender years , did all forget the ordainer, all forget God  
 “ their advancer ; and he therefore did chastise them. That instead of ap-  
 “ plying this to the King, he did ( as his custome ever was, when he spake  
 “ of his Majestie ) turne and convert it into a Prayer : That since such was  
 “ the weakness of Godly Kings, it would please God of his mercie never  
 “ to suffer our King to forget Gods goodness and mercie toward him,  
 “ who had called him extraordinarily to be King of the Countrey : first,  
 “ being but a childe in his Cradle : secondly, his mother yet alive : third-  
 “ ly, a great part of the Nobility his enemies : and fourthly, some of them  
 “ still pursuing of him , ever since the heave burden of government was  
 “ laid on his shoulders. He concluded that these were his formall words,  
 “ upon which, what ground any man could have to build such accusation  
 “ against him, he referred it to the wisdom of his Majestie and his coun-  
 “ cell , who, he hoped , would not give eare to such who through malice  
 “ did stretch or wrest his words, or through ignorance did mistake them,  
 “ not being able to distinguish betwixt extraordinary calling, and unlaw-  
 “ full calling. This Declaration he set forth , not so much to beg favour  
 “ or releasement , but to render the reason of his chosen and voluntary  
 “ exile. Divers more than he , who suffered as he did , and for the same  
 “ cause , set forth likewise their apologies to justify themselves, by clearing  
 “ of their innocencie, and shewing the causes of their leaving the Countrey  
 “ & their callings. The Courtiers did interest the King in all these quarrels,  
 “ and laboured to embarke him therein the deepest they could : and by all  
 “ means strove to make him believe that all was against him, and that their  
 “ aime was at him, whom they wounded through their sides : and saie they  
 “ would have perswaded all others to the same. But all were not so blinde :  
 “ there were many that could, & did distinguish and separate the Kings cause  
 “ from

from the Courtiers; and did shew that as they hated them, so they loved him. Especially the Ministry, who at a Generall Assembly (held at Edinburgh in November) appointed a generall Fast to be kept throughout the whole Kingdome, and gave out the reasons thereof to be: first, The abounding of wickednesse: secondly, The danger of the Church: thirdly, The danger of the King: fourthly, The danger of the Common-wealth (which all were meant, & did directly point at the rulers of court chiefly) through their wickednesse, Atheisme, want of Religion, Godlessenesse, Popishnesse, or Libertinisme, avarice, aspiring; Who being sole (said they) or chief about the King, under the shadow of his authority: first, do trouble the Ministry: secondly, seek to pervert his Majestie, and draw him (if it were possible for them) to the same contempt of Religion; that so in time he might become a persecuter and enemy to the Church, and overthrow it altogether: thirdly, do tread under foot the Common-wealth of this Countrey, by banishing the best of the Nobility, who do love God and the Church best, and are best affected toward the Kings welfare, that they in the meane time may possesse and brook their Lands and Inheritance: And fourthly, who suffered murther, oppression, witch-craft, whooredome, and many other finnes to passe unpunished and uncurbed. This Fast continued the space of a Week, including both the Sundayes.

The Courtiers (notwithstanding of this) contemning and slighting all admonitions, kept on their own wayes and course of committing, banishing, discrediting, and weakening of all such as they thought did favour the Nobility, and were not forward enough to further them, and advance their faction. They ingrossed all places of power and authority to themselves; disarmed, disabled, and diminished all others, and even derided them. Of which dealing I will recompt one example amongst many: I have made mention above, how some discord and variance fell out betwixt *Pitcairne*, Abbot of Dumfermling, and the Earle of Gowrie. Hereupon Gowrie (to match *Pitcairne*) had reconciled himself to the Courtiers, and was thought to side with them, and especially to be very intimate with *Colonell Stuart*. *Pitcairne* laboured to out-shoot the Earle in his own Bow, and for that end sues to the Colonel for his friendship, which because he knew that it was vendible, he sent him the price thereof (according to his estimate) in gold. The Colonell liked the mettall, but not the condition, and therefore he kept both his friendship and the gold to himself; and having shewed it to the King and Gowrie, deriding him, said, that the Abbot had sent him that to draw the King to favour him; and thus was he flouted, and wiped clean of his Moneyes. *William Douglas* of Loughleven was confined in the Merse, for no other fault, but because he was a *Douglas*, and an upright honest man as any was in the Kingdome. *Sir George Hume* of Wedderburne, because he was in Kinne, and a friend of the Earle of Angus, was sent prisoner to the Castle of Downe beyond Forth: *Sir James Hume* of Coldinknows was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh; *Master Cunningham* of Drummehasse was likewise imprisoned; and *Master John Colvill* brother to *Cleish* had been served in the same kinde, if he, fearing their rage, had not prevented it by fleeing. Many others were used after the like sort, it being a sufficient crime to favour any



Gowrie com-  
manded to go  
beyond sea.

Lodowick  
Duke of Len-  
nox brought  
home.

any of the discourted Noblemen. Last of all, a Proclamation was made, wherein the Fact at Ruthven was condemned as foule, abominable, and treasonable, and all the actors therein (or favourers of them) were commanded to depart from Edinburgh, and not to come near the place where the King was, or should happen to be, under the pain of death. The Earle of Gowrie had taken a remission for it, but it served not his turne, nor did him any good at all: for he was particularly charged to go off the Countrey, and not to remain in Scotland, England, or Ireland, with a *non obstante*, notwithstanding any remission obtained before. And to secure themselves yet further, they prohibited all men to carry Pistols, except the Kings Domesticks, and his Guard. They brought home also into Scotland, Lodowick Duke of Lennox (son to Obignie) being then but a child, to strengthen their party, and to tie the Kings affection so much the more to them. He was restored to his fathers estate, & (as a part thereof) to the Lordship of Dalkeith. This being Angus his inheritance, they thought it would engage the Duke in a perpetual enmitie with him, as it is ordinary for a man to hate him whom he wrongs. On these & the like grounds they established to themselves (in their own conceit) a perpetuall & safe estate, which they had so fastned and linked with the Kings, that neither could be brangled without the shaking and over turning of the other. But these courses produced a quite contrary effect, & even then wrought such disposition in men, as did at last overthrow all their plots, and themselves withall. So frail, and so unsure a foundation is iniquity. For Angus as he was altogether innocent of any thing that could be alledged against him, even in their own judgements, so was he universally beloved of all, by an hereditary popularity from his Auncestours, and more for his own known vertues, and therefore being thus wronged in his person, and in his inheritance, he was pitied of all. Marre in like manner, being descended of an honourable, ancient, faithfull and loyall race of Progenitours, as also for his own good parts and conditions, was beloved in like sort, and pitied, notwithstanding that he had been an actor at Ruthven. The Earle of Gowrie (by the contrary) was greatly hated by the Courtiers, and little set by, or regarded by the other partie. He had assisted (with his father) at the slaughtering of *Rixio*, and was the chief man and principall authour and actor in the fact of Ruthven. Yet had he changed his minde and side at S. Andrews, repented him of what he had done at Ruthven, condemned it, and taken a remission for it. Now being casten off by the Court, and commanded to depart off the Countrey, he repents him of his repentance, and condemnes his condemning, and would (if he could) salve all again by his recanting and retracting of this last act. But as the committing of the fact had made him to be hated by the Courtiers, so his condemning of it had brought him to be suspected of the Noblemen. He had condemned himself, and did deserve to be condemned, either for that he had done at Ruthven, or for his condemning of what he did then, and taking a remission for it. He had given a colour to the adverse party to condemne it by his confession and example, and had furnished them with that argument whereby to presse the condemning of it upon the Ministerie or others. For that was their maine argument,

gument, and the string they most harped on, Gowries confession of a fault, and remission for it. All this notwithstanding, he desires to joyne with the Lords, and offers to tie himself to their partie with the strictest bonds that could be devised. Their case was the same with his; all to be utterly undone, unlesse some remedie were found; their enemies were the same with his, the guiders of Court; neither should they onely bee overthrown, but with them and through them the estate of Religion, and of the whole Countrey. This as it was spetious, so was it most true and certain, and which could not be denied. But what society could be sure with the Earle of Gowrie so often changing? If his changing proceeded from fraud and deceit, who could joyne with him? Or if it were from feare, what sure hold could they have of one so fearfull? Even Angus himself (whose nature was farre from distrusting) could not but distrust and suspect him. Onely, his present case seemed to plead for his sincerity at this time; which was such, that he knew not where to shelter or secure himself, but by joyning with them. For he was charged to depart out of the Kingdome, which was a token of no good will, nay of true enmity with the Court: or certainly, a deeper dissimulation than any man could conceiue. And as necessitie did force him to take part with them, so were they also no lesse urged by necessitie to admit and receive him, in respect of his great power & friendship in those quarters. The Earl of Athol and the Lord Oglebee (two Noblemen of great power and command) were his sonnes-in-law: *In the chairfrey* and *Drummond* his dear friends; and he himself was Sheriffe of Perth, and Provest of the Town. Wherefore Angus his confinement being enlarged to the North-water, and he residing in the Castle of Brechin (his brother the Earle of Marrs house) he sent one † Master *David Hume*, whom he trusted, to conferre with him, that hee might trie and sound his minde as narrowly as he could, and report to him what hee found. The Gentleman found him in words, in countenance, and in gesture greatly perplexed, solicitous for his estate, besides the affairs of the Countrey, and greatly afraid of the violence of the Courtiers. So that looking very pitifully upon his Gallerie where wee were walking at that time (which hee had but newly built and decorated with Pictures) he brake out into these words, having first fetched a deep sigh; *Cousin* (sayes he) *Is there no remedie? Et impius hæc tunc culta novaliamiles habebit? Barbarus hæc segetes?* Whereupon he was perswaded of his upright meaning, and at his returne perswaded the Earle of Angus thereof also. So partly upon this assurance, partly enforced by necessity (there being no possibility to be strong in those parts without his concurrence) hee resolved to assume him into their fellowship and society. Then did those scruples and doubts arise in Angus his minde, which are incident to honest natures and loyall dispositions. Hee considered that banding against Courtiers would be called, and seem to be combining against Authority and the King; for hee would take their part for the present: so was he to force his will, whom his heart carried him to honour. But what should hee doe? There was no other way (that he could devise) to secure their estates, their houses, themselves, their Countrey, and all honest men from oppression and

† Master *David Hume*.

and ruine, to preserve Religion (which ought to be dear to all men; and was dear to him) nay, even to save the King himself (whose safetie did consist in the preservation of the Church and Kingdome) and to deliver him, and pluck him out of the claws of these Harpies, whose oppression and wickednesse did reflect upon him, and redound to his dishonour: For whatsoever they did, was done in his name, and said to be the Kings will and pleasure. Their banishing of Noblemen, and oppressing of all sorts and ranks of men, without difference or respect, so that there was no honest man but stood in continuall fear of losing his life and estate: all this was laid upon the King. Their avarice was insatiable, their malice cruell, and their suspicion unsatisfiable. They stood not upon reason, law or right; any pretence (which they never wanted) served them for a warrant to seize mens persons or estates. Their ordinary course was to summond a man *super inquirendis*, and if he did compeir, to commit him to a free or close prison; if hee were afraid, and did not compeir, hee was found guiltie of rebellion, denounced, and his goods seized. They would be sure not to want witnesses to prove any thing against any man, by torturing his servants; or himself, to wring something out of him, which might bee matter against him, through impatiencie, and the violence of the Rack: At least hee should bee sure to bee vexed by re-examinations, and with-drawn from his necessary affairs, that so hee might bee constrained to buy his libertie and leave to stay at home, with some portion of his land, or a piece of money.

These doings of theirs, though many knew that the King did not allow of them, yet being coloured with his authoritie, were apt to alienate (and might in time produce that effect) the mindes of the Subjects from their Prince, as also the heart of the Prince from his Subjects, by their filling his ears with jealousies, and by making vertue a cause of suspicion, and him that was vertuous in any eminent measure, suspected and hated; and on the contrary, vice and the vicious to have vogue and credit, and to over-rule all.

How could this bee obviated, unlesse these men were removed? And how could they be removed without controlling of the King? And to contrary him (though it were for his good and safetie) how ill would it be taken by him? *Inuitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti*: To save a man against his will, is commonly rewarded with slender thanks. *Patriam & parentes cogere etiamsi possis, & utile sit, tamen importunum est*: To save a Prince against his will, and to force him for his good, how dangerous a point is it? For they account it as their life to reigne, and no reigning without absolute-nesse, unlesse they reigne at libertie, without any controllment, were it never so little. But there was no remedie; whoso undertakes any great enterprize, must resolve to passe through some danger.

And it is good for Kings sometimes that their hands bee held.  
Had

had *Alexanders* hands been held when he killed *Clitus*, hee had not offered to kill himselfe, nor should *Calistines* have needed to take such pains with him, to make him digest his griefe for it. If speeches could have prevailed with the Courtiers, the Ministers had tried that way, but with bad successe: for they were accounted seditious and traitorous for their liberty and freedom therein. Wherefore there was nothing remaining but to remove them at what ever rate: and if his Majestie should take it ill for the present, future obsequiousnesse would make it appeare, that what they did, was in love and humilitie, and no wayes out of any treasonable or malicious intention, or out of arrogancy, pride, or presumption. The French Proverbe taketh place; *Il faut passer par la*: there was no other way besides; no audience, no accessse could bee had to him by any other means.

So they conclude to joyne their pains, and to partake of the perill. The way resolved upon, was, to assemble themselves at Stirling with their Forces; there to supplicate the King, and to make their declaration to the Countrey: to intimate their grievances and desires, with all respect to his Majestie, and with all evidence and plainnesse, against the Courtiers.

For this end, the Earle of Marre and Master of Glams should bee sent for, and first finde meanes to take in the Castle of Stirling (an easie taske for the Earle of Marre to performe, having his friends lying near to it, and the Towne devoted to his service) then the Earle of Gowrie should goe thither (who lay nearest to it) together with the Earle of Athole, the Lord *Oglebie*, the *Drummonds*, and the *Murrays*: Next to him the Earle of Angus from Brechin, to whom his friends would repaire out of the South parts, the Merse, Liddesdale and other parts: The Earle *Bothwell*, my Lord *Lindsay*, and diverse others of the Nobilitie were also on the party, and had promised to joyne with them.

Being once Conveened, and having the affection of the Ministerie and Burrowes, they hoped to bee strong enough against these new mens owne power, assisted onely by their particular friends. If the Kings name were used against them, there behoved to bee a Convention of the Nobilitie, and Barons, who would heare the Cause, judge impartially, and informe the King truely, without flattery or feare of the courtiers, whom they hated; neither could they doubt of his equitie, and tractablenesse, when hee should understand how things were. So the businesse should end without bloud, and have a good and happy issue. And if the worst should come, yet were it better to die nobely in the field, then to bee hailed to the scaffold and suffer by the hand of the Executioner.

Thus did they propose, but God did dispose of things otherwayes. Men know not the Councell and secrets of the Almighty, whose determination doth onely stand and come to passe. He had not ordained, that they should execute their designs, nor that they should die in the quarrel;

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it was to be done by another way, and at another time: the cup of their iniquitie, was not yet full against whom they tooke armes. Wherefore they were disappointed at this time, which fell out thus. The Earle of Gowry was charged the second of March to depart the Countrey within fifteen dayes. Hee shifted and delayed, this affrighted the Courtiers, or gave them occasion to seeme affraid, and to put the King into a feare and suspition, that there was some enterprise in hand against him: whereupon the Citizens of Edinburgh were made to keepe a watch about the Pallace. Gowrie made shew as if hee had intended to obey the charge (contrary to the advice of his associates) and that they might beleefe that his intention was reall, hee goeth to Dundie, causeth provide a ship, and make all things ready, so that the Courtiers were not more affraid that hee would stay, then his Partners were that hee would hoise saile, and bee gone. Especially, the Earle of Angus distrusted him, and was jealous of his dissimulation, being uncertaine whether it were with the Court, or with them that hee did thus dissemble.

Gowry taken  
at Dundie.

At last having trifled out the time, till mid Aprill, Colonell *William Stuart* came to Dundie, and having a small company with him, setteth upon him at unawares, and made him save himselfe in his lodging. Then having brought some pieces of Ordnance out of the ships, which lay in the Haven, being aided by the Townesmen (to whom hee had brought a Commission, and warrant from the King) hee began to batter the house; whereupon it was rendered, and the Earle taken prisoner. By chance as this was in doing, a servant of the Earle of Angus, coming from Dalkeith by Dundie, and having seene all that had happened, made haste, and came to Brechen about twelve a clock of the night, where hee gave his Lord notice of what hee had seen. Hee arose presently, being much moved therewith, and sending for the Gentleman, whom hee had imployed to trie his minde before, made a heavie moane, bewailing the overthrow of their cause, and of themselves. Then hee asked his opinion what hee thought of it, and first told his owne, that hee thought it could bee nothing else but deceit, and collusion, which hee had ever feared, and was now evident, that his going to Dundie (contrary to his advise) had no other end but this: and that his lingering proceeded from the same ground. For (said hee) how could the Colonell undertake to apprehend him with so small a number of men, if hee had not himselfe beene willing to bee taken? If hee doubted, or distrusted the towne of Dundie, why did hee commit himselfe to them, or come in their power? Why did hee not stay at Perth, where hee was out of all danger, till the time appointed were come? Doubtlesse, hee hath betrayed us all, and hath colluded to suffer himselfe to bee taken, so to colour his unfaithfull dealing with us.

It was answered, that hee could not approve his coming to Dundie, which hee ever disliked, and had laboured to dissuade him from it, but could not prevaile: yet it seemed a hard construction to thinke that hee came thither of purpose to act a fained apprehending:  
That

that his slownesse and lingering was well knowne to bee his naturall disposition, ( being another *Fabius Cunctator* in that point ) which hee had often found by former experience, and often contested with him for it. But to thinke him false in such a degree, or to imagine him to bee so foolish as to come in the hands of those Courtiers, with a crime lying on him, ( though but counterfeited ) it was such a point, that for his owne part, his opinion was, that he durst not do it, lest they should make use of it for his ruine, and convert a colluded crime into a true dittie, and so worke his death. But this could not satisfie the Earle of Angus, but still hee kept his opinion, that there was no realitie in that act of Gowries apprehending. And hee was the more confirmed therein, when he heard that the Colonell carried Gowry to the houses of his owne especiall friends, such as *Weemes* of *Wester-Weemes*, whose sonne offered to set him at liberty, and to take him out of the Colonels hands, and to goe with him himselve, which hee refused to doe. Angus passed the rest of that night in great sollicitude and feare, lest hee himselve should bee assailed, and taken after the same manner, which had beene no hard matter to performe, hee having but a small family, and the Castle not being furnished with Armes, the Earle of Crawford lying hard at hand with his dependers, and that whole Countrey being evill affected to him.

But whether the Colonell had no Commission to take him, or that hee did not thinke of it, and thought hee had sped well enough already by taking Gowry, is uncertain: but however it were, hee went away with the prey hee had gotten without attempting any thing against Angus. And yet for all that, Angus was not altogether secure, knowing well his danger, and the small power hee had to defend himselve: for in the day time hee went abroad a hunting, that they might not know where to finde him: and in the night, hee caused his servants to keepe watch, that hee might not bee surprized unawares.

Within three dayes after, the Earle of Marre sent to him, to let him know, that the Master of Glames and hee had performed their part of the worke, had taken the Castle of Stirling, and were ready to wait upon his coming, which they entreated him to hasten. There was no choice, they were his true friends, and hee was no lesse theirs: and they were resolved to runne the same hazard in that course, from which there was no retiring for any of them. Angus desired the Lord *Oglebee*, and Master *Oglebee* of Powrie, with others of that name, to goe with him. They were allied to the Earle of Gowry, and were well affected to the businesse, as also they were his owne vassals, but being terrified with Gowries taking, and thinking that their joyning with the Lords would incense the Courtiers to take some hard course with him, and not knowing what his minde was herein, they refused to goe. Hee notwithstanding, goeth with his owne family, from Brechin to Stirling, and avoyding Perth, he crossed the river of Tay, at that place where it meets with Almont by boat, and comes to Inshachaffray, where he lodged with the Lord thereof, but could not perswade

D d d 2

him



Angus comes  
to Stirling to  
the Lords.

him to take part with them for the same reason, when he came to Stirling he was kindly welcomed by Marre, and the rest that were there, and presently dispatched away letters, and messengers to *Douglas*, and other places, for his friends and dependers to come thither to him, with as great speed and diligence as they could. He wrote also to *Robert Douglas* (eldest sonne to *William Douglas*) of *Logh-leven* to the same purpose; but the letter falling into the hands of his mother (her name was *Leslie*) she tooke upon her to answer it after this manner. "It is not enough (saith she) for you to undertake so foolish a worke, whereby you cannot but ruine your selves, but you would also draw my sonne and house to the same destruction: I have hindered him, and laid my curse and malediction upon him, if hee take part with you, like as I doe upon you, if you make him disobey me.

This letter moved him very much, and he caused an answer to be returned to her according as it merited, which was thus. "I can very well beleieve that it is your doing to keep backe your sonne from so honourable an enterprize, knowing his owne disposition to bee alwayes honourable and noble, and such as of himselfe hee would not neglect, his duety either to his friends, or countrey. The Noblemen that are convened here, have entered upon such a course as becomes them, for discharging their duetie both to God and man: what the event will prove, is knowne onely to God, and in his hands alone; if wee perish herein, wee cannot perish more honourably. Yet wee hope that God, in whom we confide, and whose cause wee have taken in hand, will worke out our safety, and accomplish that which wee intend for the good of his owne Church; when you and your house (for which you are so sollicitous, with the neglect of the house of God, and of all friendly duety) shall finde the smart of such carelesse indifferency, and perish (as we feare, and are sory for it) through such carnall and worldly wisdome and warinesse. And so indeed the event proved more answerable to this prediction then he wished: for the Lords escaped into England (for that time) and were safe in their persons, and within a yeere and a halfe, they brought their designes to passe, (which were now frustrate) by Gods blessing upon them: but her sonne *Robert*, and her son in law *Lawrence*, Master of *Olyphant*, being commanded to depart the Countrey, as they were sailing for France, perished at sea, and neither they nor the ship, nor any that belonged thereto, were ever seene againe, yet how it came to passe is uncertain.

The most common report is, that being set upon by the Hollanders, and having defended themselves valiantly, they slew a principall man of the enemies; in revenge whereof they sanke the ship, and all that were in her: Others say, that after they had yeelded themselves, they were hanged upon the mast. A pitifull case, but a notable example. The youthes were noble, active, and of great hope and expectation, and so great pittie of their losse. But it may shew us how little suretie there is in too great affecting of it; as on the contrary, how perills are avoyded by hazarding and undergoing of perill. And their case is so much the more to bee pittied, and lamented; as that they themselves



selves were very unwilling to have followed such perverse wisdom, had they not been forced to it by their mothers importunity.

The Lords proceeded as they could with their intended course. They caused set forth a Declaration, shewing their minde and purpose, together with the causes thereof, the abuses in Church and Common-wealth. The Lords Declaration.

“ They remonstrated what tyranny was exercised by *James Stuart*, under  
 “ colour and pretext of the Kings will and pleasure; how the Nobilitie,  
 “ and men of all rankes, were vexed by him; what mis-reports were  
 “ made of them to their Prince; what violence used against them; what  
 “ evils were presently felt, and what more were to be feared and looked  
 “ for hereafter to ensue hereupon: The distraction of the hearts of the  
 “ people from their Prince, and of the Prince from his people; the blasting  
 “ ing of the greatest hopes of vertue that ever was in a young Prince,  
 “ and of his pietie, in the solid use of true Religion; by working feare of  
 “ the contrarie; tyrannizing in government, and superficiall profession  
 “ of Religion, yea of reducing Poperie, or (which is worse) of irreligion  
 “ and Atheisme. They told how deare their Religion, their Countrey,  
 “ their Prince was to them; what their owne estate and condition  
 “ forced them to; what the care of all these required of them, out of  
 “ dutie, in regard of their place, being Nobles, and Peeres of the Land,  
 “ and Privie Counsellours by birth; how every man, according to his  
 “ place, was bound to lend a helping hand, but chiefly those of the Nobilitie,  
 “ yet not excluding either Barons, Burgeses, or men of whatever  
 “ degree, ranke, or qualitie, when the common Ship of the State was  
 “ in hazard, and in danger of being overwhelmed and perishing, and  
 “ when there was such a fire kindled as would devoure all, if it were not  
 “ quenched in time. How they, for their owne part, after long patience,  
 “ seeing all things grow worse, had now at last (being driven thereto by  
 “ necessity) called to minde what duty, conscience, God, and the station  
 “ wherein God had placed them, did crave of them: which was, to endeavour,  
 “ that wicked Counsellours (namely *James Stuart*, called Earle  
 “ of Arran, chiefe Authour of all the mischief) might be removed from  
 “ about his Majestie, after such a manner as they could best doe it. And  
 “ since no access was free, and no man durst or would undertake to present  
 “ their supplications to the King, which contained a true information  
 “ of his owne estate, of the State of the Church and Countrey, together  
 “ with theirs; therefore they had convened in Arms, not intending  
 “ any hurt to their Prince (whom they ever had honoured, and still did  
 “ honour, and whose welfare was their chiefe end and aime) or to wrong  
 “ any good subject, but for defence of their owne persons, untill they  
 “ should inform his Majestie of that which concerned him, and belonged  
 “ to them to remonstrate unto him, either in his owne presence, or by a  
 “ publick Proclamation, that so it might come to his eares, which otherwise  
 “ these wicked Counsellours did and would hinder him from hearing:  
 “ and that so it might come to the knowledge of all men, and move  
 “ the hearts of such as had true, honest, and courageous hearts, to con-  
 “ curre with them in that so honourable and necessary a worke. Wherefore

“ fore they exhorted all men that they would not , through fearfulnessse,  
 “ or a vaine opinion of obedience to the pretended command of a Prince  
 “ (who then was best obeyed, when God was obeyed , and wickednessse  
 “ punished ; who did then truly reigne, when wicked Councell was re-  
 “ moved) withdraw themselvs by lurking, & abandon the common good,  
 “ in hope to provide for their own particular safety, which was not possi-  
 “ ble for them to doe at any time or in any case ; much lesse under such a  
 “ man could there be any security for any good and honest man, he being  
 “ so violent, proud, tyrannicall, unjust, and such a profane mocker of Reli-  
 “ gion , who would not be tied to, or guided by any law or reason , but  
 “ was carried away by his owne appetite and ambition , and who was  
 “ more fit to be the executioner of a bloody *Nero*, then a Counsellour to  
 “ such a just and Christian Prince : farre lesse to be sole Ruler and Com-  
 “ mander of the Kingdome under the shadow of his Majesties authority,  
 “ having so abused and polluted his name , who was so honoured in his  
 “ cradle, and admired through the world for his hopefulnessse , and great  
 “ expectation of all princely vertues. Whoso truly loued him, ought to  
 “ concurre and lend their aid to plucke him out of the jawes of these  
 “ worse then wilde beasts, that so his estate, kingdome, honour, and per-  
 “ son (both in soule and body) might be preserved.

This was the summe and straine of their Declarations and Letters sent abroad to move men to joyne with them in this businesse , but all was in vaine : for despaire of doing any good at this time had so possessed the hearts of all men, that even the best affected did choose to sit still, and lie quiet. The Earle of Gowries apprehending had so astonished them, and the incertaintie how to construe it did so amaze them , that all his friends (who should have made up a great part of their forces ) as Athole and others, absenting themselves, others fainted and held off. Even Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, a man both zealously affected to the cause , and entirely loving the Actors (*Marre* and *Angus* ) as being tied to them by bloud, alliance, and particular intimatenesse of friendship, though he were acquainted with their proceedings from time to time, and being prisoner in the Castle of Downe in Monteceth , might easily have escaped from thence, and come to them to Stirlin, yet did he avoid all meddling therein, and would neither receive nor send message concerning that matter : yea, they themselves were contented that he should doe so in that generall desertion, having gained nothing by their Declaration and Remonstrance, save the publishing of their Apologie , which was not necessary to friends (whose approbation they had already) and wrought nothing upon others. For though the King had a copie thereof delivered into his own hand (which they greatly desired, that thereby he might know the naked truth of things, and be truly informed of the Courtiers carriage and behaviour) yet did it produce no effect to purpose : neither did they make any use thereof, that was known, either to informe and perswade the King of the things contained therein , or to reforme themselves. Wherefore now their whole thoughts ranne onely upon this, how to come off, their lives safe, and reserve themselves to a better and more convenient time : so incertaine is the event of all humane enterprises. The Courtiers failed

not

not to make contrary Proclamations in the Kings name; the bare shew whereof (though there were but very few that favoured them or their proceedings in their heart) was of such force, that men convened thereupon out of all quarters. It was made in the strictest forme, commanding all that were able to beare Armes, from fixteene yeares of age to fixtie, to assemble themselves, and to bring with them provision of victuall for thirty dayes, to march whither the King should be pleased to direct them. Hereupon *Francis Stuart* Earle of Bothwell came with his forces to Edinburgh, where the King was: but he being brother-in-law to the Earle of Angus (having married his sister) the Courtiers did not like of his company, and so he was commanded to returne home againe to his house. He was indeed of the Lords faction, and so were many others who obeyed the Kings proclamation, who, if they had had hearts and heads, were enow of themselves to have taken order with the Courtiers. But being dast with feare of they knew not what (if they had considered aright) they looked upon one another, and so were forced to guard those men whom they could have wished to be hanged.

The Town of Edinburgh were commanded to reach out 500. Musketiers, which they did, and this was the Courtiers greatest strength, yet consisting of the vulgar, and such as had no obligation to binde their fidelitie to them, and (if they had seen the Nobilitie & Gentry go about to take them in hand) would not have made great opposition, nor have hazarded themselves for the Courtiers safety, in all likelihood. However, Colonell *William Stuart* is sent with 500. men to Fawlkirke, whereupon the Lords at Stirling went to a consultation to see what were best for them to doe. They had not with them above 300. men, which were their owne proper followers; yet being resolute, willing, forward, and active Gentlemen, it was thought fittest by some to assaile him, and to punish his boldnesse and audacitie for taking such charge upon him, being but a meane Gentleman, to invade and come against the Nobility. Diddaine, anger, and courage seemed to approve of this resolution, that so his malapertnesse might be chastised and dashed. Neither were it without good use; for if he were once defeated, the rest would make a halt, and not be so forward: that the first successe is of great moment, and might bring matters to a parley, or such as craved audience of the King to get it: that it was no hard matter to doe, he being accompanied by such as cared not for his personall safety, and had no tye to defend him with the hazard of their owne lives especially, but would be glad to have a faire excuse, and occasion to abandon such an one, in such a quarrell: especially if he were invaded in the night, the darknesse would excuse, and take away their shame of flying. It was argued of the other side, that night conflicts were subject to hazard, errour, and mistaking, as well on their owne side, as the enemies: and that it could not be performed without blood, and that (perhaps) of the most innocent, whereas he himselfe, whom they chiefly aimed at, might escape: neither would the defeat of these few bring successe to the cause, the enemies forces remaining whole and entire in Edinburgh, which would guard and defend them: besides,  
by

## 386 *Of Archbald the third of that Name,*

The Lords  
flee from Stir-  
ling toward  
England.

by so doing they should be involved in a crime, and made obnoxious to the lawes, which as yet they were free of: that it were better to suffer the guiltie to goe unpunished for a while, then to spill the bloud of the guiltlesse: and seeing they could not thereby accomplish what they had intended, their best was to retire and withdraw themselves, with as great innocencie and modestie as they could, having done hurt to no man. This advice prevailed with them, and so they concluded to march in the night season toward Fawkirke, but so soone as they were gone out of the towne of Stirling, to take the way that leadeth to Lanericke; the which they did accordingly, leaving the Castle of Stirling in the custodie of *David Hume of Argatie*.

Being in Lanerick, as they were refreshing themselves, and baiting their horses, word was brought them that a Troup of horsemen did approach: whereupon fearing that it was Colonell *Stuart* pursuing them, they took horse, and sent *Archbald Douglas* (called the Constable, because he had beene Constable of the Castle of Edinburgh in the Earle of Mortons time, as hath beene shewed before) to discover what they were. Hee finding that it was *Johnstoun* (who had beene sent for to Edinburgh to assist against the Lords, and was dismist upon their retreat from Stirling) went familiarly to him, fearing no harme, so much the rather, because *Johnstoun* and Angus were brothers by their mother. But *Johnstoun* either fearing that notice might be given to the Courtiers, and he challenged thereof, if he should let him goe; or to get thanks, and shew his forwardnesse to their service, layes hold on him, and carries him immediately backe to Edinburgh, declaring what way he came into his hands, and what way the Lords had taken, delivering also *Archbald* their prisoner to be used at their pleasure, not looking for such cruelty from them as he found. For they, partly to seale the justice of their cause by bloud, partly to make the greater alienation betwixt the brothers (*Johnstoun* and Angus) that being out of hope of reconciliation, he might be necessitated to cleave to their side: they thanke him in words for this his good office, and hang *Archbald*.

*Archbald Douglas*  
hanged.

The Earle of Angus, and the rest that were with him, being resolved to goe into England, tooke their way through Tweddale toward Branxton: from thence passing through east Tiviotdale, they entered England on that hand. Also, where the Earle Bothwell remained, was not farre out of their way; wherefore as they passed by it, it being now night, hee came forth to them secretly, and had conference with them. Thereafter, as if hee had come to pursue them, there was a counterfeit chase made, and a counterfeited fleeing for the space of a mile, till they were on English ground. The next day they came to Berwicke, where they were received, and remained a certaine space.

*Argatie* executed.

After their departure, the King went to Stirling with his forces, where the Castle was rendred by the Keepers, who forced the Captain to yeeld it absolutely, without condition of so much as their lives safe. So hee and three more were executed by the Courtiers suggestion. Here also the Earle of Gowrie was brought from Kenniel, and arraigned

arraigned of high Treason, whereof being condemned by a Jurie, hee was beheaded. Neither did the forbearance of his friends to joyne with the Lords at Stirling (then in England) procure him any favour; whereas if they had joyned with them, and so strengthened their party, they might have terrified the Enemy, and obtained better conditions for him. Hee was executed the eight and twentieth day of April 1584. The points whereof he was convicted, were the fact at Ruthven; and the late enterprize at Stirling. His speech was short; hee answered "to the first, That he had a remission for it: and to the second, That "there was no intention there against the King: onely they had purposed to remove those wicked men who abused him, and whose thirst of "bloud hee wished that his death might quench. But they cared little for his speeches, and as little for his alliance, his Countesse being a *Stuart* of the house of Methven, toward whom and her children they shewed no respect at all, but used them with all incompassionate rigour and crueltie. For she coming to intreat for her self and her children (in the time of the Parliament) and having fallen down upon her knees before the King, shee was troden under foot, and left lying in a sound.

Gowrie beheaded at Stirling. 1584. the 28. of April.

His Lady basely and beastly used.

Parliament at Edinburgh the 22. of May 1584. The Lords forfeited.

From Stirling they returned to Edinburgh, and there kept a Parliament the two and twentieth day of May, in which the Earle of Angus and Marre, the late Earle of Gowrie, and the Master of Glames, with divers Barons, and others their associates were forfeited; the fact of Ruthven condemned, the order of Church-government (by Presbyteries, Synodes, and Generall Assemblies; which had been received, and publickly allowed in Scotland, all men swearing and subscribing thereto, and the oath translated into divers languages with great approbation of forraine reformed Churches, and no small commendation of the King and Countrey) forbidden and prohibited, and termed unlawfull conventions. And in place thereof the office of Bishops (condemned by this Church as unlawfull, as an invention of mans braine, having no warrant of the word of God) was reared up again and erected. Also Master *Robert Montgomerie* (who had been excommunicated for accepting such an office) was now released and restored to his place. There was strait inhibiting all men from speaking against these Acts, against the Kings proceedings, Counsellours, or Courtiers under highest paines. What shall the Ministers do here? Shall they oppose? That were to cast themselves into certain danger; and to expose themselves to the crueltie of cruell men, armed now with a colour of law. Should they keep silence? hear with patience that order blasphemed, which they had approven, received, sworn to, and the contrary (which they had detested, abominated, condemned) set up and allowed, to their no small disgrace, and shame of the Countrey; yea, to his Majesties discredit in forraine Nations: and suffer a doore to bee opened to those corruptions, which had been kept out of the Church, both in doctrine & manners, by vertue of that order, which onely (in their conscience) was agreeable with Scripture? This their zealous hearts could not endure: let all perill be silent; where conscience and Religion speak: let no enemy breathe out his threatnings, where the minde is set on God. So it came to passe here. For while the Acts were in proclaiming at the

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Market-

Protestation  
against the  
Acts of Par-  
liament by  
the Ministers.

Market-Crosse of Edinburgh, the Pastours of that Towne, Master *James Lowson*, Master *Walter Balcanquell*, Master *Robert Punt*, taking their lives in their hands, went boldly and made publick Protestation against that Act of the erection of Bishops, as unlawfull, in many respects, whereof they took instruments. Hereupon they being menaced, to avoide their furie, Master *Walter Balcanquell* flees to Berwick, together with Master *James Lowson*: Thither came also after them Master *James Carmichael* (Minister at Hadinton) Master *John Davison*, and *William Aird*, Ministers of the Suburbs of Edinburgh, or some Churches neare to it: also Master *Patrick Galloway*, and Master *James Melvin*, with divers others of the Ministerie. Edinburgh being thus destitute of Pastours, Master *Patrick Adamson* (Archbishop of Saint Andrews) was brought to supply their places, and to maintaine the lawfulnessse of the office the seven and twentieth day of May, being Wednesday, which was an ordinary Sermon day, but on which the Courtiers were not ordinary auditours. But that day they would needs accompany their Bishop, and grace him with the Kings personall presence. Yet the people disgraced him by their absence; they disdained to heare a Bishop, other than a Pastour, whose office is not ordained by G O D in the Scriptures, and was ejected out of the Church of Scotland; wherefore being grieved to see this Wolfe in their true Pastours place, they go out of the Church and leave him to preach almost alone. Besides the common people, the Kings owne Ministers Master *John Craig*, and *John Brand*, also *John Herriese* (with others) preached against it, and were therefore summoned to appeare before the Councell the five and twentieth day of August; where they were reviled and rebuked with bitter words, as sawcie and presumptuous fellowes; and being demanded how they durst speak against the Kings Lawes, "they answered boldly, that they both durst and would speak against such Lawes as were repugnant to the word of G O D. Hereupon the Earle of Arran starting up suddenly upon his feet in a great rage, fell a swearing many an oath, and with a frowning countenance said unto them, "that they were too proud to speak such language to the Councell; adding, that hee would shave their heads, paire their nailes, and cut their toes, that they might bee an example to others. Then hee warnes them to compeir before the King himself at Falkland the foure and twentieth day of September; where they were accused againe by the Earle of Arran (then Chancellor) for breaking of the Kings injunctions, in not acknowledging nor obeying his Bishops. To which they answered, that Bishops were no lawfull office of the Church, having never beene instituted by Christ; and that therefore they would not obey them; nor no person else that would command without warrant of the word of G O D; assuring him that G O D would humble all proud Tyrants that did lift up themselves against him: as for them, their lives were not so deare to them, but that they would bee contented to spend them in that cause. Arran arising from his seat, and sitting down on his knees, sayes to them scoffingly, I know you are the Prophets of God, and your words

Arran mocks  
the Ministers.

“ words must needs come to passe ; behold now you see me humbled  
 “ and brought low. Well, well, (saith Master *John Craig*) mock on as  
 “ you please , assure your selfe , G O D sees , and will require it at  
 “ your hands , that you thus trouble his Church , unlesse you repent.  
 Then they were remitted to the sixteenth day of November , and in  
 the mean time Master *John Craig* was discharged to preach. About  
 this time ( in November ) Master *James Lowson* died at London, meek-  
 ly and sweetly as he had lived. Edinburgh had been all this while  
 destitute of Pastours , and did want preaching at sometimes for the  
 space of three weeks. This was very odious amongst the people,  
 and now ( Master *John Craig* being silenced ) they were like to  
 want oftner than they had done : to remedie this, the Archbishop of  
 Saint Andrews was ordained to preach to them , and the Towne-  
 Councill ordained to receive him as their ordinary Pastour. The  
 Councill obeyed , but the people would not heare him , and when  
 they saw him come up to the Pulpit , they arose , and went forth at the  
 Church doores.

The Ministers every where persisted to oppose that office , and by  
 common consent appointed a Fast to be kept the foure and twentieth  
 day of October , whereof they publickly and advowedly gave out  
 these to be the causes : “ First , to stay the creeping in of Wolves  
 “ ( meaning Bishops : ) Secondly , that G O D might send true Pa-  
 “ stours : Thirdly, that he would repair the breaches and decayings of  
 “ the Church ( which had been sometime the Lanterne of the world : )  
 “ Fourthly, that he might remove the causes of this decay ( tyranny, and  
 “ the flatterie of Courtiers. ) This was plainer language than plea-  
 “ sant , they behooved to be wisely dealt with. There are two wayes  
 “ to deal and work upon men : by fear and by hope : by terrifying and  
 “ flattering ; they used both these toward them. Wee heard how the  
 “ sixteenth day of November was appointed for their compearance :  
 “ many therefore were warned against that day from divers parts.  
 “ When they were conveened , they were pressed to allow of the Act  
 “ concerning Bishops ; and in token of their approbation thereof, to pro-  
 “ mise and subscribe obedience to their Ordinary. To move them here-  
 “ to , they partly flattered , and partly threatned them ; saying , That  
 “ all was well meant, and no hurt intended to Religion : Who was  
 “ so well affected to it as the King ? Who so learned among Princes ?  
 “ Who so sincere ? That he would respect and reward the worthy  
 “ and obedient : And by the contrary , no Stipend should be payed to  
 “ him that refused ; but hee should be deprived , imprisoned , banish-  
 “ ed. When all this could not prevaile, they devise how to temper and  
 “ qualifie their promise of obedience , which was conceived in these  
 “ words ; You shall acknowledge and obey Bishops , according to the  
 “ word of God. This seeming a restriction and limitation ( as if the mean-  
 ing had been that they should allow of , and obey Bishops as far as the  
 word of God allowed , and ordained them to be obeyed ) many took it  
 for good Coyne , and were so perswaded of it, that some said in plaine  
 terms , Bring a Cart full of such Papers , and we will subscribe them all.

E e e 2

For



For to obey such a Bishop in such a sort ( according to the word of GOD, that is, so far as the word of God commands to obey him ) is not to obey him at all : for the word of GOD commands not any obedience at all to such a Bishop : neither doth it ordain , acknowledge, or once name such a Bishop. Thus either truly deceived , or deceiving themselves , that they might redeeme their ease by yeelding , and cover their yeelding with an equivocation , they found that it was all in vaine ; for they were not admitted nor permitted to expound it in that sort ( whatsoever their meaning was ) but were forced to accept of the exposition which the Court and the Bishops did put upon it : who understood that phrase ( according to the word of God ) not as a limitation but affirmatively , wherein it was acknowledged that the word of God did command obedience to them ; and therefore they promised obedience according to that command. Notwithstanding of all this, divers stood out, and would no wayes be moved , neither by threatnings nor by promises to give the least shew of approbation directly or indirectly , by equivocation , or any other forme whatsoever ; but spake plainly against them, and prayed publickly for the banished brethren. Of these Master *Nicholas Dagleish* was one; who thereupon was accused as too bold to pray for the Kings Rebels. He answered, *that they were no Rebels, but true Subjects, who had fled from tyranny , and such as sought their lives by commanding them to doe against their conscience.* Hee was empannelled , put to his trial by an assise , and was cleansed , in despite and maugre the Court ; so farre there remained conscience in men. But the Courtiers will not let him escape thus dry-shod ; they labour to finde a hole in his Coat another way : they search and finde that a Letter had come from Master *Walter Balcanquell* to his wife , which because shee could not well read the hand , shee had given him to read to her , and he had read it. Hereupon he is again put to an assise : and they, not daring to cleanse him , yet would they not finde him guilty ; but desired him to come into the Kings will. Hee was contented to submit himself to the Kings pleasure ( for so much as concerned the reading of the Letter ) and so was sent to the Tolbooth , where hee remained three weeks, and was from thence sent to Saint Andrews.

And thus went Church-matters ; In the civill government there was none now but the Earle of Arran , he lacked the name of King ; but hee ruled as absolutely , and commanded more imperiously than any King , under the shadow of the Kings authority , and the pretext that all that he did was for the Kings good and safety. Hee had gotten before the keeping of the Castle of Stirling ; he behooved also to have the Castle of Edinburgh in his power. *Alexander Ereskin* ( Uncle to the Earle of Marre ) was Captain of it , hee must needs favour his Nephew and his Faction : wherefore it was taken from him , and given to Arran , who was also made Provest of the Towne. Hee was Chancellour of Scotland , and having put out *Pitcairne* , Abbot of Dumfermling , hee made Master *John Metelane* Secretary. Hee did whatsoever hee pleased ; if there were no Law for it , it was all one , hee caused make a Law to serve his ends.

It

It was observed, that his Lady said to one who alledged there was no law for doing of what shee desired to have done ; *It is no matter* (said shee) *wee shall cause make an Act of Parliament for it.* If any man refused to do or grant any thing hee craved , they were sure to bee tossed and vexed for it ; even the chief of the Nobility. Athole , Cassils , and the Lord *Hume* were committed : Athole, because hee would not divorce from his wife , and entaile his estate to him : the Earle, or Master of Cassils , because hee would not give him a great summe of Money, under the name of a Loane : the Lord *Hume*, because he would not give him his portion of Dirleton. Also the Lord *Maxwell* ( then Earle of Morton ) was quarrelled, because hee would not excambe his Baronie of Pooke , and *Maxwell* ( his old inheritance ) for a parcell of the Lord *Hamiltons* Lands , which were now his by forfeiture. Many Lands had hee taken from many , but was never satisfied , ever seeking to adde possession to possession, which was not impertinently remonstrated to him by *John Barton* Goldsmith , a wittie and free-spoken man. Hee had directed this *Barton* to make him a Seale , and to carve on it his Coat of Armes duely quartered according to his Lands and Honours. This he did pretty well to his contentment , but he left one quarter thereof blank and void. Hereof when the Earle asked the reason , he answered , *That there maybe room for the Lands your Lordship shall purchase hereafter.* Hee took for his Motto , *Sic fuit, est, & erit*: meaning that it was an ordinary thing in all ages for meane men to rise to great fortunes , and that therefore it ought not either to bee wondred at , or to be envied. And it is true , if the meane had been vertue and not wickednesse , which ever was , is , and will be both envied and hated , as it deserveth. His ambition was such ( amongst other examples thereof ) that Queen *Elizabeth* must needs bee God-mother to his daughter , whose Ambassadour was present at the Christening. His crueltie ( though conspicuous many wayes ) did appear singularly in the causing execute Master *Cunninghame* of *Drumme-whale* , and Master *Douglas* of Maines, his sonne-in-law. This *Cunninghame* was an ancient Gentleman, and of an old house , who ( himself in person ) had beene a follower of the Earle of Lennox ( the Kings Grandfather ) and had done him good service when he took in the Castle of Dumbartan , and *Douglas* of Maines was esteemed to bee one of the properest men in the Kingdome, and was a youth of good expectation : yet both of them were hanged at the Market Crosse of Edinburgh. The pretext was a forged conspiracie to have taken the King on a certain day at hunting , and to have carried him into England. Their accuser was *Robert Hamilton* of Inshemachon , who was ( as hee said ) himself upon the plot , or at least ( as hee said ) had been desired to bee of it by Master *Edmiston* of Duntreath. *Edmiston* being apprehended , related , *How they had plotted to bring in the exiled Lords on horses ( forsooth ) which had their eares , their maynes , and their tails cut, themselves being disguised, &c.* A tale which was so unhandsome, toyish, and ridiculous, that no man did beleieve it , but esteemed it a foolish fable, yet did they

Maines and  
Drumme-  
whale executed.

make

make use of it, to practise their crueltie upon such as they feared, and to make themselves a terrour to all men.

Angus at  
Newcastle.

To returne to the Earle of Angus, he and his associats were removed from Berwick to New-castle, in May. So it seemed good to the State of England (seeing no appearance of their hastie restoring to their own Countrey) to secure the Court of Scotland, by taking that thorn out of their foot, which was too near, and too pricking at Berwick. Besides, these banished Lords were not greatly liked of by the Lord Hunsden, then Governour of Berwick: for hee entertained correspondencie with the contrary Faction; either out of his own inclination, or being directed so to do for reasons of State, or for both; hee so inclining, and the State of England making use of that his inclination, that by him they might understand and make use of the mysteries of the Court of Scotland, and such as guided it. But our Courtiers being rid of the fear of the Lords so near neighbourhood, did the freelier vent themselves, and discover their wayes, and by discovering, bewray their wickednesse, and disgrace themselves.

As they went to New-castle, they visited by the way, Lord *John Hamilton*, and *Claude* of Paslay (his brother) at Widdrington, the place of their abode. There had been some variance betwixt them, but now being all involved in the same case of banishment, it was to no purpose to entertain and keep in the sparkle of discord, and therefore they were reconciled.

Angus his  
kindnesse and  
bountie.

Being come to New-castle, they stayed there a while, not so much to enterprise any thing from thence upon any ground they had laid already, as to wait for any occasion that should be offered. Here did the Earle of Angus his kindnesse and bountifull disposition toward all men plainly shew it self. For hearing that the Ministers were come to Berwick, hee caused a Letter to be written, and sent to them, from them all in common; and hee himselfe wrote particularly to them besides, and caused the rest of the Nobilitie to write also their private Letters, wherein many arguments were used to perswade them to come to them. Especially hee wrote very earnestly to Master *James Lowson*, and Master *James Carmichael*, not neglecting any of the rest, fitting his argument according to his acquaintance and relation, and according to the persons of the men; pretending some such cause and necessitie of their coming, as hee thought would be most effectually to move them; but the true cause which moved him to send for them, was, because hee thought they all stood in need of supply in necessities. Besides, hee caused one that was with him, whom hee knew to be very intimate with Master *James Lowson*, to write to him for the same effect; and to tell him, that hee longed to see him: and when Master *James* excused himselfe, alledging that hee behooved to stay at Berwick, because hee expected some things from Scotland, hee would not accept of his excuse, nor of the interpretation thereof, (that hee meant of Books that were to be sent to him) but caused returne him answer, that hee took it ill that hee should think to  
lack

lack any thing where hee was. Wherefore hee entreated him to make haste to come to him, by doing of which, hee should do him a singular pleasure. Hee dealt even so with others also, and sought pretences to put curtesies upon them. *David Erskine* Abbot of Drieburgh, being an exceeding honest, modest, and shamefast man, and who had ever been readier to give, than to take from any, and Angus fearing that hee would not (out of his bashfulnesse) take any curtesie directly from him, found out this way to fasten it upon him. Hee pretended that hee had some Tithes of Lands in Tweddale, which belonged to his Abbacie of Drieburgh, for which hee did owe him some arrearage duties and meales, which hee would needes pay him, and under that colour gave him what he listed to take, without acquittance.

The Ministers were for a long time wholly maintained by him, and he extended his liberalitie, not onely to supply their necessities, but even to furnish them with what Bookes they desired to buy. And indeed there was no man that wanted in that company, who did not taste of his bountie. At last when all was gone (for it could not last alwayes) hee said to one with whom hee was pleased to be familiar, with a chearfull countenance; Now it is gone, and fare it well, I never looked that it should have done so much good. Meaning, that being acquired by more rigorous exacting than either hee himselfe could allow of, or the common people took well, by the Earle of Morton in his Regencie (for this was his treasure, at least that part of it which came to his hands) hee doubted whether it should have had such a blessing as to have done so much good to so many honest men. Neither was this lavishnesse in him, or superfluous waste so to bestow it, in regard that their English allowance was spare enough, and oftentimes very slowly furnished unto them: So that having occasion to use monyes, and not knowing from whom to borrow any, hee was forced to employ one of his followers to borrow from Master *Archbald Douglas* on his owne credit (for my Lord himselfe would not be beholding to him, nor use him so familiarly) two hundred pounds Sterling, which hee lent very courteously upon the Gentlemans owne Bond, knowing well enough that it was for my Lords use. This was repayed to him when their allowance came in.

While they remained at New-castle, Master *John Colvill* was sent to attend at Court about their affaires, partly because of his acquaintance there with Secretary *Walsingham* and others, partly by the advice of the Master of Glames, whose opinion and recommendation the rest did much respect. He sed them with hopes; and upon occasion of the preparing and rigging forth the Queenes Navie, hee did insinuate by his Letters, as if there had been some intention to have sent it into Scotland for their behoof, which some did beleve. But they could not perswade the Earle of Angus of it, he esteemed it but a dream, as it was indeed no other. When that hope was vanished, and there was no appearance

Master *John Colvill* sent to the Court of England,

appearance of any thing to be done of a sudden, one (whom he was pleased to use familiarly) seeing no great use of his remaining there, told him, that he had a desire to go to London, being loath to spend that time idly, that there he might the better advance his private studies and exercises, as in a place more fit for bettering himselfe therein. Hee most willingly and lovingly consented to the motion, not onely to satisfie his desire herein, but having a reserved intention to imploy him in their common businesse, as occasion should serve, or at least in his own particular to his particular friends, which purpose he concealed then, but shewed it afterward. Hee had almost over disliked Master *John Colvill*, and did  
 “ many times in private complaine, That hee could not finde that sinceritie in him which hee wished, and which ( he said ) was seldome  
 “ to bee found in any such as hee was, who had left the Function of  
 “ the Ministerie, to follow the Court and worldly businesse. And for  
 “ him in particular, he said, hee was a busie man, thrusting himselfe  
 “ into all affairs; and who sought onely his particular ends in doing of  
 “ publick businesse, without sinceritie or uprightnesse; which ( sayes  
 “ hee ) when it is wanting, I know not what goodnesse can bee in him;  
 “ and if it bee not to bee found in the world ( as they say it is not ) I  
 “ know not what can bee in the world but miserie. For mine own part,  
 “ my heart cannot like of such an one, nor of such dealing. It is true,  
 “ hee hath traffiqued with the States-men of England, and others think  
 “ fit to use him, neither will I contest with them about it, but truly I  
 “ have no delight in such men. But this was after at Norwich. For  
 that time hee said no more, but desired him to write often to him, both concerning businesse as hee could learn, and other things, as hee should also write to him upon occasion. This was performed on both sides, after such a private and secret way, as they agreed upon before their parting. For howsoever there was nothing passed betwixt them, but what might have endured the censure of any man, yet was it not fit that every man ( into whose hands their Letters might have falne ) should know all that was written familiarly betwixt them, though the matter were never so good, sincere, and unblameable; in regard that many are incapable of things, many not able to discern or judge of them, many contemners and mockers, many of a different, and some of a contrary minde and judgement. If these Letters were extant, there were nothing more fit to shew the Lineaments of his minde and most inward thoughts, and to represent to the life his true disposition, without all mask of dissimulation ( from which he was ever free ) or shadow of ceremonious reservednesse, which even the best men ( for some one respect or other ) are forced to draw over their inclinations, and wrap up, and obscure their meaning in it at some times, especially in publick. Besides, they would also conduce to cleare some historicall points more fully, which neither can ones memory serve to do, nor can any other ( now alive ) supply so certainly and unsuspectedly. Now wee can but grieve for this losse.

To

To supply which defect ( so farre as they can doe it ) wee will set downe one or two of those that were written to him , which being answers to his ( and containing so much of them , as that the summe and substance of them may bee gathered from thence ) will beare witnesse of his Noble , and Honourable disposition.

The first was written in October (one thousand five hundreth eightie and foure ) the first yeare of his banishment to Newcastle, where hee still remained as then.

*Please your Lordship,*

“ I Received your letter dated in September. Master *James* hath promised to seeke out those bookes of which your Lordship wrote to him, and is in good hope to come by some of them, though it bee harder to finde them out then it was not long agoe. Other things I hope your Lordship is advertised of at length , by Master *John Colvill*.

A letter from London to Angus from the Authour.

What bookes these were, and what Master *James* this was is quite forgotten, save that it would seeme to have beene Master *James Carmichael*, whom hee imployed in things of this kinde for most part. But this being onely for show ( that the paper might not seeme blanke, if it had fallen into such hands as would have opened the letter ) the maine businesse was written in such darke and unperceivable manner, that none could reade it, but such as were acquainted with the wayes thereof. And thus it was :

“ I have read your Lordships letter, and am very glad that my opinion did so jump with your Lordship concerning that point, whereof you wrote that you have not beene forgetfull, and that you minde to hold your ground as neare as can bee, from which you thinke that other matter to bee so farre different, and so contrary to all reason, that no man ( as you beleeve ) will propound it to you directly. That which made mee feare that it would bee propounded ( besides the speeches sounding that way ) was the end of your Lordships letter ( written before ) wherein you make mention, that some thought it necessary for your cause, that yee should enter with them into some strait, and indissolvable bond. This I tooke to bee a mean to trie your Lordships minde : First , in that generall , that afterward they might come to the particular, which would bee , that the best way to make it strait and indissolvable , were to have it of your Lordships hand-writing. For as concerning the lawfulness thereof, it did seem to some unlawfull ( as I wrote to your Lordship at greater length ) and I had heard also generally that there was some scruple made by your Lordship to enter into bond with them. And because ( if I be well remembred ) before your comming from Scotland, you

F f f

were

“ were resolved to receive them into the societie of that common acti-  
 “ on, and to compose any particular of your owne which you had a-  
 “ gainst them; I did the rather thinke that some new occasion had oc-  
 “ curred, which had made you nice and difficult to it now. And if I  
 “ have failed in my conjecture of the cause, it is no wonder that (not  
 “ having knowledge of the particular circumstances whereof you now  
 “ write) I lighted upon that which seemed to me would breed greatest  
 “ difficultie in this. If it be not so, I am contented to be deceived, & could  
 “ wish that every mans minde that shall have hand in that action, were  
 “ as upright as your Lordships, then we might hope that it would prosper  
 “ so much the better.

“ However, I cannot omit to put your Lordship in minde of this ge-  
 “ nerall caveat, to take heed, and have a care, that whatever bond be  
 “ made, it may bee perspicuous, cleare, plaine, and as particular as  
 “ may bee: for the more particular it be, it is the better for your Lord-  
 “ ship, who meaneth uprightly, and for all others that have the same  
 “ meaning, and who doe desire that their upright dealing may be evi-  
 “ dent unto all men. It will also ( being such ) bee lesse obnoxious  
 “ and subject to the calumnies and sinister interpretation of the adver-  
 “ sary and enemies, who may seeke to traduce your Lordship, and make  
 “ you odious thereby. It will likewise bee freest, and not lyable to the  
 “ sinister glosse, and wrong interpretations of those, who shall bee  
 “ bound by it, if they should ( perhaps ) hereafter seeke any evasion  
 “ or subterfuge to frustrate it, and make it void through the generali-  
 “ ty or ambiguitie thereof. And by the contrary, where a bond is  
 “ couched in obscure, generall, and doubtfull words, it is both more ea-  
 “ sie for them, who list to deale after that sort, to elude it by some  
 “ wrested construction; as also for such as would calumnieate your  
 “ Lordships intention, to finde greater colour to doe it. Concerning  
 “ which purpose, I remember a distinction which the Earle of Gowry  
 “ made, upon occasion of the bond which your Lordship remembers  
 “ was presented to him to have signed it: It is ( said hee ) very good,  
 “ and well penned, but it is too prolix to be a Bond, and too short to  
 “ bee a Proclamation, or Declaration: for a Bond (said hee) ought  
 “ to bee short, and generall; but a Proclamation or Declaration,  
 “ would contain the particulars. I was then, and still am of a contra-  
 “ ry minde: for I thinke a Bond should bee cleare, and speciall, and  
 “ contain the causes of their binding; and that a Manifesto or De-  
 “ claration should bee conformable to it, and the very same in sub-  
 “ stance and effect, having the selfesame reasons and narration; onely  
 “ it ought to bee amplified with admonitions and exhortations, which  
 “ are not proper nor pertinent for a Bond. And I beleeve no man  
 “ can shew mee what inconvenience can follow upon the prolixitie of  
 “ a Bond, unlesse it bee the greater pains of the Writer; which is re-  
 “ compensated with this great advantage, that being drawne up at  
 “ large, it needeth no other Expositour, or Pleader for it, but  
 “ doth expound and justifie it selfe. And your Lordship know-  
 “ eth what great necessitie and neede there is of this circumspetti-  
 “ on



“ on in this case , that the very band it selfe be an exposition and justi-  
 “ fication of it selfe , into whose hands soever it shall happen to come.  
 “ For its owne interpretation of it selfe cannot be rejected , when no  
 “ other will be admitted to expound it. For this purpose let them that  
 “ please reade and consider the Memorials of France , of the Low-  
 “ Countreyes , and of Germany in the beginning of their Reforma-  
 “ tion : they shall see that the tenour of all these bands, containes am-  
 “ ple declarations of the causes wherefore, and the reasons moving them  
 “ to joyne themselves together in that kinde of association , as also for  
 “ what end they did it , so that no Declaration can bee more large.  
 “ But I did declare my opinion to your Lordship in the like matter long  
 “ agoe ; and I doubt not, but, if it shall please your Lordship to weigh  
 “ and consider it , you shall easily finde how necessary it is ( for many  
 “ respects ) that into whatsoever band you enter , it be cleare and parti-  
 “ cular.

“ Whereas it pleases your Lordship to write , that if you can finde a  
 “ fit occasion ( whereof you also have some hope ) you will cause em-  
 “ ploy me here , and withall you adde ( That none should refuse to fur-  
 “ ther the businesse all they can ) I am not so ignorant , or forgetfull  
 “ of my duty , as either directly or indirectly to refuse that service,  
 “ or any other your Lordship shall be pleased to command mee. But  
 “ I see there are divers others who seeme to be so diligent , that my  
 “ paines will not be very needfull , as I doubt not but your Lordship  
 “ knowes sufficiently. When it pleases them at any time, in halfe words,  
 “ and darke speeches ( like parables ) obscurely to signifie ought to me  
 “ of the State of businesse , they appeare and seeme to mee so deepe  
 “ and profound mysteries , as I can no wayes understand or know  
 “ what to make of them. Wherefore I am very well contented that  
 “ I am free of them , and to be a beholder of all , leaving the mana-  
 “ ging thereof to those who know these obscure grounds better,  
 “ and like better of them , then ( it may bee ) I should doe, in regard  
 “ of their deepnesse. I had rather employ my time upon other thoughts  
 “ farre more pleasing to mee ( where dutie rightly considered calls  
 “ mee not from them ) then businesse of that nature. They are not  
 “ desirous of any companion or copartner in their travels , nor am  
 “ I desirous to encroach upon their labours , or the labours of a-  
 “ ny man , or to bereave him of the fruit of his paines and indu-  
 “ stry , by intruding my selfe thereupon , and to bee a sharer with  
 “ him in the good successe of his endeavours , if they shall hap-  
 “ pen to bee successefull. And as little am I willing ( if there be  
 “ no appearance of the prospering of it ) to take the worke out of  
 “ their hands , which is ( perhaps ) marred already ; or to enter in  
 “ at the broad side , upon grounds already laid by them with this  
 “ State , wherewith I have not beene ( as yet ) so thoroughly  
 “ acquainted as were needfull for one to prosecute their worke  
 “ dexterously , and to purpose. However , I doe not speake  
 “ this to prejudice your Lordship , or that I meane to shunne any  
 “ burden you shall bee pleased to lay upon mee , and I am able

398 *Of Archbald the third of that name,*

“to undergoe (whatever it be) but onely to tell my minde freely, that I  
 “had rather (if it were in my choice) your Lordship would employ me  
 “in any particular of your owne, which might give me occasion to vi-  
 “sit master Secretary (for your Lordship knows how ill I can trouble any  
 “man without an errand) and if upon that occasion he should happen to  
 “speake of the publicke businesse, I should manage the opportunity the  
 “best I could. However, my dutifull service ever remembred to your  
 “Lordship in what I can, in this mind and disposition (which your Lord-  
 “ship knows) and leaving you and all to be rightly managed by that God,  
 “who certainly can, and assuredly will manage all things rightly, in  
 “whom I rejoyce alwayes to see your Lordship so depend, I rest in  
 “him, &c.

The other Letter (the onely extant of many) was written long after from  
 London also, but to Norwich, whither he was then come from New-  
 castle. It is dated the 20. of March following, in the yeare 1584.

Another Letter  
 from the  
 Author to  
 Angus.

*Please your Lordship,*

“Since the writing of my other, the Earle of Lancaster hath beene  
 “(most part) from Court at his owne house. On Saturday hee re-  
 “turned, and I attended all that day, and the next day (till 12. of the  
 “clocke) but in vaine. At last, when he came to Westminster, I got  
 “speech of him with great difficulty in the Councell chamber, by the  
 “meanes of one master *Baptist* (one of his chiefe Gentlemen) who  
 “professeth to love your Lordship entirely. I delivered your Lordships  
 “Letter to him, and declared the credit: it was courteously received,  
 “with many loving words concerning your Lordship: That in that,  
 “and all other things, he would doe for your Lordship what lay in his  
 “power: that his affection to your Lordship was no whit changed, but  
 “remained the same that it was of old, and that it should appeare he was  
 “no lesse carefull of you then he had beene before. I went after that to  
 “Sir *Philip Sidney*, who so soone as he saw me, (of his owne accord, be-  
 “fore I spake to him) told me, That he had not beene unmindfull of  
 “your Lordships businesse; that he had spoken of it to Leicester, and the  
 “Secretarie, and that he would not forget it, but doe in it all that could  
 “be done. I wrote to your Lordship before, what cold hopes I had to  
 “speed herein, and the cause thereof. Now I am put in better hope by  
 “divers: That your Lordship shall be licensed to come up, and that the  
 “Ambassadour will insist against you, concerning which matter I shall  
 “shew your Lordship farther (God willing) at meeting. He is gone  
 “this day to Court upon occasion of Letters which hee received on  
 “Saturday at night: what they beare I have not yet learned. One-  
 “ly I heare no word of any alteration or stirring in Scotland, as  
 “it was reported, save that in the generall there is an universall  
 “feare and envie at Court amongst themselves, and in the Coun-  
 “treys every where, of every man against his neighbour. How-  
 “ever it bee, if I bee not mistaken, this motion (of your Lord-  
 “ships coming up hither) is occasioned by these last Letters:  
 “and

“ and yet it is said even by some of their favourers, that they thinke  
 “ verily that your Lordship hath great wrong done unto you : which  
 “ speeches argue but small hope to prove, yea, or to colour their pre-  
 “ tended accusations, and that they diffide and distrust; that they shall  
 “ be able to doe it. And most men thinke, that if there bee nothing  
 “ wrung out of *John Hume*, by some one means or other (as there is no  
 “ cause to doubt of the Gentlemans honesty and constancy) they will  
 “ have no subterfuge for their false allegations, which must needs tend to  
 “ your Lordships good and honour, clearing your innocency, and con-  
 “ futing the calumnies of your enemies. I received a letter, by Master  
 “ *James Melvine*, and Master *Walter Balcanquhal*, (who arrived here on  
 “ friday last) declaring the couragious and constant death of *Mairnes*,  
 “ who gave testimony of your Lordships innocency and loyall affection  
 “ to his Majestie, by his last words. There was no other new matter  
 “ of importance in it, being dated the 18, of February, not long after  
 “ your Lordships coming from Newcastle. But I shall have no more  
 “ intelligence that way; for the Authour is forced to flee hither, having  
 “ been searched for, and escaped narrowly. Hee was delated by the con-  
 “ fession of *William Jafray* (my brother *Wedderburnes* servant) who being  
 “ booted, confessed he had delivered him a letter from me. It is done by  
 “ *Manderston*, to make it reflect upon my brother; and he (to recriminate)  
 “ hath accused his son *George*; and it is thought he will be able to prove it  
 “ by *George Hume* of Cramnickrook: *John Johnston* is also fled, and great  
 “ summes of money offered for him: this other letter will shew what  
 “ comfort I may expect from Scotland; or he, who is now in the same  
 “ case. There is sure word from France, that the Duke of Guise is in  
 “ the fields with an Army of 30000. or 40000. men: some say against  
 “ the King; maniest, against Navarre, or Geneva. So ceasing to trou-  
 “ ble your Lordship, I rest, &c.

Out of these may be seen the honest and honourable dealing, together  
 with the right and loyall disposition of the Earle of Angus, whatever  
 hath been set abroche or intended by any other: as it is clear there have  
 been some other motions made to him, which his heart could not in-  
 cline to, nor his minde dispenfe with. For certainly, this feare could not  
 arise without some great occasion; and what it hath been, or whether it  
 did tend, as also who are likeliest to have been Authours of it, though it  
 may be conjectured in some sort probably, yet I will leave it to every  
 mans consideration of the circumstances and persons who were upon  
 this course of joyning together. For my taske being at this time to draw,  
 (though with a rude hand) as I can, the true draughts of this Noblemans  
 minde, whom I have now in hand: I could not omit this piece, where-  
 by (though there were no more to bee found of him) this generall may  
 appeare, that duetie, justice, and vertue, were the men of his counsell,  
 and the square by which hee ruled all his actions, from which, no extre-  
 mity or hard estate, could ever divert him or drive him away; but to  
 touch upon any other man, or glance at any thing which might rubbe a  
 blot upon any, is besides my purpose, and no wayes incumbent to mee,  
 But to returne, it fell out with them according to this last letter: for as  
 they

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they were removed from Berwick to Newcastle, to secure the Scottish Court; so Newcastle being not so farre from Edinburgh, but that within twentie four hours (or little more) they could have been there upon a necessary occasion, the Courtiers were put in feare by others, or feigned and imagined feares to themselves, for taking away of this (suggested, or apprehended) feare, as they had been removed from Newcastle to Norwich; so now they are brought from thence to London, as was pretended, to answer to the Embassadors accusation, but indeed, to advise with him of the way, how they might be restored to their Countrey, and the Countrey rid of Arran, who was now become odious both to Court and Countrey. It is a true saying, That there is no society amongst Pirates without Justice: for if the Arch-Pirate take all to himselfe, or if hee divide not the prey equally, the rest will kill or forsake him. The Earle of Arran knew not this rule, or regarded it not: for in parting of the spoile of these Noblemen, their lands, their goods, honours, government, and places of Command, hee dealt them unequally; drawing most to himselfe, and in Councell and guiding of the State, he was the onely figure (or number) and the rest were but ciphers and instruments to execute his decrees.

The Lords  
brought to  
London.

Plotting a-  
gainst Arran,

There were then at Court (of greatest note) the Master of Gray, a near Kinsman to the late Earle of Gowry, and of the ancient Nobilitie, who did hate and disdain Arran, for that he had beene Authour of the death of his deare friend, seized on his lands, and did presumptuously take upon him to govern the whole Countrey alone, being but newly raised to bee noble. There was also Sir *Lewis Ballantine* (of kinne likewise to Gowry) an ancient depender on the house of Angus: and Master *John Metellane* (Secretary) who had beene indeed an enemy to the Earle of Morton, and was well contented that Arran should be employed to work his ruine; but he could not away with his peremptory, and absolute domineering. These were the actours and great instruments of his fall: Gray, directly, and of purpose, the other two by conniving and being conscious to the plot, yet so as they would have seemed not to know of it, and they did rather give way to it, then work it. They all thought it reason, that they should (at least) have their share of the spoil in a fit proportion; but they could not have it any wayes proportionable to their esteem of themselves. There was besides these, *Francis Earle Bothwell*, who (amongst other causes of discontentment) was grieved at the banishment of the Earle of Angus, his Ladies brother. *Alexander Lord Hume* had been discarded for being thought to be his friend: Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburn, and Sir *James* of Coldenknowes were knowne and professed friends to the Earle of Angus: and *Wedderburne* was of kinne to the Master of Glames, and allied to the house of Marre. *Robert Carre* of Cesford was also of the party, what out of love to Angus, what for emulation with the house of Farnhaite, who were on the other faction. His Uncle the Provost of Lincolndan (*Douglas* to his name) was a speciall stickler in the businesse: hee was very familiar and intimate with the Secretary (*Metellane*) who without his advice did almost nothing. But above all, the Lord *Maxwell* (made Earle of Morton) entred into open hostility:

hostilitie: for being charged to compare, he disobeyed and refused; and by intelligence with the banished Lords hee levied souldiers, slew one Captain *Lamtrie*, that was sent against him, with his companies, whom *Johnston* did assist. Hereupon a Proclamation was set forth in the Kings name, that all that were able to beare armes, should come and follow the King, who was to pursue him in person the 24. of October. These and many others (and indeed the whole Countrey) agreeing in this conclusion, that Arran was to bee removed from the helme of government, which hee steerd so ill: the Master of Gray was sent Ambassadour into England, and had broken the businesse with the Lords concerning their returne, and his removeall. Now Sir *Lewis Ballandine* is sent up Ambassadour with Commission to accuse them of a conspiracy, detected by *Dunstons* deposition: Hereupon they are sent for from Norwich, to make answer to it. The Master of Glames being of greatest age and learning, they made choice of him to plead their cause before a certain number of the Councillours of England, deputed by the Queene to heare and judge of it. Their owne innocencie, the abilitie of the pleader, and the favour of the Judges meeting together, made them to be easily absolved, notwithstanding, that the Ambassadour did his best in framing, and pressing his accusation to the full, to discharge his Commission every way. It is a pretty sport to consider the proceedings of the world, and what masques and vizards men doe put on sometimes to cloake their designs. With what respect and reverence did they carry themselves towards my Lord Ambassadour? and with what strangeness and averfation did hee looke upon them? One day as the Earle of Angus was walking into the fields for his recreation, he encountered the Ambassadour coming from Tuttle-fields in a narrow lane, ere he came near, he espied him, and knowing it was he, hee called to his servants to give way to my Lord Ambassadour, and he himselfe standing aloofe with cap in hand, made a low reverence to his Lordship as he passed by. The Ambassadour again acted his part finely, remembering his place, the person hee represented, and the errand for which he was sent (to be his accuser) with a countenance which did beare anger and grief in it to see the Kings rebels, hee turned away his face, and would not so much as looke on that side of the street, notwithstanding that hee both loved and honoured him in his heart, and was even then laying the ground-work of his restitution. Hee being gone home, the plot went forward in Scotland. England was no better affected toward Arran, then his owne Countrey was: they did altogether dislike of him, and suspected his wayes, they conceived that he did prosecute the Guisian plots begunne by *Obignie*, and which had beene interrupted by his disgrace, and discourting. And yet they acted their part also, bore faire countenance and correspondence with him, and he with them, but all was but dissimulation, and like a stage play. The Lord *Hunsdon* Governour of Berwick, and Warden of the Marches on that hand, paid him home in his owne coine, and entertained a shew of friendship with him, but no more. Divers meetings they had upon the borders, and many fair promises were made by Arran, to keep back England from favouring or aiding the Lords: That the King should bee at the

Sir *Lewis*  
*Ballandine*  
Ambassadour  
in England.

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Sir Francis  
Russell killed.

the Queens devotion, that he should follow her advice in all things, that hee should not marry without her consent, and that hee should make a league with her, offensive, and defensive. The Master of Gray, Ambassadour, had promised so much, but when the English urged the performance of it, it was a jeast to see their fine shifting. The Master of Gray put it upon Arran, Arran upon the Master of Gray, and the King professed that neither of them had warrant or direction from him to say any such thing, and therefore he was not tied to make it good: they were too sharp and quick sighted not to see through greater clouds. In the mean time it fell out at a meeting of the Wardens of the middle-marches, that Sir *Francis Russell* (sonne to the Earle of Bedford) was killed, whether by chance or of set purpose, is uncertain. This did alienate them from the Courtiers, and joyned them to the Lords, whom they knew to be honest, true, and trusty, and therefore they wished well to them, and helped forward their interprise indirectly all they could. While matters were thus in working, the Lords remained still at London, and were lodged at a place appointed to them (called long-ditch, near Saint *James Parke*, whither the banished Ministers resorted, and kept continually exercise of preaching, praying and fasting (on occasion) in a private manner, without ostentation or notice thereof in publicke, being done within their lodging onely.

The Scots sue  
for a Scottish  
Church at  
London, but  
cannot obtain it.

There was a motion made to the Counsell of England, that there might be a particular Church allowed, and allotted unto the Scots, as the French, Italians, and Dutch, have their Churches apart: but it was not granted, they being unwilling (apparently) that being of one language, our discomformitie with their ceremonies should appeare to the common people. This grieved us greatly, and especially Master *James Lawson*, who partly for that, partly because of a letter written to him from the towne of *Edinburgh*, (in which they did unkindly reproach his flying into England as a desertion, and did renounce him for their Pastour, calling him a Wolfe, who had fled without just cause, and had joyned himselfe with rebels, and such other calumnies, as Bishop *Adamson* had endited, and caused the Provest and towne Counsell signe) he sickned and died, being much lamented, both of English, Scots, and all that knew and were acquainted with him. Notwithstanding that they could not obtain a peculiar Church, yet the Lievetenant of the Tower, being acquainted with some of our Ministers, he desired them to preach in his Church within the Tower (which is a priviledged place, and without the jurisdiction of the Bishops) and many of the people came thither to heare them. Amongst other exercises, Master *Andrew Melvine* read Lectures in Latine upon the old Testament, beginning at *Genesis*, which were much frequented; and the Earle of *Angus* was a diligent Auditour, and a painfull repeater of them for his owne use and contentment.

The Lords  
came to the  
Borders.

But now the negotiation of their returne being farre advanced, and come even to the maturitie and full ripenesse, *Angus*, *Marre*, the Master of *Glames* (with a few onwaiters) take post from London, and came with all expedition to the Borders. They had composed their differences with the

the Lord *Maxwell*, and the Lord *Hamilton*, and so all were to joyne in the common businesse, with one heart and hand, as one man. Before Angus came from London, he wrote to his friends in Scotland after this sort: "You have now knowne by M. *John* ( *Colvill* as I think ) that wee " stay here only till wee receive new advertisement from the Provest of " *Lincluden*, in name of the rest of our friends that should joyne with us " in that Countrey; after the receipt whereof we mean not to stay, but im- " mediately to come down; wherefore be ye not unready, seeing others " will be forward enough, as we beleve. At our first coming we mean " to be quiet two or three dayes, in which space I mean to speak with " some principals, and by their advice to go more plainly to our purpose. " This State will not seeme openly to know our designs; but wee are " to receive some help of Moneyes, for so it is promised. Sir *William* " *Russell* shall also joyne with us as a male-content, having been of " late ill used by that State ( in killing Sir *Francis* ) but not as having " any command so to do. If matters go on, we minde to enter on both " hands. *Hamilton* and *Maxwell* shall enter on the West-borders, An- " gus and *Marre* at the East, with such as will joyne with them " there.

Thus did it please him to speak of himself in the third person, howbeit it was written all with his own hand. But Sir *William Russell* did not joyn with them. Angus, *Marre*, and the Master of Glames came to *Galsoe*; and remained there with the Earle Bothwel two or three nights. Thither came the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume* of Wedderburne, and others of their friends; and with common consent from thence they went to *Jedburgh*, where they made their coming known, and professed their intentions. Upon the report hereof, Colonell *Stuart* was sent against them with such forces as he could get; and came to *Peebles*; but he found that he had not to doe with irresolute and lingering folks, as the Earle of *Gowrie*; not with such deserted and abandoned men as had fled from *Stirling*, and therefore he retired in due time, to tell tidings of the certainty of their coming. They took their journey toward *Hamilton*, and there joyned the Lord *Hamilton* and the Lord *Maxwell*; and so altogether marched to *Faw Kirk*. They caused publish Declarations every where, containing their intentions, and justifying their proceedings, which are set down word by word in the History of Scotland, written by *Holinshed* an English-man; who pleaseth, may read it there. The summe is not unlike to that which was made before at *Stirling* ( when they fled to England ) onely such things were added thereto, as had fallen out since then, in the time of their abode there. " As namely; First, The proceeding by cruelty under the shadow of the " Kings name, whose Predecessours did commonly labour to winne " the hearts of his Subjects by clemencie: Secondly, The execu- " ting, imprisoning, banishing ( by wrested Lawes ) the worthiest, " most ancient; and the most faithfull ( to GOD and the King ) " both Noblemen and Barons: Thirdly, Acts and Proclamations " published, inhibiting Presbyteries & other exercises, priviledges and im- " munities allowed by Parliament, or practised and permitted by laudable

They come  
to Faw Kirk  
the 1. of Nov-  
ember 1585.

Their Decla-  
ration.

G g g

" custome;



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“ custome of the Church, without which, purity of Doctrine, & the right  
 “ form of Ecclesiastical discipline cannot continue: Fourthly, compelling  
 “ & forcing the most learned and most religious men, and such as were of  
 “ most entire life & conversation, & of most sincere conscience, to forsake  
 “ their Countrey, or inhibiting them to preach, and defrauding them of  
 “ their Stipend, by violence: Fifthly, the entertaining of Jesuites, and  
 “ executers of the Decrees of the cruell Councell of Trent: Sixthly, ob-  
 “ durate Papiests having place in Session, and honest men removed, an e-  
 “ vident proof and preface of intention to root out the true Religion: Se-  
 “ venthly, the thrusting of Magistrates upon Burrows (contrary to their  
 “ priviledges) which were neither free of the Townes, nor fit to dis-  
 “ charge the place in their persons: Eighthly, the secret practices of  
 “ *James Stuart*, and the Colonell, to turne the love and amitie which  
 “ hath been now of a long time entertained with England (very happily)  
 “ into open hostility, having had intelligence with such persons as sought  
 “ the Queen of Englands destruction: a point confessed by divers her  
 “ Rebels, executed in England, and which appeared by the slaughtering  
 “ of the Lord Russell, a man noble in birth, honourable by vertue, zea-  
 “ lous in Religion, of great expectation, and a speciall friend and lover of  
 “ Scottissh men, notwithstanding that they had made shew of the con-  
 “ trary for certaine moneths, and had pretended to enter into an offen-  
 “ sive and defensive League with her. The conclusion was, Wee com-  
 “ mand and charge in our Sovereigne Lords name (as his born Counsel-  
 “ lours, who are bound in dutie to be carefull of his welfare, honour and  
 “ reputation, for which we have our Lands and Inheritances) all and  
 “ sundry his subjects, to further and assist this our godly enterprise, to  
 “ concurre with us, and so to give testimony of their affection to the  
 “ true Religion, his Majesties welfare, and publick peace and quietnesse  
 “ of this Realme. It contained also certification, That such as should  
 “ attempt any thing to their contrary, yea, that did not take plaine and  
 “ open part with them, should bee reputed as partakers of all vice  
 “ and iniquitie, as assisters of the said treasonable Conspiratours,  
 “ (*James and William Stuarts*) and enemies to Religion, to his Ma-  
 “ jestie, and Authoritie, and to the publicke quietnesse of the two  
 “ Realmes, and should bee used as such, in body and goods, Com-  
 “ manding all Justices and Magistrates, as well the Lords of the Session  
 “ as others, Sheriffes, and whatsoever inferiour Judges, to administer  
 “ justice, for the furtherance hereof, as they would answer upon their al-  
 “ leageance and highest perils: with the like certification to them also, if  
 “ they failed herein.

The Road of  
Stirling.

They staid at Fawlkirke that night, being the second day of No-  
 vember, and kept strong watch, being within five miles of the ene-  
 my. It was observed with great disdain, that the Lord *Maxwell*, who  
 had the charge of the hired souldiers that were put on the watch,  
 and to the choyce of the watch-word, gave it, Saint *Andrew*; as  
 smelling of his superstitious disposition, and which was a blemish, and  
 contradiction (in a manner) to their declaration, wherein they professed  
 to stand for the true Religion. But it was rather privately grudget  
 at,

at, than publickly reprov'd. On the morrow there came a message from the Castle of Stirling, as from the King to the Earle Bothwell, whereby he was desired to forsake that Company, and either come to the King, or returne to his own house, which he pleased. This was a trick to divide them, and which did so work upon him, that if the Earle of Angus had not partly by reason perswaded him, and partly by his authoritie (being a man greatly respected) detained him, and fixed his wavering minde, he had forsaken them altogether, not without great danger to have weakened the hands and hearts of the rest, by such an untimely example. On such moments (many times) do even the greatest businesse depend. But God had determin'd to blesse that Work at that time in their hands. That rub being removed, they march forward, and about the going down of the Sunne, they shewed themselves at S. *Ninians* Kirk, which is scarce a full mile from Stirling, and were seen from the Castle wall, of friends and foes. They lodged there about as they could, till near the dawning of the day; and then upon a secret signe given to the Companies that had dispersed themselves into the neighbour Villages for better lodging and victuall, without sound of Drumme or Trumpet, they came to their Camp and Colours. The way of assaulting the Town was laid down thus: First, one of the Commanders, with a few Companies, was directed to go and make shew, as if hee meant to enter the Town through some Orchards that lay on the West side thereof, and at the same instant another (with some other few Companies) was sent to go through the Park as if they had intended to assault it on that hand, near to the Castle hill, while in the mean time the Noblemen themselves, with the grosse and body of the Army, marched on the South side, and passing the ditch a little above the Mill, going through some Gardens, entered at a certain narrow Lane, not farre from the West gate, where the way was so strait, that single men with weapons could hardly passe it. The hired souldiers which carried shot were set formost, to remove any that should offer to make head against them. They that were within the Town, were equall in number to those that were to assault it without, Noblemen, (the Earle Marshall, and the Lord Seton) and Barons, who were come, out of obedience to the Kings Proclamation: These had the keeping of the West gate. But the onely enemies were *James*, and the Colonell (*Stuarts*) together with *Montrose* and *Crawford*, in respect of some particular quarrels. For *Montrose* had been Chancellour of the Assise, by which the Earle of Morton was condemned, and was esteemed to have been a bad instrument therein: And *Crawford* had killed the Lord Glames, the Masters brother, whereupon deadly feude, and divers murders had ensued on both sides. The rest, though they did not openly assist the invaders, yet did they wish them no hurt, nor make any resistance against them. There were in the Castle, the Master of *Gray*, and Sir *Lewis Ballandine*, who were suspected by *James Stuart*, and not without cause. He knew also that Master *John Metellape* bore him no great good will. These hee intended to have rid himself of, and to have slaughtered, but they were too strong to do it without great hazard; and besides, it had been but little wisdome to have gone about that, wherein if

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hee had failed, it would have been his overthrow, and though hee had prevailed, it would not have freed him from his enemies without. All he did was, that the Colonell with some shot, was set in the Street near the West-Gate of the town, which was the place likeliest to be assaulted, *James Stuart* himself stayed about the Bridge, having the Keyes of that Gate in his pocket, making that back-doore sure for his last refuge to escape by it. The Earle of Montrose was placed at the foot of the Castle hill, to make good the entrie through the Park. The event was, that having entred the Town through a narrow Lane, they were welcomed and entertained by the Colonell with some shot in the street, but seeing that they were resolute, and more in number than he was able to deal with, he retired to the Castle. In this entrie there was but one onely (of the Lords side) killed, and it is uncertaine whether it were done by the Enemy, or by one of his fellowes, who were so unskilfull in handling their Muskets, that their Captain said, That who had known them as well as hee did, would not willingly have marched before them. The Earle Marshall and the Lord Seton, seeing the Colonell so quickly quit the Field, stood still at the Gate, invading no man, and no man invading them. The Earles of Montrose and Crawford, hearing the tumult of the Towne taken, on the other hand, forsook their station, and were received into the Castle. *James Stuart* fled by the posterne on the Bridge, and having locked the Gate behinde him, he threw the Keyes into the River. The Colonell in his retreat was followed so near by Master *James Halden* (brother Germane to *John Halden* of Gleneagles) that he overtook him, and was laying hand on him, but in the mean time was shot by *Josua Henderson* (a servant of the Colonels) and so died presently. He was a young Gentleman, much lamented of all that knew him, being lately come out of France, where (as also in Italy) he had lived divers years, with great approbation of all his Countrey-men, being greatly beloved for his sweet courteous disposition. If it were lawfull here to bewaile a particular losse, I have just cause to loose the reins of my private affection, and pay that tribute of sorrow and teares which I owe to the memorie of so faithfull, upright, and trusty a friend. For the present it shall suffice to say thus much (and let it remaine as a poore witnesse of some small gratefull remembrance, as long as this piece can remaine) that before him I found not any, and since have known but very few so hearty and sincere friends, as he was to me from our childe-hood for many yeares.

*M James Halden slain.*

*Stirling taken by the Lords.*

Having thus without any further losse or hurt made themselves Masters of the Town, all rejoyced at their successe, and with chearfull minds and countenances welcomed them, and congratulated their returne. One thing was like to have bred some stirre and tumult, but that the parties interested knowing the Lords own noble disposition, and how these things could not be helped, bore patiently the losse they received, for the joy they had of the publick good. This it was, when the Nobles and Gentlemen alighted to enter the Town on foot, they gave their horses to their footmen to be held without till they had made all cleare within. While they were buied in assaulting and rambarring, Colonell *Stuart*, the Annandale men (and others also by their example) who came with the Lord

Lord Maxwell, seized on their horses, and went cleare away with them, having spared no man friend or foe, of their own, or the adverse partie. It was no time to follow them, and though it had, yet could they not doe it, their horses being gone. That day they lodged in the Towne, and kept watch and ward about the Castle, that none might go forth, or come in without their knowledge. *Robert Hamilton* of Inchmachan, who had falsly accused Master *Douglas* of Maines, and Master *Cunninghame* of Drummiewhasle caused himself to be let downe over the Castle wall (at the back-side thereof) in a basket, thinking so to escape; but he was perceived, followed, and slaine (in the Park) by *Fahsion* of Westerhall, receiving that just reward of his betraying innocent blood. The Lord *Hamilton* himself when he heard of it, said he had gotten but what hee had deserved. The Castle not being provided of Victuals, and no man (almost) caring to defend it, it could not hold out: wherefore messengers being sent to and fro betwixt the King and them, all things were agreed on; and so the fourth of November the Gates were set open, and the Companies entering, the Noblemen presented themselves before the King in all humble and submisive manner, and did by their carriage and behaviour really confute the calumnies of their enemies, who had accused them of traiterous intentions and practices. When "they came, they used not many words; onely, They were his true "and loyall Subjects, ready to serve him with their blood; and that "they were come to declare themselves, and to cleare them from those "calumnies which wicked and seditious men that sought their own particular, had filled his Majesties eares and minde with, and so made him "to be suspicious of them without cause. The King answered lovingly; That it was true, and that he now saw that hee had been too "long abused. That it was certainly the mighty hand of GOD "working with their good affection that had brought them so through "without shedding of blood. And so embracing them heartily, he welcomed them with a chearfull countenance, desiring that they would forgive and spare the Earles of Montrose and Crawford, who were afraid to lose their lives and estates, being conscious of their own deservings. This request divers of the Earle of Angus his friends would have had him to have denied; but he, by a rare moderation, and to shew how far he regarded the desires of his Prince, being willing also that the whole work should be free, not onely of innocent blood, but even from particular (though just) revenge, neither could nor would refuse it.

This was the Catastrophe of this Tragick-comedie, acceptable and joyfull to all (except these few particular men) and harmefull to none, which did justifie their (unjustly condemned) former meeting at the same Towne of Stirling, which if it had had the same successe, had produced the same effect, as it had the same aime and end. It justified also those of the Ministry who had fled to England, and those at home who approved and favoured them, that in so doing, they did not favour Traitors, or traiterous enterprises. This the Earle of Angus (above all) did observe, and did often remember this consequent of the successe, with no lesse contentment than the successe it self, esteeming it a greater mercie and favour

They come  
into the Kings  
presence.

your from G O D to have thus cleared their innocencie and loyaltie, than that he was restored to his own home and inheritance. And therefore he did often call to minde ; and mention that speech of the Kings, *That it was the very hand of G O D which had prospered their enterprise, and given them that successe without blood.* For though it may seem no hard matter, in respect of the generall favour of the Countrey, yet if we consider what a desperateemie, loath to quit such places as they have enjoyed, is wont to doe, it will seem strange that they should without once striking a stroke thus be gone without more ado. But as it hath been found in broyles (and I have particularly observed) that G O D hath preserved their hands from blood, whose hearts did abhorre from the shedding of it, even upon such occasions as men thought they could hardly avoid, either to be frustrate of their intentions, or to obtain them with much blood; where by the contrary, many whole feet have been swifter, & their hearts lesse carefull of it, have on very small occasions fallen into it. So in this publick businesse, it pleased G O D to look on the hearts of the actours, and according to the innocencie thereof, to dispose of the means of their restoring, that their hands were kept pure from the blood of any. He observed also of the Town of Edinburgh, how it had pleased G O D to cut short their aid and assistance, which they might have given the enemy by laying of it waste and desolate through the death of 20000. persons of the plague (which had raged there) whereby the rest were so terrified, that they were glad to forsake the City. For the Courtiers did most repose and rely upon them, who were readiest upon the sudden, and who (upon the least advertisement) were wont to come at their beck, without any disputing, or questioning the lawfulnessse of the quarrell or justice of the cause, but took every thing as from the King, whatsoever was commanded in his name, as they had given proof before, when they convened at Stirling; having been the first that were sent against them, when they were forced to flee into England. This plague began immediatly after their flight, and the departure of their Ministers, and increased daily with such terrour and fearfulnessse in the hearts of men, that every man did interpret it to be the immediate hand of G O D, striking them for their obsequiousnesse to the Court, and contempt of their Ministers; and now they being returned it diminished daily, so evidently, that after their entry into Stirling, it ceased, not by degrees or piece-meale, but in an instant (as it were) so that never any after that hour was known to have been infected, nor any of such as were infected before, to have died. The Lane also, in Stirling, by which they entred, was wholly infected, yet no man was known to have been tainted with it, or to have received any hurt. Nay, the men of Annandale did rob and ransack the pest-lodges which were in the field about Stirling, and carried away the clothes of the infected, but were never known to have been touched therewith themselves, or any others that got, or wore the clothes. They also that were in the Lodges, returned to their houses, and conversed with their Neighbours in the Town, who received them without fear, suspicion, or reproof, and no harm did ensue upon it. As for Edinburgh, before the first of February (within three moneths) it was so well peopled and filled again with inhabitants,

bitants, as none could perceive by the number that any had died out of it. As if GOD from Heaven should have said, Lo, the cause of my wrath, lo, the cause of my mercie, with the going and coming of his servants : a rare and remarkable work never to be forgotten, as he did never forget it. And for my part, I think it merits to bee recorded here, and that it is worthy that the remembrance thereof should remain to all posterity, so far as my weaknesse can preserve it, that men may see and learn to fear and seek that GOD who worketh so great things, and none can hinder him. A notable wonder, and next unto that overthrow of the Spanish Armado in 88. both in my time, both immediatly by the hand of GOD : But this, so much the more evidently, as that there, some ordinary industrie and help of man did intervene ; here, nothing can be alledged to have brought it to passe, but the very finger of GOD. Let mankinde advert and admire it. And whosoever shall go about to bereave GOD of his glory by laying it over upon chance or fortune, may his chance be such as his blindnesse or perversenesse deserveth. Things being brought thus about, who would have been so modest, as not to have been so farre ambitious, as in distributing the offices of the Kingdome, to have taken to himself, or bestowed on his friends some place of honour or profit? But Angus did neither take to himself, nor procure any for his particular friends & followers. Let ambition be silent, and let her plumes fall, when she seeth her self truly condemned by him. He contented himself with that only which was his own ; yea, he even dispensed and forbore that which was his own ; modestly tolerating, that the Lands, House and Lordship of Dalkeith, should still be retained by the young Duke of Lennox ; upon the Kings promise to be restored thereto, so soon as any occasion should fall out of providing some other Lands to the Duke ; which was not done, till the Lord Methven dying without heires male, the Lands falling to the King, he gave them to Lennox, and restored Dalkeith to Angus. Out of the like modesty & will, to gratifie his Prince in whatsoever he could to the very uttermost of his power, at the Parliament held in Edinburgh 1587, about two years after, he dispensed with his priviledge of bearing the Crown at the Kings request, and suffered the Duke to carry it, with protestation (and promise) that it should not be prejudiciall to him nor his house in time coming, and so (with all meeknesse) submitted himself to take the second place, and carry the Scepter. In this last point, it was thought wisedome to yeeld, so to disappoint those, who were thought to have put the King upon it, of purpose to have made a breach betwixt the King and him by his refusall. The former was not effected without the bribing of those Courtiers who did then possesse the Kings eare. Secretary *Metellane* got his Lands of Die-Water to work it ; which when he would have holden of the King by renunciation, Angus refused to renounce, and would onely give them, holding of himself, not without some indignation on both sides. It was hardlier constructed, that he suffered a decreet given in favours of *Farnham* to his prejudice, to be reserved ; and stand good in his restitution. And thus did he behave himself in his private affairs.

As for the publick affairs of the Kingdom ; hee suffered them to bee managed by the Master of Glames, to whom the rest of their society <sup>Glames</sup> <sup>Treasurers</sup> were

were most inclined, for the opinion they had of his wisdom, greater experience and age ; as also for that now he was a prime officer of State ( Treasurer ) and allied with the Lord *Hamilton* ; rather than hee would enter into any contest , which might breed any division amongst themselves , being set altogether on peace and calmnesse , howbeit he did not approve of all their proceedings , and differed much in judgement from them, concerning the administration and handling of matters. So in the policie of the Church , though out of a sincere minde and true zeal , hee favoured and affected the right form as much as any, and was much grieved, that such order was not taken in it, as should have been, & was expected ; yet he did tolerate that course which the rest thought good to suffer to go on. For this they gave out, That the King inclined to the government of Bishops, and therefore it was not convenient to crosse his inclination abruptly and directly, lest he should seem to be constrained or thrall'd in his actions ( a point which they avoided carefully ) and not used with that respect and liberty, which is due to a Prince : yet they said they should labour to work him to it with time , taking their opportunity as it should be offered unto them. And so indeed it was brought to passe ; for Bishops were first restrained of their using their pretended jurisdiction, and by fact (*de facto*) even then brought under obedience to Synodes and Presbyteries , and in the year 1592. the former discipline was re-established by Act of Parliament , and all authority directly taken from Bishops. But neither in the former Parliament ( holden at Linlithgow in December 1585. ) neither in the next ( holden at Edinburgh the 29. of July 1587. ) was there any mention made thereof. This gave occasion of much discontentment to the best affected , and bitter contention betwixt the Court and the Ministry ; they reprooving this toleration of that unlawfull office , and the King committing them for their freedom of reproof. So no man of any judgement and good disposition was satisfied with their proceedings. Notwithstanding, there was none of any degree, but had a good opinion , and thought well of the Earle of Angus , and excused his part of it , laying the blame thereof upon the rest , who ( they thought ) were more carefull of their own particular , than mindefull or solicitous for the state of GODS Church. And when I call to minde the disposition of men in those times , I cannot expresse it otherwayes than thus ; That they accused all , but excused him ; and yet they so excused him, that they did also accuse him ; not for his want of good-will , but for want of action. They were perswaded of the sincerity of his heart but they thought him defective in action according to their opinion , and would have had him to have taken more upon him than he did. Concerning which purpose I have thought it best not so much to deliver my own judgement, or use my own words in excusing or accusing what might be thought worthy to be excused or accused in him ( for what is mine may be more obnoxious to mens censure ) as to set down every point according to the judgement, and in the words of others, who were present eye-witnesses and special actors in those times: what they thought worthy to be reprehended, and what they required to have amended, which wil comprehend what-



whatever negligence or omission any man can lay to his charge : for as touching any fault of Commission, and doing what he ought not to have done, there was no man complained of him. To which effect, diverse letters might bee produced, which were written to himselfe by diverse persons of all sorts, Civill and Ecclesiasticall, Scottish and English, of the Ministry, which had beene banished with him, and of the brethren of the Church of England : but I have made choice of one for all, which containeth the summe of all, both Church and State businesse, both private and publicke, and that in the Authours owne words most faithfully, neither adding nor impairing any thing. To which wee shall subjoyne his owne answer, in his owne words (so farre as our memory can serve) at least his owne estimation, and judgement of every point; his ends, grounds and reasons of his actions, which hee delivered in his most inward, and private conference, where it pleased him to open himselfe, as hee was accustomed, freely, and even to the laying naked of his very heart and soule.

*The letter was (after the wonted formalities) thus,*

“ **H**AVING occasion of this bearer, I thought good to remember some things, especially that you would (as you know I intended to have done) purchase in name of the Countrey, some to bee sent to keepe Justice Courts, in our Countrey and Teviotdale, otherwayes all will breake. Also let the sitting of the Session bee hastened, that such things as flow from their restitution may bee decided, otherwayes some men may bee greatly prejudiced and disappointed. As for Master *John*, it is hard for my Lord to helpe you both ( I am still of that opinion ) wherefore if no place fall about the King, let it not displease his Lordship that one of you seeke some other course.

A letter written to the Authour, concerning the State of those times.

“ After my departing from Linlithgow, I continued in great anger, whereof I am not yet fully freed, because of that sentence ( or decreet ) reserved to Farnihaste against the Earle of Angus : and though the doers bee partiall, yet I blame most his owne simplicitie ( I must needs so call it ) seeing his authoritie ought to put order to others, where now hee is onely a beholder of that which it pleaseth others to doe. But hee must either take matters otherwayes upon himselfe, or undoe himselfe, and all the rest with him. For if the Master of Glames, forgetting the event of Ruthven businesse, will needs trace the steps of the Earle of Gowrie, it is not for the rest of the fellowship to be slothfull to their owne hinderance. They are indeed at Court, but are esteemed no better ( abroad ) then beasts in the Countrey, never like to acquire the favour of any ; but continually declining out of the hearts of many of their well affected friends, who all speake, as though they saw already an evident ruine of them : and that ( doubtlesly ) deserved, for lying in their good cause, and not vindicating Israel from Aram. Remember whence they are fallen, and return, or we shall bee forced to lament for that which wee

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shall

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" shall never bee able to amend. If they sticke to their cause, all is sure;  
 " otherwise nothing sure : for either their suretie is by the Kings fa-  
 " vour (whereof I speake nothing) or the favour of the people : this they  
 " must have by pressing their cause ; of Noblemen, for relieving them  
 " from bondage, and revenging their bloud , of Gentlemen and Com-  
 " mons, for purging Religion, restoring of Justice, and providing that  
 " Tyrannie thrust not it selfe in againe. If this bee urged, it will con-  
 " firme such as are already in the cause, and will make more to joyne in  
 " it : So shall the cause prosper, and if occasion crave so, there is a par-  
 " tie ever ready to take Armes for it. But if, omitting this, a flattering,  
 " or a fearefull course bee taken, who shall speake plaine, and assist such  
 " fearefull dissemblers ? who shall credit them, when afterwards ( as  
 " heretofore ) they shall take on the name of the good cause ? I wish  
 " the Kings Majestie may bee used with all Princely reverence, but not  
 " flatteringly fostered in tyranny to his owne undoing, though I seeme  
 " to see even now that these flatterers shall be worthily wracked. I aske  
 " them whether they had a just cause in hand or not ? (and yet of all  
 " these evils, under the burden whereof the Countrey groned, they  
 " have opened nothing at all to his Majestie ) why is it not then justi-  
 " fied in deed by condemning the other worthy to bee condemned ? Is  
 " their cause already ended ? And if not, why is it then left off ? hath  
 " it not enemies ? why should it not then bee fortified against them ?  
 " The Declaracion of their cause, why was it published ? To acquire fa-  
 " vour at the hands of the people ? And why then is there nothing done  
 " to retaine this favour ? yea rather, why are such things done, as pro-  
 " cure their disfavour, and hatred ? I see nothing, but as men have  
 " dissemblingly pretended a good cause with uncleansed hearts, God  
 " ( to discover their hypocrisie ) hath given them their hearts desire,  
 " but for their further ruine for their Hypocrisie. I cannot forbear to  
 " write this, though I bee out of hope of any good, yet I suppose that  
 " such as have meant uprightly, shall ( in Gods favour ) bee provi-  
 " ded for ( though with trouble ) when God shall require of those  
 " dissemblers the bloud of such as have perished, and shall perish through  
 " their default, giving them a prooffe of their owne wits, and their un-  
 " faithfull hearts : They would not serve God, hee made men their  
 " masters. Are means failed him ? No : the last shall bee worse then  
 " the first. It seemeth to mee that God hath even prepared a mischief for  
 " them, and therefore given them over to their owne devices, where-  
 " with they are so drunke, and blinded, as men in a melancholicke ap-  
 " prehension, who are past all cure of Physicke. But this, above all,  
 " troubles mee most, that till such time as good men bee all un-  
 " done, and the Land utterly ruined, and overborne with Tyrannie,  
 " it shall not bee resisted hereafter . For a new Generation must a-  
 " rise ( that hath forgotten these things ) before that any who shall  
 " pretend a common cause get credit : good men are so often de-  
 " ceived under that colour and pretext , and drawne on to their  
 " wracke . And certainly, rather then I were hee, that (through  
 " mis-governance and evill order) should undoe so many as are like  
 " to

"to bee undone at this time, I had farre rather give my owne life for it.  
 "But I speake to deafe men, and therefore I cease, committing to God  
 "the providing for those, whose hearts hee sees to bee upright, having  
 "from time to time kept nothing backe of that which I knew would  
 "make for the surety of these men, and the cause, without troubling them  
 "with any particulars. If Angus could steere in his owne roome, hee  
 "might redresse the Masters errors: Speake to *Dunnipace* and *Largoe* :  
 "See what is done about the Barons, and give me notice of such directi-  
 "on as goeth to their Shires. I say, for conclusion, their earnest suite in  
 "particulars, and negligence in the common cause, convicts them be-  
 "fore all men, and the King may justly say, They had no good mean-  
 "ing. But if it were mine to doe, wee should goe all together to the  
 "King, and say, this or the like speech. Sir, in that yee have ( as may  
 "be) redressed our particulars, wee thanke you heartily, though it was  
 "ever the least part of our desire; for Gods Church hath beene heavi-  
 "ly oppressed (then tell him the particulars apart) Your Realme and  
 "Subjects have beene tyrannized over: (then tell him also some  
 "proofes) Let therefore the Gospell bee restored to the owne libertie,  
 "and some men chosen to set downe some sure policy which may last  
 "and continue. Let some also bee deputed to heare the plaints and  
 "grievances of such as have beene wronged, under the colour of your  
 "Majesties name, and let their wrongs bee redressed as much as is pos-  
 "sible; and such order taken, that the Subjects may bee out of feare  
 "heerafter of suffering, so they keepe the Lawes. Let the Lawes  
 "also bee revised by wise men, and such of them taken away as  
 "bee hurtfull to the Subjects (for you shall finde the like Ordinance  
 "touching Acts of Parliament of olde.) This being done, wee  
 "doubt not, but God shall blesse you, and your Countrey; seeing,  
 "the neglecting hereof, hath beene the cause of the evils past. Sir,  
 "doe it your selfe, for the gaine is yours, though wee put you in  
 "minde of it. Now except this bee done, there can bee no conti-  
 "nuing quietnesse.

*Postscript.*

"Their foolish proceedings make all men to stand aloofe. I heare  
 "the Lord *Boyd* is secretly in this Countrey of Scotland, but  
 "seeth not that in them which hee could wish. Let the Master behave  
 "himselfe as hee pleaseth, can the King but thinke that hee would ra-  
 "ther with his owne sister sonne King? I finde great fault that the Ab-  
 "bots (Driebrough and Cambuskenneth) Lie abake, who are practi-  
 "tioners and partakers, as Marre at Ruthven: let them joyne together  
 "and bee knowne.

This lettell being received, and a fit opportunitie espied; it was  
 brought to my Lord, and without further ceremony; I have received  
 here a letter (saith hee) from whom, and from whence your Lord-  
 ship may see. It is written to mee indeed, but not for my sake, (for hee

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knowes

Presented to  
Angus.

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knowes my minde ) but that I might so informe your Lordship concerning your estate, and the state of the publicke cause which you have embraced ; and you might know what the thoughts of honest men are concerning it, what they thinke, what they expect, what they wish and require. I thinke it best that it speake for it selfe in its owne language, let it be your Lordships pleasure to reade it. He tooke it and read it, and after a litle pause ; This (saith he) that is here in the beginning of this letter may be obtained, this Commission for Justice Courts, and this for our securitie we shall and must needs bee carefull of. There is next that which concerneth your selfe ; wherein I am sorry that occasion hath not served me to expresse in effect the good will I bore you, as I thinke I ought to doe. And while he was about to goe on in that purpose, the other interrupting him, made answer : Let it be your Lordships pleasure to breake off that discourse : I never doubted (nor never will doe) of your Lordships minde, which is enough to satisfie me ; you know my ambition. I am content to doe any thing, I am content to doe nothing : hope did not bring me to this cause, frustrating, nor feare cannot divert me. If I can serve to any good use, I am glad of it : if I cannot, yet am I contented : it is enough to me that I have been willing, and gone as farre as God hath called me : hee knoweth how farre hee will imploy any, and your Lordship is my best witnesse, that I never did thrust my selfe into your Lordships publicke or private businesse. So farre as you were pleased of your owne accord to communicate with me, so farre I knew and meddled. I know what men thinke, but this shall ever be my wisdom, or my folly (let who list account it so) yet if I were even aspiringly disposed, how can your Lordship doe for your friends, at his Majesties hands, who doth your owne affaires with him by the mediation of strangers ? But (seeing we are fallen upon this purpose) let it not displease your Lordship that Master *John* retire himselfe (as you see it is desired here) I will (by Gods grace) runne such hazard and fortune as may befall me, by being your Lordships onely ; to which my minde, my liking, and the honour I have to be your Lordships Kinsman, and will to honour and doe what good office I can to your Lordship, do carry me ; and if so I can serve your Lordship to any good use in any thing you have to doe, it is all I crave : for the present let me bee bold to aske your Lordships minde and disposition concerning this letter, what you thinke rightly admonished, and what you intend about the prosecution or amending of every point in it.

Discourse  
concerning  
Mr. *Craig*'s  
Sermon.

Before we come to this (said my Lord) let mee demand a question of you first, and heare your judgement in a point which hath greatly perplexed me : you remember the sermon preached at Linlithgow by Master *Craig*, what thinke you of it ? I remember you told me you did not fully like it : but I would heare you againe more particularly to refresh my memory, because it is greatly incident to this purpose, and seems to cut short all our actions. For if the case of all Subjects towards their Princes be such, what can we doe but depend on their pleasure ? The other (smiling a litle) indeed my Lord (as it is in our Proverbe) *It is time to aske the question* ! for if you must depend on their pleasure, why did you not expect

expect it † and stay in England till you were recalled: why came you un-  
sent for † and that in such a manner? what is become of your Proclama-  
tions? and of all the faire reasons of it? you must goe backe again, and  
recant all, and cry peccavie for these things. Oh, (saith my Lord) that  
is another question, for what we did in that, was done of necessitie for  
our lives and estates, and to remove that violent tyrannous man, who else  
would have undone King, Countrey, and all: But now that he is remo-  
ved, and that necessitie taken away, it is another case, how to deale with  
our Prince, to whom we owe such obedience, he being amongst Kings,  
*Who are in the place of God, who are called Gods, and to whom is due the obedi-  
ence to God.* But leaving the particular, let me heare you of the generall,  
What you thinke of that Sermon, and of his grounds? I know there are  
others also, that were not satisfied with it, but I would heare you. Ha-  
ving paused a little, he answered: Loath am I my Lord, to enter upon that  
taske of censuring any man, chiefly a Preacher: I like better to dispute  
a point and discusse a truth, without touching upon any mans person, so  
farre as it can be avoyded. But seeing your Lordship drawes me to it: I  
confesse, wee all disclaime implicite faith, and thinke wee are reasonable  
creatures, apt to weigh and consider mens reasons, and yeeld assent to  
their opinions so farre as they enforce, neither ought wee otherwayes to  
consent, nor can any reasonable man enforce him selfe to assent, which  
makes me, in matter of consenting (chiefly in Religion) to dislike of  
constraint: For I judge of others as I finde my selfe; the world cannot  
force mee, nay, I cannot force my selfe to thinke otherwayes, then my  
judgement alloweth of. But to your question, *I am more favourable to  
Princes, then many beleeve, and to Monarches:* I account it a great and  
heavie charge, and burden, which hath need of great reliefe, and many  
comforts to recompense the pains thereof, and can permit much to a  
good Prince, yea, as much as he him selfe pleaseth; which will never bee  
more then is good and just, though it were all the estates of his Subjects,  
and the whole Countrey to be guided by him selfe alone, with as absolute  
power as any ever spake of, and yet not thinke that hee had an haire  
breadth of more power to doe hurt. But to the question we are on; your  
Lordship remembers the ground that Master Craig did lay? yes (saith  
he) very well: It was that passage of the 82. Psalm (God sits in the assem-  
bly of the Gods) And what he built thereon? He built (said he) obedience  
to Kings commandments and impunitie without controulement; your  
Lordship remembers right, and reports the best of his speech in the fair-  
est termes [Obedience to Kings, Impunitie to Kings] whereas hee said  
roundly, [Obedience to Tyrants, Impunitie to Tyrants] which two who  
confounds, doth great wrong to good Kings. But whether wee call  
them Tyrants, or Kings, which that Psalm speakes of, Who so inferres  
these conclusions from thence, doth it without warrant from the text,  
the drift of which is clean contrary; not to extoll or lift them up, but to  
abate their pride, and to humble them; not to secure them, but to terrifie  
them; not to exempt them from death (the lot of other men) but to let  
them know that they are subject to it as well as others, and to threaten  
them therewith. Wherefore let men build up Power and impunitie to  
Tyrants

Of Obedi-  
ence to Ty-  
rants, and  
Impunitie of  
Tyrants.

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Tyrants upon what other place of Scripture they please, I dare affirme that this place is most unfit for it. For here there is never a word of [Obedience] never a word of [Impunitie] but by the contrary of [punishment.] Oh, ! but it saith [*I have said ye are Gods :*] True, but it saith also [*Nevertheless, you shall die*] which two being put together, the one shewes them their duety, [*Do justice as God doth*] the other threatneth punishment [*Ye shall die if ye do it not.*] But they will say, that this threatening is from God, and therefore God (indeed) may and will punish, but man may not. I answer, the Text makes no mention whether God will punish them immediately, or by the hand of man : but however that be, the scope of the Psalmist is to humble them, and hee who from thence doth gather any Prerogative or impunitie to them, gathers that which is contrary to the Text. Now to come to the particulars of the Sermon : To what use was it at that time to preach [Obedience] to Tyrants ? was it not sufficient to have preached [Obedience] to good Kings ? And to have showne his Majesty to be a good King (if he thought that any man doubted of that point) which was more honourable for his Majestie, more befitting a Preacher, more easie to perswade, then to roote out the inveterate opinion of the lawfulness to resist Tyrants ? Concerning his Arguments: 1. Was the first solid ? [*God sitteth in the assembly of Gods*] therefore Tyrants sit in the seat of God : though it were true, yet it followeth not : and it is even like to this, The King sits in the Assembly of the Lords, therefore the Lords sit in the Kings seat. As on the contrary, The King (being present) doth sit in his owne seat, and the Lords do rather sit in his seat when he is absent, then when he sits in the Assembly amongst them. Also (as I have said) the presence of God is there mentioned : not to authorize, but to controll them. Neither doth the Text inferre, [*Therefore obey them*] there is no word of that there, but [*Therefore they shall die*] Because God sits and sees them, eyes them, and perceives the wrong they doe, and how they abuse their power, which is a contrary illation to his, and farre more consonant to the Text. 2. His second Argument was [*The people of God are commanded to obey Nabuchodonozor, who was a Tyrant*, therefore all Tyrants should be obeyed.] How hard an inference ! Of a particular extraordinary, to gather a generall ordinary rule ! If wee allow of this kinde of arguing, it will bee replied : *God commanded Jehu (a private man) to slay Achab (a Tyrant)* therefore private men ought, or may slay Tyrants. 3. His third [*David did not slay Saul*, therefore no man should lay hands on a Tyrant] how loose is it ? from example or authoritie, negative. 4. But the fourth [*God placed the Tyrant in that place, therefore no man may put him out of it, though his Tyranny bee never so great*] what doe you thinke of it ? A mans goods are taken from him by a briggand, who doubts but God hath given them into the briggands hands ? But doth it therefore follow, that no man (not the Magistrate) may take them from him againe, because God hath put them into his hands ? yea, who knowes but God hath cast them into his hands for that end, that they may bee taken out of his hands, and hee punished for it ? Besides, this inconvenient will also follow hereon: if an usurper shall once get himselfe place in a Kingdome, no man (by this reasoning) may ever

ever dispossesse him again, to repossesse the lawfull King ; because (without all doubt) God hath placed him there. This were a maxime very prejudiciall to lawfull and rightfull Kings. 5 The fifth was a Simile] which all men know are ever lame, and doe halt some way ; yea those which he used, are brought by others to prove the contrary. 1. For even Children are sometimes made free from their Parents by the civill law Romane. 2. And Servants from their Masters, by Gods Law given to the Jewes ; as, *If his eye bee beaten out, let him goe for his eye.* 3. Wives are divorced, and freed from their husbands, if the essentiall knot and tie of matrimonie bee violated, and broken : why then may not the tie we have to Tyrants be taken away ? If the Essentiall cause of obedience ( the image of God ) justice ) be violated, and cast off by the Tyrant, why may not the obligation of obedience cease ? And this for his Arguments, which you see how frivolous and weak they are. As for his conclusion [ *Men may not put hand in Tyrants* ] it can never be deduced from his text : There is only one word, which seemes to make for him [ *I said ye are gods* ] but the next words say plainly [ *Nevertheless ye shall die,* ] whereby it is clear, that this appellation of gods is not given them to free them from punishment, but to put them in minde of their duty, which when they neglect, they lose the name, and are lyable to the punishment. So that ( according to his owne forme of reasoning ) if it follow from hence, that because God hath placed them in that place to doe justice, therefore men should not take them out of it, though they prove Tyrants ; it will follow farre better ; God appoints them to die, because they doe not justice, therefore they must die, therefore men may make them die, when they become Tyrants in stead of being gods. Which kind of reasoning if he think not to be good, then must he quit his own reason, and leave this passage, as neither making for him, nor against him ; neither exempting them from punishment ( in calling them gods, which shewes but what they ought to be of dutie ) nor yet giving expresse command for men to slay them, in this other word ( *ye shall die* ) which shewes onely what God will doe in his justice. He alledged (as others also doe in this cause) that the thing which moved him to broach this conclusion, was, because that if a liberty to kill, or disobey Tyrants be granted unto men, then good Kings shall not be obeyed, nor sure of their owne lives, because seditious or ambitious men (of which there are enow) will call a good King a Tyrant. But your Lordship may consider the futilitie of that pretext ; for by the same reason all lawes are taken away, and all punishment of vice and wickednesse. For where the law ordaines theeves to be punished, an unjust Judge may call an honest man a theefe ; and if we allow blasphemie to be punished, a *Jezebel* will finde meanes to cause *Naboth* be accounted a blasphemer ; and if we suffer sedition to be punished, Tyrants will call a good Patriot, a seditious fellow ; free admonitions, treason ; and any word of liberty, rebellion. Shall therefore sedition be unpunished ? shall theft ? shall blasphemie ? And certainly there is more danger, and it comes oftner to passe, that a Tyrant should call an honest man seditious, then it is found that subjects call a good King a Tyrant. The people suffer much ( what by custome, what through a naturall



naturall inclination and love toward their Princes) and beare with many great faults, and seldome come to rise up against him, but when the injury is intolerable. And you shall finde (when you please to trie it) that they have comported more and oftner with wicked Princes, then ever they have made insurrection against good ones; nay, then they have made against the wicked, unlesse their wickednesse hath beene extreme enormous and pernicious. Yea, I doubt whether any can finde an example of insurrection against any that was good, nay, against any tolerably wicked: whereas of the other side, many honest men have beene oppressed, and put to death by Tyrants upon small or no occasion, upon a forged accusation, lie, or calumnie. Wherefore it is a foolish and ridiculous pretext, to maintaine Obedience, and the Impunitie of Tyrants, that so good Kings may be obeyed, and secured: as if a man should plead for impunitie to harlots, that so honest matrons may be secured. All is but folly, for there is but one way to secure honest women, which is to avoyd whorish fashions; to secure honest and true men, to take heed they be not found breaking or digging through of houses. And let a good King beware and carefully avoid all tyrannicall actions. So (and onely so) shall he be sure (if word and worke justifie him) and free from all feare of punishment from God or man. And thus much concerning your Lordships question, what my opinion is of that Sermon.

*Bodinus* his  
absurdity.

But seeing we are fallen upon this subject, let me tell your Lordship how men, while they labour to put a good face upon this matter, wavering betwixt flatterie of Princes, and truth of reason received, and allowed by the common consent of all men against Tyrants, involve and intangle themselves into many difficulties and absurdities. I will bring one instance for all, and that is *Bodinus* (a Frenchman) in his booke *De republica*: faine would he make even Tyrants to be sacred and inviolable, and perswade that all obedience is due, and ought to be given them. And he concludes, that they are not to be touched by their subjects, but obeyed; whereof he gives this for his chiefe reason, Because their subjects have no jurisdiction over them: yet finding how hard it were to free them from all feare of punishment, he puts them into the hands of forraine Kings, and exhorts them to exterminate and root them out, commending it as a laudable action, by the imitation of *Hercules*, who travelled through the world (sayes he) to destroy these Monsters, Tyrants. Now let any man judge what good reason can be given for denying that power to the Countrey it selfe (under the pretext, because they have no jurisdiction) and to give it to a forrainer, who hath neither interest nor jurisdiction over another Prince. And whether is there more danger in the sedition of his Countrey people, then in the ambition of a stranger Prince? And which of them is likeliest to picke a quarrell against him, and to call him a Tyrant, and seeke occasion to worke their owne particular ends? Besides, what shall be the part of the people in this case? Shall they fight against this forrainer, who comes to cut off their Tyrant? Who then shall come to relieve those from tyrannie, that will take armes for defence of the Tyrant? Shall they joyne with him? Certainly in all reason they ought to joyne with him, seeing it is for their

their sakes that he under-takes the warre. But that is Rebellion ( if wee beleeve *Bodinus*. ) Shall they be neutrall, and spectators ? Even that is disobedience. And yet the same *Bodinus* sayes, That Tyrants are monsters; now there is no societie ( farre lesse bond of obedience and subjection ) with monsters. Yea, hee sayes, That there is no societie with Pirats, because they break the Lawes of humane societie ; and Tyrants break them much more. This same man in his *Demonomania* sayes, A King may become a Wolfe ; and that a great King in Christendome was one when hee pleased. I ask him then, Whether such a King should bee obeyed, when hee is a Wolfe ? And if hee should ever continue to bee such, without returning to bee a man, whether or not must hee bee ever obeyed in all things ? Shall his sacred Majestie bee revered ? And ( lest hee should starve ) shall hee bee fed with childrens flesh ( perhaps ) because hee will eat no other, or ( at least ) because hee likes that best ? Certainly, his reason will inferre no lesse than that hee should. And if hee bee ashamed to affirme this, and will confesse that it is lawfull to put such an one from his Kingdome, who hath put off humane nature, and can now no more guide a Kingdome : what shall wee think of one, who ( though retaining the shape of a man ) hath a wolvis nature and disposition, being cruell, wicked, licentious, and over-throws all right and equitie ? And is not a Tyrant ( for the like reason ) as worthie to bee deprived of that Kingdome, which hee cannot, or will not guide rightly, but destroys and makes havock of all ? Certainly, the reason is all one : for it is not the shape ( so much ) of a Wolfe that men abhorre, as the wolvis and ravenous nature and disposition. For suppose a good King were ( contrary to his will ) transformed by Magicall incantation onely, into the shape of a Wolfe, who did retaine his reason, his speech, his wisdom, justice, equitie, meeknesse, and all good Government, omitting nothing that belonged to a good Prince, men would not so much abhorre, as pity him, and expect till some way were found how hee might recover his former shape, and would ( doubtlesse ) preferre his humane nature, though in the shape of a Wolfe, to a wolvis nature, though under the shape of a man; it being farre more tolerable, and farre more advantageous for the Common-wealth, whereof the good and safetie is ever to bee respected and preferred in all things. And thus much for *Bodinus*.

But will your Lordship bee pleased to hear what that great Doctour of the Lawes ( a professed Patron of Princes, in his book which hee wrote of purpose for their defence ) I mean *Blackwood* sayes concerning this question ? It is ( sayes hee ) an absurd thing to affirm, That a Princes commandement should or may be disobeyed. Yet if a Prince command any thing that is unjust, it must not be obeyed. But how shall we do then ? Even this, sayes hee, when the commandement is unjust, we must suppose that the commandement is not the Kings commandement : but either that it is, first, some fained and forged thing under his name; secondly, or stoln from him at unawares; thirdly, or that being

Apol. cap. 34.

Of *Blackwood's* opinion.

“ busied some other way, he did not take heed to it: Fourthly, or that he  
 “ hath been ill informed: Fifthly, or mis-taken it: Sixthly, or that hee is  
 “ misled and mis-carried with some passion or prejudice. So in the point  
 of controlling Princes, he cannot endure that the Sacred Majestie, Gods  
 Vice-gerent, should be constrained or forced any way, that is absurd and  
 abominable: Yet if he mis-govern the Countrey, so that the state of  
 the Common-weale bee in danger, the blame must bee laid on his evill  
 Counsellours; those they may lay hands on, and take order with them,  
 nay, hang them, if they please, and place good men about him, whose  
 better advice he may follow. But by no meanes must they touch or  
 meddle with himself in person. This opinion is such, that (I beleve)  
 hee against whom he writes, hath not written any thing that may seeme  
 more hard. For if we may call his commandements (when they are un-  
 just) stolne, and so dis-obey them, wee are not bound to obey his unjust  
 commandements. And if wee may take order with his counsellours,  
 who will be his counsellour? Or who will execute his unjust will?  
 Nay, how can subjects do either of these two without a manifest con-  
 trolling and forcing of him, Since hee will oppose and interpret all as  
 done against himselfe, and call it Treason and Rebellion against him?  
 So that in effect all comes to one. Besides, this way leaves that ground  
 (which men so carefully pretend to avoyd) which is, to call all  
 his commandements stolne (though they bee never so clearly his)  
 and albeit they bee never so good; as also of calling his Counsel-  
 lours evill, though they bee not so. Whereby hee makes them  
 Judges both of his Commandements and Counsellours; so that  
 they may call it in question whether they bee good or not; which  
 doth brangle, and (indeed) over-turme all that absolute power which  
 he gave them before.

Of Active  
 and Passive  
 Obedience.

I will not omit here to tell your Lordship of another distinction that  
 some use against unlawfull commandements: They grant that we should  
 not give them Active Obedience, that is, that we should not do the thing  
 commanded, but that we must yeeld Passive obedience, that is, Suffer  
 what punishment the Prince shall be pleased to lay upon us for our refus-  
 ing to do what he commands, whether it be a pecuniarie mulct, impris-  
 onment, or death it self. But if this be rightly weighed in the balance  
 of reason, if the commandement be unlawfull, the punishment inflicted  
 for refusing to obey it, is also unlawfull, and the commanding of us to un-  
 der-go that punishment, is likewise unlawfull. Therefore there is no  
 necessitie of obedience to that command, according to *Blackwoods*  
*rule*; for it is not the Kings, it is stolne. Therefore if a Tyrant com-  
 mand a thing unlawfull, under the pain of paying a summe of money, a  
 man is no more bound to pay the money, than hee is to obey the com-  
 mandement, for both are unlawfull. Farre lesse is he bound to submit  
 himself to a corporall punishment, or to lay down his life, or to enter in-  
 to prison, which takes away his libertie, as dear to him as his life, and doth  
 oftentimes endanger both his life and goods by consequence. If (I say)  
 he can get these things avoyded, he is not bound in conscience to under-go  
 them, but may lawfully with-draw himself from them, and shun them.

What

What hee is to do when he cannot eschue these things, is not a case of duty, but of prudence: for that same question will come to be considered, when a man hath to do with a Robber (to whom he owes no obligation of obedience) if hee be not able to resist him, how farre hee shall yeeld to him. Let us put the case then, That a Tyrant would (for our dis-obeying of his unlawfull commands) invade us his subjects by Armes, wee are not so bound to him, but wee may avoide the blow; nay, the subject (in this case) may warde the blow, and put by his Princes Weapon, he may hold his hands (if it be necessary) and if hee cannot otherwayes save himself. And what will these that stand for Passive Obedience answer to those that suppose this case: That the Prince and his subjects were in a ship, and the Prince should command a leake to be made in the ship, by which the water might come in, and drown both them and himself? They will (perhaps) say, that they would not do it, although he should command it. But would they give him a Passive Obedience? Would they suffer him to kill them for their refusall? Would they give him leave and way to do it? Or would they set aside such ceremonie, and stay him from it calmly? Put the Augre or Wimble out of the way, or keep it from him? Hold his hands; or (if there were need) even binde him rather? so to save themselves and him. Which if it be right and lawfull to do for preserving a private ship, what shall be said of the Bark of the Common-wealth (I pray you) if a Tyrant do such things, which will cast it into danger of drowning and shipwrack?

Now the ground of all this; "First, (That tyrants must be obeyed; Secondly, that they must not be controlled, nor resisted, but get ever a Passive Obedience; Thirdly, that they must no wayes be deprived, and farre lesse touched in their persons) is in this (forsooth) *That they are Gods*; which name (as they alledge) inferres all these, Obedience, not resistance, not depriving, &c. And indeed (to be God) carries more with it; it imports both Active and Passive Obedience to whatsoever he commands without exception, to kill his sonne with *Abraham*; for each man to kill his brother, as the Levites did. But how farre these (called) Gods, come short of that priviledge (notwithstanding of the name) I have said before: and therefore this appellation will not import any of the rest by any necessary consequence, no more than it doth absolute Active Obedience. Neither are Princes there compared to GOD, because of equall sovereignty or obedience due to them, but because of the likenesse of the action, and to warne them to imitate him in justice. And to draw an argument from a Comparison of things, to prove an equality in them, in that wherein they are not matched or compared, is against the law of Similies, or Comparisons. Secondly, those who dispute in this sort, speak onely of absolute Monarchs (as they call them) but the name of [Gods] is not onely given to absolute Monarchs. It is given to the Judges of Israel before they had Kings: & the Turks use (at this day) when they go to law, this phrase, Let us go to God: by which they mean, not their absolute Monarch, the Emperour, but any inferiour Judge, even the lowest and meanest, as (no question) even a

## 422 *Of Archbald the third of that Name,*

Sheriffes depute, or a Barons Bailiffe sit in the place of God, when they sit to do justice betwixt parties; yet no man for that doth attribute absolute power to them.

Behold the ground of your Lordships cause, and of this so worthy an action done by you, to your perpetuall honour, of rare memory and example in any age: lo what you have been; not contemplating and disputing in the Schooles, but practising in the Common-wealth. For if it be not lawfull to disobey the command of Princes (even of lawfull and borne Princes) in any case, then is this that you have done, very unlawfull. If it be a wrong to controll their wills, then must this your fact be condemned as wrong. If it bee not lawfull to remove from them wicked Counsellours and instruments of iniquitie, then is this your act altogether unjust, enormous, unlawfull and treacherous. But the world acknowledges, all men assent, and the Prince himselfe confesses, that you have happily atchieved a worthie worke, in freeing your King from the jawes of these wolves and lions, who devoured the Realme, and polluted his name and fame; that you have restored him to his honour, and that high expectation of him to his Countrey, and to the Church of God throughout the whole world.

There rests onely this exception and doubt in mens mindes, whether or not this hath been your aime (in very deed) and the true scope and end of your enterprize; or if this bee but incident and adventitious to your own particular designes. For it is sure, your particular was joyned with it; but that is no fault: yea, I account him happy, whose los joynes his estate with an honest cause, so that they must stand or fall together; or whose minde and resolution casts him upon it. But it is of great weight, and makes a great difference, when the cause is our end, and (our particular but accessorie, or contrarily) when our particular is the maine motive, and the common cause but a by end, and embraced only to advance our particular. Your Proclamation (or Declaration) which ye published, speaks much of the publick cause and common-weale; but you may perceive what men think (how your actions and doings since do not answer thereto) by this Letter. For they are begun to think, that howsoever you pretended the publick, yet your intention was fixed onely on your own particular; because you have done nothing for the Church or Countrey, and hath settled your own particular. And it is observed, That of all the Parliaments that were ever held in this Countrey, this last (held since you came home) is it, in which alone there is no mention of the Church, either in the beginning thereof (as in all others there is) or elsewhere throughout. This neglect of the state of the Church and Countrey, as it is a blemish of your fact, obscuring the beauty and lustre of it; so is it accounted an error in policie and civill prudence, by so doing, to divide and separate your particular from the common cause of the Church and Countrey; which as it hath been the meane of your particular restitution, so is it the onely meane to maintain you in this estate, and to make it sure and firme.

Angus answered.

“Hee having thus spoken, the Earle of Angus answered, I know  
“that

“that question stands yet undecided betwixt those that stand for Ty-  
 “rants , and those that are against them , and is disputed by Law-  
 “yers on both sides ; as what is not disputed and called in que-  
 “stion by them ? I see also there hath been continuall practice of both  
 “wayes ; and the practice hath been allowed or dis-allowed accor-  
 “ding to the successe ; The Nobility calling it Tyranny and mis-govern-  
 “ment , and the Prince calling the controlling of him , Seditiō , Re-  
 “bellion , Treason. But if Doctor *Blackwood* say that which you  
 “say , hee touches the point very right , and the fashion of our  
 “Countrey , whose ordinary custome hath ever been such , to take  
 “order with wicked Counsellours , carrying all respect to the Prince,  
 “and as much reverence as ever any Nation did. Yet that begin-  
 “ning with the Counsellours drew many at last by necessity to betake  
 themselves directly to their Prince himself , when hee would needs  
 espouse their quarrell , and either to protect and maintaine them , or  
 to revenge them. So that if *Blackwood* say that it is lawfull to pu-  
 nish wicked Counsellours , he must confesse also, that it is lawfull to  
 controll Kings. Neither is hee aware that in so saying , hee makes  
 the Nobility ( or Estates ) Judges to discern whether the Counsel-  
 lours bee wicked or not ; and whether their proceedings bee for  
 the good of the Countrey , which he will alledge they are ; and that  
 both themselves are good servants , and their service good and pro-  
 fitable to him and the Countrey ; and these actions which they do , and  
 the counsell which they give, that they do them as his servants , and by  
 his direction , as Counsellours advising and propounding things , not  
 prescribing or enjoyning ; and therefore what is done against them,  
 is not done against them , but against him ; and that they are not wick-  
 ed, but good and faithfull men. Now the case standing thus, to whom-  
 soever he allowes the power to put order to them as wicked , hee al-  
 lowesthem also power to cognosce of them as wicked , to judge of  
 them as wicked ; and that contrary to the judgement of their Prince  
 who will never judgethem such. And indeed, unlesse it be so, when  
 wicked men shall winde themselves in about a Prince , and abuse his  
 name , or pervert his minde, How shall the Prince be preserved ? How  
 shall the Countrey , the State , Religion , Lawes, Order , and particular  
 mens estates be saved from ruine ? As hath been profitably and neces-  
 sarily practised ( divers times before ) in this Kingdome ; and of late by  
 us upon a flat necessity for his own good , and the good of the Countrey.  
 “And for my own part ( I will answer for one , and can answer but for  
 “one ) his good did as much move me to that course , as any private  
 “interest of my own : and I still shall as much regard it ( by GODS  
 “grace ) so long as this weak life is in my body. I know not how long  
 “that will be , and who lives longest , lives but a short time ; and I  
 “account not that hee lives , who lives onely to live this life , or to  
 “enjoy any thing that is in it. This Lesson I have learned substanti-  
 “ally ( so my GOD hath schooled me ) and I speak it to you seri-  
 “ously, knowing to whom I speak. Neither shall ever any endeavour  
 “of mine have any particular for the last end of it. That all is not  
 fo

"so well done and so clearly to the satisfaction of the Ministry, and  
 "all honestly affected, it grieves me as much as any, and I am not igno-  
 "rant that these inconvenients follow thereupon, That we undergo the  
 "slander of respecting our particular, Of carelesnesse of the Church  
 "and Countrey; as though all our speeches and Proclamations tending  
 "that way, had been but pretexts, and that if ever any such businesse  
 "should fall out again, our credit will not be so great. Yet (not for  
 "these causes, but for the well doing it self) my desire is, That every  
 "thing be rightly done, because it is right so to doe. But what can  
 "I help it? I am but one of the society, neither can I perswade my  
 "associats to do otherwayes, nor am I able to compell them, nor  
 "were it fit I should, it not being the Law of a society to doe so; but  
 "to do all with commune consent, and to obtaine what may bee ob-  
 "tained by a fair way, but to go no further. Otherwayes it would  
 "quickly dissolve into divers factions amongst our selves, and make  
 "some of us joyne with others to the overthrow of us all: which  
 "if ever it come to passe, it shall never be through any occasion from  
 "me. Men think (I know) that my place is a principall one, yet it is  
 "but the place of one; neither is it so principall, but that there is as prin-  
 "cipall as it, equall to it, or (perhaps) beyond it, in respect of proximi-  
 "tie to the Kingdome, if it should fall out so, which GOD for-  
 "bid it should. For no King (you know) can ever bee so neare  
 "to mee, and therefore there is none whom I should or will affect  
 "so much. And this is it that carries it away from me, and gives  
 "them no little advantage: The Lord Hamilton being next the  
 "Crowne, is guided by the Master of Glames: and the Master de-  
 "lights to bee deep in his counsels, and pleaseth himself in this form  
 "of managing affaires, which you see is now used. I have many  
 "times told him (and others also) my opinion, but cannot bring  
 "them to it. If I should take a course to crosse and force them,  
 "How dangerous were it? Yea, what concurrence or assistance  
 "should I have? Or, of whose friendship could I assure my self?  
 "Maxwell, you know what his respects are: and what Religion he is  
 "of. I can never forget the Watch-word he gave at Faw Kirk, whereby  
 "he did plainly professe his disposition to superstition, *Saint Andrew*  
 "was it. And who knowes what intention he hath to retain the title  
 "of the Earle of Morton. As for your Chief (the Lord *Hume*) dare  
 "we think better of him? My brother-in-law (the Earle Bothwell)  
 "how uncertain is hee? What ado had I to retaine him at Faw Kirk?  
 "And what trouble have I still to keep him in good order? There is  
 "onely one, of whose stedfastnesse and friendship I dare assure my  
 "self, as much as of my self, who is loving, faithfull and constant, and  
 "that is the Earle of Marre: yet hee hath been so tossed with troubles  
 "already, that he is loath to intangle himself a new, if it can be avoided  
 "any way. And why should not I be as loath to put him to any ha-  
 "zard, or to occasion any trouble to him, contrary to his disposition?  
 "GOD forbid, but that I should, bee as carefull of him as hee is of  
 "himself.

" And



“ And concerning their proceedings, as I do not approve them altogether, so dare I not condemn them altogether. Wee have to doe with our Prince; what should we not doe to gain him by all faire and Gentle meanes? Wee ought not to crosse or thrall his will, but to draw it easily to a better temper, and not so much oppose him, as by complying with his inclination a little, to winde him from that ill way and course hee hath beene set upon. He desires to bee at liberty, and to bee knowne to bee so, and it approves and justifies our proceedings to have it so, and testifies to him and to the world, our love and obedience, and what our mindes have been from the beginning toward him. Hee promiseth not to withdraw himself from us, to joyne with others; our trusting of his promise will deserve that hee should continue with us, and will gaine his affection, which is a surer bond than a guard placed about him; which would entertaine naturall suspition, and move him to seek meanes of freeing himself from us: and hardly could any guard bee so kept, but that one set to escape, might finde a way for it, not to speak of the charges that were required to entertaine it. Neither need wee to feare much, though hee had a minde to forsake us; for wee know who would or could bee our partie, and what forces they have. That there are some suffered to remaine about him, who are no good friends to us, nay, who have been evill instruments against us, proceeds from the same ground: for it is done, that himself and others may see his liberty, and what confidence wee have in him. That the state of the Ministry is not brought to that point which we wish: wee cannot get it done suddenly, except wee will plainly and directly enforce his will: and how many would agree or concur to that? But wee hope to work it with his owne consent in time: for the Ministry insist in their right, and he commits them, and wee intercede and mitigate his anger to farre, that it proceeds onely to a short and easie confinement or imprisoning. In the mean time, they have leasure to informe him; and hee of himself will be wearied with such continuall opposition, and will give way to settle such a course as they desire; and so it will be better and more durable, than if it should now bee extorted from him by any shew of compulsion. These bee the grounds, upon which such as think themselves very wise amongst us, build their work; which though it be not so framed, as to give every man present satisfaction (who knowes not what their way is? or if they knew, allowes not of it?) yet when they shall finde the effects thereof, they will think better of them. Neither are they afraid to want the assistance of such as are honestly affected, in case wee should bee assaulted by any; for they cannot betake themselves to any other, having none else from whom they can look for any good in the least measure: nay, who is there besides, that hath not a very bad meaning? And wee, though wee doe not all the good they would; yet are wee doing somewhat, and keep off much evill; and therefore they will rather take part with us, than

“than suffer all to go to wrack. You may happily think that you  
 “have much to say against this : but ( as I said before ) though I  
 “approve not all, yet I do not condemne all ; so I say now , though  
 “I report all , yet I doe not approve of all ; and doe confesse that wee  
 “should doe much more , and it were better if wee could agree to  
 “it , and bee all of one minde. Yet this is the wisdom of our  
 “deepest and profoundest Politicians , whom I am resolved not to  
 “crosse nor presse any more , but to take my hazard amongst the  
 “rest ; and I doe hope, G O D will provide for me as well as for  
 “them , and that my part shall bee as well known every way to honest  
 “men. And therefore we will have no more objections nor reasoning at  
 “this time.

Well, my Lord ( said the other ) it shall bee so then ; wee shall rea-  
 son no more of this Subject. Indeed your Lordships part is best interpre-  
 ted , save that they think that your authority should be of greater moment  
 ( as you may see by this Letter ) and that you should rather go be-  
 fore all, than follow any. This one thing give me leave to remem-  
 ber concerning the King; Hee is the most apparent instrument that  
 is in Europe ( and so in the world ) of whom wee can expect  
 greatest good and comfort to the Church of G O D , as being the  
 onely King that hath been bred in the purity and sincerity of Religi-  
 gion , and therefore of great expectation; and because of this expecta-  
 tion , greatly favoured and beloved of all true Professours of Religion  
 every where: He is of a great spirit , ingine, wit , judgement , and lear-  
 ning. Great pity therefore it were, that such an one should be lost , ei-  
 ther through corruption creeping into his own minde , or by the poi-  
 sonable suggestions of others. You doe therefore exceeding well to  
 cherish him calmly , and to entreat him gently , and deale with him in an  
 humble and submisive manner ; which is the way to tame and gaine even  
 wilde-beasts that are without reason; farre more is it like to prevaille with  
 reasonable men ; and most of all with Princes , who in respect of the  
 height of their place, are not to be violently thrall'd or enforced, which  
 were the way to spoyle them: as they write of *Alexanders* horse *Bucepha-  
 lus* , whom *Philips* riders could not manage or over-master by force of  
 bit or bridle, but *Alexander* by stroking and making much of him, made  
 him manageable. And if ever you intend any worthy or great enter-  
 prise in this Countrey or in Europe , behold the mean , use it wisely, and  
 the L O R D of Heaven give successe. But this ( I hope ) may be sug-  
 gested to your consideration, that you would weigh with your selves, and  
 see whether or not this obsequiousnesse ( so to term it ) be the onely mean  
 to be used toward him, smoothing all, and allowing all; never mentioning  
 the abuses that have been, and yet are in this Countrey ; or if it be not fit  
 also to remonstrate freely ( though reverently ) what hath been, or ( per-  
 haps ) yet is amisse in Religion and the common-wealth , in some such  
 forme as is set down here in the end of this Letter. And whether it bee  
 fit or tolerable for the gaining of him to a right course that such men as  
 have no good meaning, have his eare, and bee his most intimate and  
 inward Councillours. Now I feare mee greatly that the meane  
 by

by which they have perverted all, and which may be still used to pervert all, and whereby they have gained most upon his tender age, is the eye he hath to our neighbour Kingdome of England, upon which his minde is greatly set, and to which (no question) he hath the right of succession; yet hath he need of assistance to obtaine the possession thereof. And they perswade him (as hee may also thinke of himselfe) that this cannot be done without helpe from the Papists in England, France, Spaine, Italie, and from Rome it selfe; and that the way to make them to be for him, is to put them in hope of him, by (perhaps) a present toleration, countenancing, cherishing, and advancing of their Religion. And this (he may thinke) cannot stand with the puritie of Discipline, and Government of our Church, which may make him the more averse, and hardly affected toward it, and thinke it fit to curbe it, and so the more to encline to Episcopacie; by which as he shall more please the Statesmen of England, so shall he be able the more to restraine our Preachers, and their freedome of speech, and the more freely deale and trafficke with Papists, and so make use of all sorts of people, because he may thinke all sorts necessary for his ends, whereas (indeed) none of these are of great consequence. For Papists that are without the Countrey (as France or Spaine) will never in their hearts wish him to be King of England. France for his nearnesse to them will not desire that he be so great, in respect of his claime to their owne Countrey, and because so the league with Scotland will fall, and they shall want the assistance of the Scots against that title. Spaine pretends a title themselves, which the Papists in England will rather set forward then hinder. Such Papists as are within the Island are of small force, and almost of none yet in Scotland, and not so many in England as to counterpoise the Protestants. Bishops there stand by the State, not the State by them; men of meane birth, no great riches, lesse following, attendance, or friendship; easie to be framed to what course he pleaseth, their life-time being reserved, or without condition. Those that seek Reformation are the strength of that Countrey, and certainly the wisest in it, of greatest power by the peoples favour, and credit in Parliament, and every where. Your Lordship hath seene the lettter directed to you all from some of them, containing their judgement, not to be contemned: gaine these, gaine that Countrey. This (as it is the truth) would be imprinted in his minde by such persons and meanes as are fit, and others removed, who perswade him otherwise, and his Majestie made to know, that by blending and mingling of Religions, or by professing, or seeming to favour and incline to a contrary Religion, hee cannot attaine to that Kingdome. That hee is happy in this, that the professing and advancing of the true Religion is most profitable for his honour, and prosperous estate in the world, and the best meane to preserve his owne, and to attaine another Kingdome. Neither doth hee stand in need of any bastard, or spurious policie, or farre sought, profane, or wicked course; a plaine and sincere uprightnesse, in maintaining justice, pietie and religion in this his present Kingdome, will serve his turne; and the more seriously, fully, and exactly

K k k

that

that he observe and follow this way, it will increase his credit and reputation so much the more there, and facilitate his designs. And this is that which will most thoroughly joyne him to your Lordship, as the opinion of the contrarie is the most effectuall means than ever they can use to dis-joyne him from you. From the same ground it arises to be considered, whether it be fit to suffer his Majestie and the Ministerie to bee at such variance, they finding fault with him, and he committing and confining them; and if it be not to be feared that it beget in him a loathing of them, and in them and the Countrey a wearinesse of him: And whether (therefore) it were not better to interpose your credit to informe him freely and truly, then thus to looke through your fingers (as wee speake) and behold things, and onely now and then procure some little reliefe to them: which forme of dealing rather fosters the rancour, then remedies it, seeing the King gets not the thanks of it himselve.

Certainely if I were a Politician, an ill affected Statesman, and had a desire to make way for another intrant, I would take this course to incense him, and irritate him against the Ministerie, that hee might commit them, or at least feed and foster his disposition herein, that so hee might bee brought to loathe them, and to bee loathed of them, and so take away that great expectation men had of his Religion, and their love to him for it: I would separate and divide him from such, and such from him; then bring him to a neutralitie in Religion; then to countenance men of contrary Religion; then stirre suspicions on each side; then alienation would follow; and what not? But as I am, out of my poore affection toward his Majestie, I doe wish that these occasions were taken away. I wish (I say) that your Lordship see to it, as you would have things right, and out of that minde you spake of, which was, that you have the honour to bee nearer in kinne to him, then to any King that can come after him; howbeit your Lordship is in the same degree of kindred with the next apparent, my Lord *Hamiltons* children. But you desire no change, I know, and that it may continue in the present race, as I am perswaded that *Hamiltons* himselve hath no other minde: yet the matter is worthy your Lordships consideration, so much the more, as ye have had experience how farre evill company about him hath had power alreadie to make things goe on. I leave it, and rest, as having no part or particular save onely to wish well, and to follow, as your Lordship goes before. In the meane time I have also here a note (of a sheet of paper or two) concerning the abuses in the Church and Common-wealth, sent to me by master *James Melvin*, to be (I know) imparted to your Lordship: you may lay it by you, and reade it when you have leasure, for your remembrance.

This hee tooke; and having read a little of it, with a deepe sigh, (which expressed the inward passion of his heart) God knowes my part (sayes hee) I shall neglect nothing that is possible for mee to doe; and would to God the King knew my heart,

heart, how I am affected to his welfare, and would give care to mee, But, &c.

Many times was hee most earnestly dealt with to take more upon him, to frequent the Court more, and to make his residence at it; especially by Sir *Lewis Ballantine*. His pretext was the common cause, and the good of it; but it proceeded from a particular betwixt him and master *John Metellane*, then Secretarie, who had crossed him in some suite hee had concerning Orkney, and drawne the halfe of it to his owne use. For which cause hee endeavoured to employ the same Gentleman to have perswaded my Lord to that purpose: but he knowing both my Lords inability of body, and averfenesse of minde, told him sincerely and plainly which way my Lord was inclined; and that his disposition was not to be drawn by any man farther then he thought fit, out of his owne discourse of reason. And for his owne part, hee was to follow his Lordship, and not to goe before him, or prescribe him what he should doe. Sir *Lewis* grieved very much hereat, having beene familiar with him of old, and complained to his friends, that the Earle of Angus was too slow, and that he had one with him that was as slow as himselfe.

Not long after, the infirmitie of his body increasing, and his strength and health decreasing, he was seldome able to come to Court, and could not stay long at it when he did come. I finde (in a note of those times) that at the Parliament holden in Edinburgh 1587. (in June) there was some dispute betwixt the Earle of Angus, and Master of Glames. But I remember no such thing, neither doe I know how there could bee any publicke dissention (either in this, or any other thing) howbeit they differed in judgement concerning the guiding of State affaires, yet I see not how that could come to any publicke contention.

His associates propounded to him to accept the Office of Chancellor, which had beene vacant ever since the removing of *James Stuart*. This hee did familiarly impart to the former Gentleman, and asked his opinion therein. Hee answered plainly, That it was indeed the most fit place for him, as being the most honourable Office in the Kingdome, by which he might doe most good offices to his Countrey, in Councell, Session, and elsewhere; and that by that occasion it brought great dependance, and many followers: That it had beene before in the hands of his Predecessours, as of Earle *Archbald* the first (called *Bell the Cat*) and of late in the Earle of Mortons, before he was Regent. Hee answered, that it required skill in the lawes, and more learning then hee had. It was replied, that (in very deed) much learning was not absolutely necessary; that it was not knowne what learning *Archbald* the first had, and it is not likely that hee had much. But it was well knowne that the Earle of Morton had very little, or none at all to speake of, not so much in the Latine tongue as he himselfe had; and yet hee had discharged the Office with credit. A naturall judgement to conceive and resume the question, and the reasons of each side, is more needfull in a Chancellor then learning, his part being properly to doe that,

The Chancellor's place offered to Angus.

Yk k 2

whereas

430 *Of Archbald the third of that name,*

whereas the decision seldome hangs upon his vote. Or if it come to that, learning does not alwayes the turne, knowledge of the customes of the Countrey is more requisite, and is onely required in Councell. As for the Session businesse, the President does commonly supply the Chancellours roome. Besides, seeing that ordinarily the question is not ended at the first hearing, what is difficult may be advised, and tossed by whom your Lordship pleaseth, before the next hearing. And although you finde not that full sufficiencie for the present, which you could wish, yet time and custome will bring experience, and experience beget knowledge. And this is said to have beene observed of the Earle of Morton, that having beene rude enough at first, he became afterward very skillfull, and as able and sufficient as any man in the Kingdome: and therefore your Lordship needs not to distrust or diffide your selfe in the like case. Well (saies my Lord) I know not what dexteritie either of them hath had: and as for the Earle of Morton, though he wanted letters, yet hee was of a singular judgement, and rare wisdom, scarce to be matched by any in this age. But for my owne part (as I yet thinke) neither am I able for the present to discharge it, neither doe I thinke it fit to enter into an Office before I have learned what belongs to it; neither can I digest to doe it by others, seeing I ought to doe it my selfe: yet I shall advise.

He rejects it.  
*Metellane*  
made Chan-  
cellour.

Angus Lieu-  
tenant on the  
Borders.

The road at  
the Tarrasse  
Mosse.

The conclusion was, he rejected it, and thereupon it was given to Secretarie *Metellane*, to his associates great griefe, he having ever been a man of a contrary faction and disposition in all businesse of the Common-weale. Hee accepted of the Office of Lieutenant on the Borders willingly, being more sutable to his disposition, and his proper element, as we speake; and he professed that he delighted as much to hunt out a theefe, as others did to hunt a hare, and that it was as naturall to him, as any other pastime or exercise is to another man. But he lived not long after this, nor had he time to doe any memorable thing in it. He made onely one roade against the outlawed theeves of the name of *Arme-strang* (most of them) after the King was gone home, who had beene present at the casting downe of their houses. Hee pursued them into the Tarrasse Mosse, which was one of their greatest strengths, and whither no hoast or companies had ever beene known to have followed them before; and in which they did confide much, because of the straightnesse of the ground. He used great diligence, and sufficient industry; but the successe was not answerable either to his desire, or other mens expectation. Neither did hee forget to keepe his intention close, and secret, acquainting none of the people of that Countrey therewithall, untill he was ready to march. Then directing one *Fordan* of Aplegirth to goe to the other side, whither hee knew they behooved to flee, hee sent with him one of his especiall followers, whom hee knew to bee well affected to the service, to see that hee did his dutie. Hee himselfe with the Armie came openly and directly to the place of their abode, that they fleeing from him, might fall into the hands of Aplegirth, and his companie, who were come in sufficient good time, before the Army could bee seene to that passage which

which they were sent to keep. But the birds were all flowne, and there was nothing left but the empty nest, having (no question) had some inkling and intelligence hereof; but it could not be tried by whom the notice had been given them. In the retreat, they shew themselves, and rode about to intercept and catch such as might happen incircumspectly to straggle from the Army, and they failed very narrowly to have attrapped William Douglas of Ively, a young Gentleman of my Lords family; for which incircumspection, he was soundly chid by him, as having thereby hazarded his owne person, and his Lords honour.

After this he came to Langhop, where his infirmity having continued long, and being now increased through travell, it grew at last to a formed disease. Wherefore hee was carried from thence to Smeeton, (neare to Dalkeith) a house belonging to James Richison, of whom wee have spoken before. His care of the good of the Church (which was ever in his mouth during his sicknesse) shewed that it lay nearest to his heart of all other things. There hee departed out of this transitory life, with great comfort to himselfe, and great griefe of all honest men, and with a generall regretting of all men; there being none such an enemy to him, or who did so envie or hate him, as not to professe and expresse his sorrow for his death: King, Courtiers, Noblemen, Barons, Burgeses, Commons; men of all degrees, rankes, qualitie and condition, did lament him: such was the forceable power of vertue in him. Of which wee will say no more, onely we will set downe this following Elogium to be considered by the Reader, then which nothing can bee said more true: Here therefore let it remaine as a witnesse of his vertue, and the Writers deserved affection.

*Morte jacet sacra Angustus, spes illa bonorum,  
Terror malorum maximus:  
Cui, laude & luctu meritis; pia turba parentat;  
Patrem, Parentem ingeminans.  
Par studium impietas simulat:quem carpere livor  
Vivum solebat, mortuum  
Aut veris sequitur lacrymis, aut gaudia fictis  
Celat pudenda; & laudibus  
Saltem non fictis os penè invisa resolvit,  
Seque arguit mendacii.  
O laus! O veri vis! O victoria! bonosque  
Cunctis triumphis clarior!*

Looke for the translation of these verses in the following page.

Yet were not the aspersions of his enemies (if hee had any such) of any moment or consequence: I say, if he had any, for he had no private enemies who hated him, or bore him any ill will for his owne cause; onely such as were enemies to the Countrey, and the true Religion, hated him as a main pillar, and supporter of these. The greatest objection they had against him (I mean that carried any show of truth) was his modestie, (which they termed slownesse) but after his death, all mouthes were closed. The love which was generally borne to him was exceeding great, both



# 432      *Of Archbald the third of that name,*

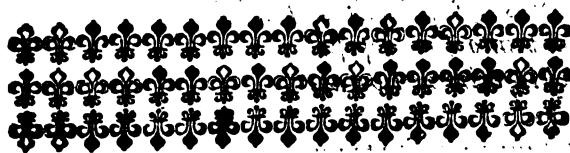
both for his house and families sake ( which was ever the most popular in this Kingdome of all other names) as also, and that no lesse for his owne vertue, and personall humanitie and courtesie. He was of a blackish and swart complexion, tall of stature, and of a slender body, but well proportioned and straight limmed; of a weake and tender constitution, and not very able to endure travell, but having courage enough, and willingness to undergoe. His death was ascribed to witchcraft: and one *Barbary Nepair* in Edinburgh (wife to *Archbald Douglas*, of the house of *Cashogle*) was apprehended on suspition, but I know not whether shee was convicted of it or not: onely it was reported that she was found guiltie, and that the execution was deferred, because she was with childe, but afterward, no body insisting in the pursuit of her, shee was set at libertie. *Anna Simson*, a famous witch, is reported to have confessed at her death, that a picture of waxe was brought to her, having *A. D.* written on it, which (as they said to her) did signifie *Archbald Davidson*, and (shee not thinking of the Earle of Angus, whose name was *Archbald Douglas*, and might have beene called *Davidson*, because his fathers name was *David*) did consecrate or execrate it, after her forme, which (she said) if she had knowne to have represented him, she would not have done it for all the world. He died the      day of      1588. yeares: his body was buried in *Abernathie*, and his heart in *Douglas*, by his owne direction. He is the last Earle of the race of *George*, entitled Master of Angus, who was slain at *Flowdon*, &c.

## *Of Archbald the ninth Earle of Angus.*

The translation of the verses in the page foregoing.

Angus by cruell death lies here,  
The good mans hope, the wickeds feare;  
The praise and sorrow of the most  
Religious, who as having lost  
A father, mourn; worst men are knowne  
To faine a woe if they have none:  
Envie, accustomed to wrong  
His guiltlesse life, imployes her tongue,  
Now a loud Trumpet of his fame,  
And weeps, if not for grief, for shame,  
Enforc't to give her selfe the lie:  
O! Power of Truth, O! victory,  
By which more honour is obtain'd,  
Then is in greatest triumphs gain'd.

Archbaldus



# Archibaldus Duglassius

## Angusius.

**O** Lim seva truci dente calumnia  
Clam vanas ad opes fraude viam struens  
Mussabat, posito aut. palam pudore  
Factabat caput in meum :

(O si non nimium credita ! ) Crimina,  
Fæda atrociaque infandaque crimina,  
Aut Diro Lepedo, aut fero-Cethegi  
Patrandum genio nefas.

Quos cæcis stimulis ambitio impotens,  
Aut astu rabies fervida pectoris,  
Anri aut sacra mali fames in omne,  
Egit precipites scelus.

Moliri in patriam incendia, spicula  
In patrem patria, sanctaque numina  
Regum alti solio Fova locata  
Celsis pellere sedibus:

Regni prasidium, spem, decus exstera  
Genti ludibrium tradere, civium  
Vota, & pontificis (nefas) tyranni,  
Roma degeneris metum.

O lingua improbitas, callida neſtere  
Fraudes, insidias, exitium bonis :  
Regum aures animosque suspicaces,  
Fictio ludere crimine.

Hac cuncti cumulum flagitii manus  
Patrare ? hac facinus mens coquere impium !  
Hac coctum potuit probare ? pectus  
Hoc conscire nefas sibi.

At

## Of Archbald the third of that name,

*At me qui sapiens intima sensuum  
Scrutator Deus (& quisquis erat mihi  
Arcani penitus sinu repositi  
Testis) crimine liberat.*

*Vita perpetuus composita tenor,  
Mens legum patiens, imperii jugum  
Fusti legitimum subire mitis,  
Cunctis cedere lenitas :*

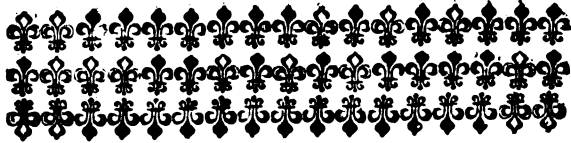
*Non claros atavos stemmate regio,  
Regnatasque atavis pendè provincias  
Et belli decora, & feri triumphis  
Partem Martis adorem :*

*Non longo titulos ordine turgidos,  
Arces pennigeris turribus arduas,  
Non turbam numerans gravem clientum, aut  
Latis prædia finibus.*

*Nudi simplicitas candida pectoris  
Et semper similis cana fides sui,  
Fraudes impietas licet, doloque  
Laudans clam sibi rideat.*

*Sincera rigide justitie tenax  
Dextra, a flagitio libera, sanguinis  
Expers innocui, doli rapina,  
Solis noxia furibus.*

*Archbald*



Archbald Douglas Earle  
of Angus.

---

**B**lack slander erst her ends to gaine,  
Employ'd her Art to wound my name  
Low whispers were her secret traine,  
Her open force lies void of shame.

O ! that they had lesse credit found,  
As from the thought my heart was free,  
*Lepidus* nor *Cethegus* own'd  
Such mischiefs as were charg'd on me :

Whom love of vengeance set on fire,  
Or blinde ambition overswaid,  
Or hope of riches or desire  
Of pleasure, t' every vice betraid,

As if my soul such plots had knowne  
As would a publicke ruine bring  
By justling from his sacred Throne  
My Countreyes father, and my King.

And so to forraigne scorne expose  
The Kingdomes glory, shield and hope ;  
The peoples joy and dayly vows,  
The scourge and terrour of the Pope.

Thus wicked tongues with cunning Art  
Weave nets, the innocent to catch,  
And to the jealous eare impart  
Fain'd treasons, which their fanciesatch.

So base a villanie to act  
Was it, for such a hand as mine,  
Or could my breast contrive the fact,  
Or conscious be of the black sinne.

L I I

But

*Of Archbald the third of that name,*

But I appeale my God to thee,  
 Who know'st my heart, and to those friends  
 Who were most intimate with me,  
 How much I loath'd unworthy ends.

The constant tenour of my life,  
 Was calme obedience to the will  
 Of rightfull power : detesting strife  
 I shunn'd ( more then resisted ) ill.

Though my descent from Kings I drew,  
 And in my Grandfiers well might see  
 A Princely power, none ever knew  
 A bragging vanitie in me.

No emptie titles fill'd my minde  
 With hatefull pride ; nor stately tops  
 Of Towr's, large fields, nor troupes of kinde  
 And humble followers, swell'd my hopes.

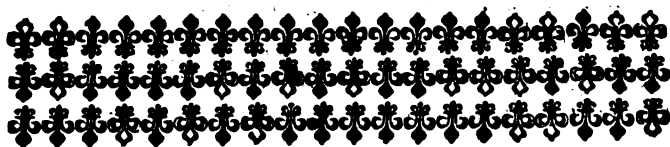
An equall vertue led my way,  
 A spotlesse truth adorn'd my heart,  
 Let wicked falsehood boast and say ;  
 Loe what I compast by my Art.

By me sincere strict Justice dwelt,  
 From guiltlesse bloud my hand was free,  
 No wrong my harmlesse neighbour felt,  
 Onely theeves punisht were by mee.

Ad

---





Ad *Archibaldum* tertium, cum post  
primum exilium reversus, ultra  
Speiam Elginii in Moravia re-  
legatus esset.

**N**uper fortuna varias experse procellas  
Angusie, & velis aquora iniqua tuis :  
Nuper in immenso pelagi jactate profundo :  
Obruteque insanis pene voraginibus :  
Nunc quoque nescio quos iterum subiture labores,  
Quicquid id est sorti pectore perfer onus.  
Discute tristitia nebulas, frontemque serena :  
Anxietas animo sit procul atra tuo :  
Pelle graves curas, properantem & parce severi  
Sponte suâ fati precipitare diem:  
Degeneres animos flatus levis aura sinistri  
Dejicit, aternis in tenebrisque premit :  
At mala cum pungunt, tuleris si fortiter illa :  
Materiesque tibi causaeque laudis erunt:  
Scilicet ille viros dignus numerarier inter :  
Hunc sequitur firmo gloria celsa pede :  
Cui dejecit mutatum nubila vultum,  
Blanda nec in fastus sustulit aura leves :  
Qui solidum vita servans, certumque tenorem,  
Robore fortunam vicit utramque pari.  
Ut fremit hinc Boreas, illinc ruat Eurvs & auster,  
Et quatias timidam fluctibus unda ratem :  
Illa tamen medios inter secura tumultus  
Ætheris, & rapidi vimque minasque freti,  
Sape tenet cursum optatum, portuque potita  
Despicit irati murmura rauca maris.  
Hinc cape non obscura tua exemplaria vita  
Dum : nec rebus cedere disce malis.  
Magnis te quoque junge viris : quid passus Ulysses ?  
Exul in ignoto nudus inopsque solo.  
Quid cui Roma sua tulit incunabula gentis ?  
Quae sua in Adriaco Troia renata mari ?

## Of Archbald the third of that name,

At quid ego hac antiqua? quid & peregrina recordor?  
 Ditiore exemplis stat patria alta suis:  
 Stat genus ordine longo: atavos agere, respice, avosque,  
 Quot sunt Duglassæ nomina, magne domus:  
 Quot bello insignesque duces, & fortibus armis  
 Heroes; facti gloria quisque sui.  
 Quem non nobilitat virtus afflictâ? polo quem  
 Non aequat? numera: vinâ reat, manus erit.  
 Omnis turba salo fortuna exercita, & omnes  
 Passa vires, versa ludibriaque rota:  
 Quas pax infida insidias, discrimina bellum  
 Quaeque habet exilii tadia, longa dies:  
 Nec nisi post exantlatos, venere, laboras,  
 Otia; nec nisi post dura pericla quies.  
 Te quoque defunctum, confide, laboribus olim  
 Latior excipiet, candidiorque dies.  
 Securusque inter dulces memorabis amicos,  
 Tu quoque fortuna tristitia facta tuae.  
 Tristia nunc: sed qua tunc & meminisse juvabis:  
 Agnosce & decoris prima elementa tui:  
 Hac itum: hac quicumque alta affectabit, eundem est:  
 Hâc te sublimi, gloria celsa, via  
 Sistet avos supra, atque atavos, accingere: O te  
 Quo fors! quo virtus! quo Deus ipse vocat!  
 Fallor? an heroas supra priscosque futurosque  
 Tollere te tanta sidera mole parant  
 Virtuti labor est comes: ire per ardua rerum  
 Gaudet & invicta fata superba gradu.  
 Aude ingens, jam nunc superi ad templa ardui Olympi  
 Carpere, qua pronum semita monstrat iter:  
 Aude, inquam, nec tu surgentia nubila ventis  
 Acthera terram, undas tartarave ipsa time.  
 Tantum, quem venerare Deum pius, igneus inista  
 Sollicitans, cursus diriges ille tuos.  
 Ille gubernaculo succedet rector & ille  
 Inveniet facilem per vada salsa viam  
 Anfractusque vagos per, & avia, & invia vita,  
 Et brevia, & syrtes saxaque caca ratem  
 Securam in placida sistet statione: perenne  
 Ut teneas celsi flammae templa poli.

To



To Archbald the third, when after his retarne from  
his first banishment, he was confined to Elgine of  
Murray beyond Spey.

**T**Hou who but lately didst endure the smart  
Of roughest stormes, and with a Pilots art  
Hast scap'd the many dangers of the seas,  
O Angus ! now in place of wished ease  
New troubles come : I know not by what fate :  
Keep your great spirit firme in every state.  
Shake off sad thoughts, and let your looks appear  
Chearfull, without the darkning clouds of fear.  
Deep cares expell, let not impatience haste  
Those ills, which of themselves approach too fast.  
Poor worthlesse soules are prest below the weight  
Of light afflictions : to a noble height  
In crosse affaires doe thou thy courage raise :  
By this thou maist obtaine deserved praise.  
He merits honour, and may justly be  
Esteem'd a man, whom no adversitie  
Dejects, nor prosperous successe swels with pride ;  
But by a constant temper doth abide  
Still like himselfe, and with an equall minde  
Both fortunes beares. Let every boistrous winde  
And threatening wave oppose his labouring oare,  
He steeres his course, and seekes the wished shoare,  
Slighting the angry waters chiding noise.  
Let these (like hard) examples prompt your choice :  
Learne to meet ills, till you with all compare  
For fortitude admir'd : *Ulysses* bare  
Worse harmes then yours ; a stranger, poore, alone,  
Uncloath'd, an Exile, wandring and unknowne.  
*Aeneas* and *Antenor* suffered long  
Ere Rome was built, or Venice : but I wrong  
Our owne, to dwell on strangers, since there be  
More store at home : marke the whole Progenie  
Of *Douglasses* your fathers, how they are  
Fam'd for their gallant acts in peace and warre :  
Each worthy was the glory of his time :  
None without vertue can to honour climbe.  
Looke on all ages, you shall hardly see  
One rais'd by fortune, but through miserie.  
Who live at ease, and least disturbance feele,  
Soone beare the mock'ry of her rowling wheele.  
How many traines hath peace ? What discords warre ?  
What troubles exile ? Yet no pleasures are

Obtain'd

# 440 *Of Archbald the third of that name, &c.*

Obtain'd but after toile, nor have we rest  
Till dangers and difficulties are past.  
So thou, when this is past, hereafter may  
Injoy at home a calme and pleasing day :  
And to your dear friends chearfully relate  
The sad effects of Fortunes sullen hate :  
Sad now, but pleasant to remember, when  
Your prentisage hath brought a noble gaine.  
This is the way : would you a great name win ?  
Then tread the steps your Grandfires travell'd in.  
Where Vertue, Fortune, where your God doth call,  
Follow : my thoughts deceive me, or you shall  
Excell those Worthies who alreadie are,  
Or will be famous : so the starres prepare  
Your youth. Faire vertue never dwells alone,  
Hard labour is her neare companion :  
Un-easie taskes she loves, and joyes to beat  
The roughest wayes, and triumph over fate.  
Be bold and onward, take your mounting flight,  
Till you have reacht a true Olympian height.  
Be bold, I say, and let no furious winde, (minde.)  
(Though earth and hell should mix ) shake your brave  
Onely with God, whom you must still adore,  
You may be instant, and his aid implore :  
Let him direct your course, and he will be  
Your Pilot through the waves of misery,  
Steering your barke by every Rocke and Shelve :  
Each strait and wheeling Poole His sacred Selfe  
Will guide the Oare, first to a place of rest  
On earth, then after death thou shalt be blest.

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Faults escaped in some copies.

**I**N the Preface, page 6. line 18. for Long Willie, read Longe-ville. p. 11. l. 2. for *num*, r. *nam*. l. 15.  
for *Duglasius*, r. *Duglasius*. In the Booke, p. 14. l. 21. for wanted, r. was. p. 25. l. 11. supply sonne. p. 34.  
l. 36. supply lessened. p. 43. l. 1. sup. long. p. 52. l. 43. for in furious, r. injurious. p. 64. l. 1. for people, r. pope.  
p. 70. 72. 74. 76. 78. in the titles, for Galloway, r. Liddesdale. p. 76. l. 17. for rather, brother, r. father-bro-  
ther. p. 80. l. 13. for Douglas, r. Angus. p. 85. l. 8. sup. Prince. p. 102. l. 37. for words, r. wounds. p. 107. l. 42.  
for making, r. marrying. p. 131. l. 38. sup. not. p. 145. l. 7. for thing, r. though. p. 148. l. 30. r. therefore sow on.  
p. 154. l. 34. for extracted, r. execrated. p. 168. l. 31. for life, r. Fife. p. 171. l. 44. r. the prisoners goods were ex-  
changed. p. 177. l. 18. for moved, r. compoled. p. 179. l. 34. for new, r. shew. p. 233. l. 30. sup. not. p. 244. l. 20.  
sup. not. p. 277. l. 3. sup. bonor. p. 278. l. 10. for mother, r. brother. p. 335. l. 32. sup. our of.

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FINIS









Hume, D.

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houses of Douglas and  
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